

THE
CHURCH MISSIONARY
INTELLIGENCER,
A MONTHLY JOURNAL
OF
MISSIONARY INFORMATION.

VOL. VII.



“ AS COLD WATERS TO A THIRSTY SOUL, SO IS GOOD NEWS FROM
A FAR COUNTRY.”—*PROV. XXV. 25.*

LONDON :
SEELEY, JACKSON, AND HALLIDAY, FLEET STREET,
AND HANOVER STREET, HANOVER SQUARE ;
T. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY ;
AND J. NISBET AND CO., BERNERS STREET.

—
1856.

W. M. WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.

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Church Missionary Intelligencer.

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, THEIR ORIGIN, PRESENT STATUS, AND OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN RELATION TO THEM.

SPIRITUAL Christianity in England had sunk to a low ebb indeed at the commencement of the eighteenth century. The antecedents of the national history might well account for this. The fanaticism of the Commonwealth was followed by a tremendous re-action in the reign of the second Charles. Under the government of Cromwell, religion and morality were enforced by penal statutes, a procedure which must ever prove unsuccessful, contrary as it is to the spirit of Christianity, and calculated to call into rebellious action the self-will of the human heart. The restoration of Charles superseded the severity of the Protectorate; but, under his example and patronage, instead of liberty, licence prevailed. The natural tendency of his reign was "to create a most stupendous degree of profligacy, moral and political, and this fruit was produced in abundance."* The unhappy contentions between churchmen and non-conformists—the absence on both sides of a moderate and conciliatory spirit—exercised a most depressing influence on the national Christianity, and that at a very critical period. The Act of Uniformity, and the consequent ejection of 2000 conscientious ministers, impoverished the establishment, and prepared the way for a dull and listless period, during which its testimony to the distinctive truths of the gospel was imperfect and unsatisfactory.

We cannot be surprised, therefore, at the dark picture which Burnet presents of the state of Christian vitality, in his history of his own time, which terminated in the commencement of the eighteenth century. "During my whole life I have lamented that I saw so little true zeal among our clergy. I saw much of it in the clergy of the church of Rome: I saw much zeal, likewise, throughout the foreign churches: the Dissenters have a great deal among them: but I must own that the main body of our clergy have always appeared to me dead and lifeless; and instead of animating, they seem rather to lay one another asleep." Of the laity he says, "The commonalty of this nation are much

the happiest, and live the easiest and most plentifully, of any that ever I saw: they are very sagacious and skilful in managing all their concerns, but at the same time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are on matters of religion.... From the commonalty I turn to the gentry: they are, for the most part, the worst instructed and the least knowing of any of their rank I ever went amongst. The gentry are not early acquainted with the principles of religion; so that, after they have forgot their catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge but what they learn in plays and romances. They grow soon to find it a modish thing, that looks like wit and spirit, to laugh at religion and virtue, and to become crude and unpolished infidels. This," adds the good Bishop, "is a dismal representation of things."† It was indeed manifest that the Christian life of the nation had grievously deteriorated. The great cardinal doctrines of the gospel, justification by faith only in the righteousness of Christ, and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, were rarely heard from the pulpits, and had lapsed into disuse and forgetfulness. All classes of religionists had suffered loss, but more especially the church of England seemed to have fallen into a painfully low condition. Politically strong, she was spiritually weakness itself, and failed to testify for Christ. "In her convocations disputes were rife. Her writings marked her divisions and decline. Those who rose to her posts of authority were denounced as a disgrace to her; and the recriminations of the lower clergy against the bishops were so fierce when they met in convocation, that the State could only stop the scandal by closing the Synod."‡

Yet from the midst of these discouraging elements arose the promise of revival, and the hope of better things. The Spirit of the living God put forth His quickening energy, and gospel truth—at first feeble, and almost overborne by accumulative discouragements—rising gradually on the darkness of the scene, shed abroad its illuminating influences. Mat-

* Short's "History of the Church of England," ch. 16. §. 733.
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† "Life and Times," conclusion.

‡ Colquhoun's "Short Sketches."

threw Henry, Doddridge, Watts, and Soame, amongst the non-conformists, laboured for a resuscitation of practical Christianity. The two Wesleys, Harvey, and Whitefield, endured, at Oxford, the reproach of Methodism. It was full time that something should be done; for the enemy, emboldened by the low tone of doctrine that prevailed, had reared the standard of infidelity, and the evidences arising from miracles and prophecy were determinately assaulted. It is true that Butler, Sherlock, &c., rose to the defence of revelation; and to those able writers much, under God, is due. But more than this was necessary. They acted merely on the defensive. Christianity must do more than this: it must vindicate its position, and become aggressive. It is essential to its well-being that it should do so. It is a dangerous position for a church when its teaching has lost evangelical distinctiveness, and the enemy has approached so near the citadel, that the foundations on which it rests are laid bare to his assaults. The doctrines of the reformation, generally speaking, had been banished from the pulpits. It was requisite they should be brought back; and Christianity, coming forth from behind the defences which man had reared for its protection, with the energetic action of its earlier days proceed to place the adversary on his defensive. Such men as the Wesleys and Whitefield were needed at this crisis—active, zealous, resolute men, determined, at whatever cost, to bear testimony for “the truth as it is in Jesus,” and to “contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints;” men who would not hesitate, should such a necessity arise, to be guilty of irregularity, rather than incur the greater guilt of being silent, and so consenting to a suppression of the gospel. These men, therefore, began “to teach and preach Jesus Christ.” They were zealous at home, and they were zealous abroad. They laboured to enlighten the colonists and Indians of Georgia, as well as the thoughtless and ignorant of their own land. Instead of dry ethical discourses, the comforting truths of the everlasting gospel were brought forth from their obscurity, and faithfully enunciated. When churches were refused him, Whitefield preached to assembled thousands in the open air, at Bristol, Moorfields, Kennington Common, Blackheath.

But the spirit of revival was not confined to the names that we have mentioned, although in tracing this remarkable movement they claim a special prominence. A concurrent influence was felt by other clergy of the Church of England, in no wise connected

with the Wesleys; and in despite of the fatuity exhibited by the then ecclesiastical authorities, who sought to force into secession from her communion all who, rising above the cold formalism of the day, set forth Christ in the fulness and freeness of His salvation, holy men arose to labour, in their respective benefices, for Christ—Grimshaw of Haworth, Romaine, Talbot of Reading, Walker of Truro, Venn of Huddersfield, Adam of Weltringham, Conyers of St. Paul's, Deptford, Fletcher of Madely, Berridge, Maddock, Newton, Joseph Milner, Riland, Robinson, Scott, Simeon, &c. “Some idea of the rapid increase which took place in the number of the evangelical clergy may be formed from the fact, which has been recorded, that when Mr. Romaine first began his course he could reckon up as many as six or seven who were like-minded with himself. In a few years the number was increased to tens; and before he died (1795) there were above five hundred whom he regarded as fellow-labourers with himself in word and doctrine.”*

The light which had been kindled in the land did indeed radiate vigorously. Evangelizing instrumentalities were suggested, and brought into action. Raikes, in his Gloucester Journal, gave publicity to his merciful plan of Sunday-schools for the children of the poor, and it approved itself to the minds of many individuals, both clergymen and others. Christian energy, electrified into action, began to reach forth from the centre, where it had gathered strength, to the more distant points of Christian duty; and the claims of the heathen, as well as the wants of the ignorant home population, were recognised. The Spirit of God, having rekindled the flame of vital godliness at home, and elicited spiritual action out of a dead formality, moved the hearts of Christians to unfeigned compassion for the millions lost in the wilds of heathenism. The great duty of communicating the gospel to the unevangelized had been acknowledged, some ninety years previously, in the incorporation, under William the Third's auspices, of a Society for the propagation of the gospel amongst infidels, and settling schools in our plantations, &c. It had been still further recommended to the notice of British Christians by the self-denying efforts of the Moravian Missionaries; and now new Missionary organizations rose into existence. Wesley's Societies from the first had assumed a Missionary character. Carey of Serampore—then a Baptist minister at Leicester—proposed to the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist Ministers and Churches a subject which had intensely occu-

* “Life of Rev. H. Venn.” 1834, Preface, pp. xiv. xv.

pied his own mind—"Whether it were not practicable and obligatory to attempt the conversion of the heathen?" He preached a sermon on the occasion, in which he recommended to his brethren, "first, to attempt great things for God;" and "secondly, to expect great things from God;" and an initiatory collection was made of 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* From so small a commencement originated the Baptist Missionary Society, on whose earliest Missionaries, as linguists and translators in the field of India, God was pleased to put so much honour. Then followed a movement amongst the Independent ministers of Warwickshire. Stimulated, no doubt, by what had taken place among the Baptists, and recognising the duty of all Christians to spread the gospel, they solemnly engaged themselves to labour for the promotion of this object, and commenced the new undertaking by subscriptions to the amount of 55*l.* Melville Horne's "Letters on Missions" reviewed in the Evangelical Magazine for November 1794, concurred remarkably in giving strength and development to the growing convictions on this subject; until at length, on September 21, 1795, a Missionary Society, designed to be comprehensive of all who might be disposed to join it, from whatever section of the Protestant church, was organized, after meetings which continued five days, under the title of "The London Missionary Society;" it being explicitly stated, as a fundamental principle, that its design was "not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of church order, but the glorious gospel of the blessed God, to the heathen."

Three years and a half from this period leads to the formation of the Church Missionary Society. "There was in the metropolis 'a handful of parish priests' meeting together for mutual edification, to whom, true to the doctrine of the articles and homilies, the Lord had given a heart to know Him, and who felt constrained by the love of Christ to live no longer to themselves, but to Him who died for them. This love soon manifested itself in the desire of proclaiming His unsearchable riches, not exclusively to those who were nigh in their parishes, but to those also afar off, where His name had scarcely been heard among the Gentiles; though at that period, fifty years ago, so unlike our days, there was scarcely a heathen region discernible to any eye but that of faith. It was in the year 1799, on Monday, April 12—a day then dear to British patriots, as June 18 has become since, because Sir George Rodney, by his decisive victory on it, had restored to our country its naval supremacy—a day

henceforward never to be forgotten in the annals of our Protestant Church—that sixteen clergymen and nine laymen met at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, and formed the Church Missionary Society."*

To the national church the formation of such a Society was of primary importance. They who engaged in it were zealous for the gospel, of the power of which they had happy experience in their own hearts. They loved the church of England, her order, articles, services, when rightly interpreted. It was natural they should desire to see their own church in some measure responding to that great Missionary obligation which was so remarkably engaging the attention of the various Dissenting bodies, and to behold, on the part of some of her members at least, if not of all, a similarity of effort. Without some such procedure, there was every reason to apprehend that the Missionary action of the national church would have remained as it had been throughout the eighteenth century, in a feeble and unsatisfactory condition, without any extension of its sympathies beyond the limits of our own colonial possessions. On the other hand, the recognition of this duty, even by a few, might gradually extend itself to the many, and the latent energies of the church be led forth, with a large measure of reactionary blessing on herself, in suitable efforts for the conversion of the heathen. Has the existence of the Church Missionary Society been productive of spiritual good to the church of England? Let the contrast which might be instituted between her present condition, and that in which she lay when the Church Missionary Society was organized, answer that question. We do believe, in the language of one of the most excellent of our Anniversary Sermons, that "from that day 'God, even our own God,' has blessed us. His Spirit has been descending upon us in continually increasing showers; and, notwithstanding many, too many, causes for shame and grief which still remain in the midst of us, it cannot be denied that the last fifty years have been years of manifest spiritual advance. And this, too, in obvious connexion with the Missionary cause. For not only is it to be noted, in the primary stage of this revival, that the very men whom God raised up to be the moral saviours of their land, were also those whose spirits He was stirring to enterprise the evangelization of the world; but, of later years, the growth of piety in our country has visibly gone hand in hand with the exertions

* "Proceedings of Oxford Jubilee."

which have been used to send Christ's gospel through the earth. The various expedients which have been found necessary to this end, our Missionary Meetings, Missionary Sermons, Missionary Publications, have given an impetus to the cause of God among ourselves, the ultimate effects of which no mortal eye can follow. Who shall tell in how many a family, in how many a parish, the first introduction of the Missionary cause has proved to be the dawning of a day of mercy never to be forgotten? Who shall say, with how many of our children the first buddings of Christian emotion have burst under the impression of some Missionary tale, that has touched the susceptible heart, and secured it ever after for the Lord; or how many of maturer years, and even of hoary age, whom the cares and pleasures of this life had woefully estranged from holy things, the Missionary's plea for Christ, and for immortal souls, has roused to seek their own salvation, and taught them thenceforward to live for God? Or who shall know, with how many of our pastors, the 'patient continuance in well-doing' witnessed in their Missionary brethren, and the power of gospel truth evidenced in their ministry, have become the stimulus to greater efforts of self-denying zeal, and a closer adherence to the 'simplicity that is in Christ'—a blessing to themselves and to their flocks. Omniscience alone can estimate, and eternity alone disclose, these blessed details.

"And then, too, while awakened consciences and tender hearts have in this way been moved to care for the heathen in their distant darkness, gradually there has been created a sense of responsibility towards others also, even hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen, who, although living everywhere around us, were scarcely in less need of our pity than the miserable tribes of savage lands. And seriously thinking men have been struck by the inconsistency of proposing to teach the inhabitants of other climes, while their own people were 'destroyed for lack of knowledge;' the inconsistency of sending the preachers of God's word to foreign shores, while throngs of their own countrymen were year by year landing on those same shores, but only to proclaim the darkness and depravity which England yet tolerated within her own borders. The very heathen, indeed, have not been backward with the sarcasm, 'Physician, heal thyself;' and Christian men have felt its justice. The consequence has been, that, while distributing the bread of life to strangers and foreigners, we have learned to feed the souls that were dying at our own doors. And very instructive it is to observe, how the foremost in this work of godly patriotism at

home are universally the well-known and long-tried friends of Missions for the world.

"And thus, in every way, individually and collectively, our 'love toward all men' has re-acted with a blessing on ourselves. It were hard perhaps, in some respects, to say which have been most benefited, the heathen through us, or we through them. But assuredly we have found it to be a faithful saying, 'He that watereth shall be watered also himself.'"^{*}

One more Society, whose formation graces the vestibule of the nineteenth century, remains to be mentioned; not, indeed, a Missionary Society, but one, in its object, essential to the prosecution of the Missionary work, and, in its operations, rendering such important aid to the various Missionary Societies, as justly to claim a place among them—the British and Foreign Bible Society. Apparently accidental circumstances led to its organization. Charles of Baia, in carrying on his circulating schools, became sensible of the dearth of Welsh Bibles throughout the principality. The edition of 10,000, printed in 1799 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, was inadequate to the requirements of the people, and numbers remained unsupplied. Charles visited London in 1802, and then the idea occurred of a Society, whose object should be the distribution of the Holy Scriptures among the Welsh-speaking people. Before the Committee of the Tract Society he pleaded for the object he had in view, and was responded to by the Rev. Joseph Hughes, who gave expression to the idea which resulted in the formation of the Bible Society, in these words—"Surely a Society might be formed for this purpose; and if for Wales, why not, also, for the empire and the world?" And accordingly, at a meeting of about 300 persons, held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, that great Society was established on March 7, 1804.

It is remarkable that all these embryo formations, designed in due time to develop themselves in results of greatest magnitude, and to introduce a new era of Christian philanthropy, arose at the termination of a century notorious for its spiritual stagnation. It had commenced in religious indifference, and terminated in great national danger, when Great Britain was left alone to bear up against the ceaseless efforts of an inveterate and triumphant foe. But such is the mystery of God's procedure: when His cause is most depressed, then does He revive it gloriously: when it seems to be most crushed, deprived

* Dr. Harding, now Bishop of Bombay, preached April 30, 1849.

of power, and reduced to silence, then is its strength unexpectedly renewed. Such was Elijah's experience. Physically and intellectually exhausted, he had cast himself down at the foot of the juniper-tree: further effort seemed impossible, and nothing remained for him but to die. But the extremity of his need was the opportune moment of gracious interference, and unexpected supplies were ministered to him, in the strength of which he was enabled to go forward. The cause of God has been similarly dealt with. There have been seasons of depression, when the elements of hostility, gathering strength, have obscured the heavens, and the crash of the hurricane has been heard as it approached; but, in the crisis of danger, He has never failed to be near, and, like the little bark in which Jesus and His disciples sailed, His church has survived the storm. The progress of the Redeemer's kingdom has been by no means that of an equable procedure. Rather has it been characterized by an alternating process, like the ebb and flow of the tide, receding for a time, to re-advance with increased energy, and cover new ground.

It may appear strange to us, and contrary to the judgment we might have been disposed to form, that spiritual religion should have put forth Missionary actings so soon after its revival throughout the various sub-divisions of British Christians. We might have thought that so gigantic an undertaking would have been deferred until the basis of operation at home had been more enlarged, and had become better consolidated. But the Holy Spirit expedited the effort as the surest and most effectual mode of giving permanency and stability to the improvement which had taken place. Missionary effort is that wholesome procedure which yields growth and consolidation to Christian principle. In gospel propagation there is a wonderful re-action, and the more the divine element of truth is communicated to others, the more it augments in the influence it exercises on ourselves. Thus Missionary operations are not only for the healing of far-off millions, but they are the *deus et tutamen*

of our home Christianity.

Moreover, the founders of these institutions were no ordinary men. They were specially raised up for the work they had to do, and were endued with the measure of grace which was needful for them: otherwise they would have proved unequal to the crisis, and this great commencement would not have been made. How diminutive our tribute of service appears to be when compared with that which they were enabled to render! Their discouragements were great: our facilities for work

are greater. With them all was tentative and experimental, and a large expenditure of Missionary material was requisite before results could be expected. The seed which was then sown has yielded to us its harvest; and we are assured, by facts abundant and undeniable, that such efforts cannot be in vain in the Lord. Their faith was strong: is it not to be feared that our faith has degenerated, and that, in comparison of theirs, it is of feeble character? How would matters have proceeded had our respective positions been reversed—if our weak faith had been placed in the midst of their difficulties, and their strong faith in the midst of our facilities and great encouragements? And what need we now? The holy ambition of Elisha when he said, 'Let a double portion of thy spirit rest upon me.' If they had much of the Spirit, we need more, for our responsibilities are greater, and our opportunities indefinitely increased. Not to have commenced the work would have been evil; but now that it has been so well begun, to withhold the necessary support would be still more disastrous and criminal.

America was not long behind in the formation of kindred institutions, the result of humble, prayerful efforts and small beginnings, which the Lord vouchsafed to bless. In the following extracts from a letter written by Professor Hopkins of Massachusetts will be found some facts connected with the early history of American Missions—

"In the year 1806, a deep religious interest pervaded this valley. It originated in the church, and, as far as we are able to trace it to its source, in the pastor of the church. In a meeting for prayer, held on the eve of the awakening, he said, 'We have prayed long, but we must pray still: God may hear our prayers after we are dead.' Soon after this, indications of unusual seriousness appeared. In a few months the interest became general, and in the midst of it the good pastor died. This did not seem to impede the work, but the church experienced the truth, that

"Though earthly shepherds dwell in dust,
The Heavenly Shepherd lives.

"The work extended to the college; meetings for prayer became frequent; and as the warm season came on, these meetings were held, not merely within college walls, but in the neighbouring groves and woodlands, particularly those which stretched northward, from near the college to the meadows on the Hodsie. Dr. Spring, in his 'Life of Samuel J. Mills,' testifies, probably on the authority of Mills himself, that the subject of Missions to the heathen was made, in these meetings, the burden of prayer. He also associates these meetings with a stack or stacks of hay.

Dr. Griffin says that Mills and his associates 'prayed the cause of Foreign Missions into birth under the hay-stacks,' and that they (the stacks) stood northward near the Hodaie.

"While the Missionary cause was in its infancy, struggling with difficulties, and awakening no general interest, few concerned themselves with the events connected with its origin. As is often the case, 'the day of small things' was despised. In the mean time the hay-stacks, the most transient of all human structures, had long since perished; but the cause which had its birth under them was rapidly widening in interest and power. Like the stone cut out of the mountain, it was growing 'unperceived to empire.' The rumour of the hay-stack began now to be regarded with new interest. Yielding to that natural impulse which inclines us to wander to some holy shrine, many were found, alas! too late, inquiring for the consecrated spot; but it was veiled in mystery, and all hope of identifying it nearly abandoned—I may say quite abandoned; for all the original witnesses, it was supposed, had passed from the stage.

"Such was the attitude of things when, last Midsummer, an old graduate of the college revisited his Alma Mater. He came, in part, to rectify some mistakes which had been made in reference to the original members of the meeting under the hay-stack. He was himself a member of that meeting, and made, in substance, the following statement—On a Saturday afternoon, in the month of July or August 1806, a number of the students went out, as was their custom, for prayer. It was their intention to meet in a certain grove; but a dark cloud was rising in the west, and it began to thunder. They then left the grove, and took refuge under a hay-stack near by, to shield them from the approaching storm. The subject of conversation under the stack, before and during the shower, was the moral darkness of Asia. Mills, who seems to have introduced the subject, advocated the duty and practicability of a Mission to that dark and heathen land. To this it was objected, that the time had not come; that Christian armies must subdue the country, and pave the way for the gospel. From this view, however, the majority dissented. At length Mills said, 'Come, let us make it a subject of prayer under this hay-stack, while the dark clouds are going, and the bright sky is coming.' Owing to the extreme sultriness of the air, and perhaps the impending rain, the meeting was not as numerous as usual, but the feeling spread from this point. Like the leaven hid in the measure of meal, it diffused itself silently. The work of grace meanwhile went

on, and was powerful during the winter, and in its progress it reached Gordon Hall, whose bones now lie in Asia—that continent then so dark, but over which the light of the gospel day is now so rapidly breaking.

"Not long after the meeting above described, an Association was formed, embodying the Missionary spirit of the college, and proposing, as its object, 'to execute, in the person of its members, a Mission to the heathen.' It was the members of this Association, joined at Andover by Judson and Newell and others, who aroused the American churches shortly afterwards to the great work of foreign evangelization. Stimulated by the zeal, and reprov'd by the faith, of these youthful Missionaries, the venerable pastors of New England laid aside their preconceived opinions, and united in the formation of 'The American Board,' an association now stretching a network of benevolent projects and efforts over the entire globe."*

These various institutions, having for their object the dissemination of gospel truth to distant nations, that others might be gladdened with a knowledge of salvation through the great atonement, may be considered as the growth of the last half century. There are, as we have pointed out, slight differences in this respect, some having had the precedence of their fellows by a few years; but the century, as it advances, marks with sufficient accuracy their average of age. It is impossible duly to weigh their proximity of birth, and the almost simultaneous action by which they rose into existence, without the full conviction being impressed on the mind, that in this we behold the special work of the Eternal Spirit. He is personally present with us, ruling in Christ's stead, a position He has occupied ever since, on the ascension of the Saviour, He came, with His own speciality of advent, to be in the midst of the Lord's people, as their guide and comforter, superintending the church of Christ in all that concerns its true interests, and more particularly in its Missionary office, as the divinely-appointed instrumentality and organization for the dissemination of gospel light and truth throughout a dark world. He who awakened the church at Antioch to Missionary action, and said, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them," moved the hearts of Christians to unite, in various combinations, for the commencement of Missionary efforts, and the separation of suitable men for the service of evangelists in heathen lands. Of this we can have no doubt; and, notwithstanding the in-

* "Evangelical Christendom" for June.

frinities which cleave to every human undertaking, we are persuaded that He, who, by His power, originated these institutions, has continued to use them to this present day for high and holy purposes: nor do we believe that the results which have been yielded as the product of this half century of operation, are in any respect inferior, either in magnitude or importance, to those which might have been summed up at the close of the first century of the Christian era.

What are those results? What is the actual *status* of this great undertaking? Is it such as to demonstrate the presence and blessing of God? It is the more necessary to submit this to the test of fair and impartial consideration, because the world is sceptical on the subject, and holds aloof from this work, under the pretext that it is worthless and of no value. It assumes *a priori* the impracticability of the undertaking, and then refuses to listen to any evidence which may be adduced of its success. It discredits all testimony, although it be the concurrent testimony of diverse witnesses far removed from each other, and labouring under a very great dissimilarity of circumstances. Missionaries in all directions, in every quarter of the globe, all testify to the same great fact, that the gospel continues to be, as it was of old, powerful with men "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." Individuals unconnected with the Missionary work, except by Christian sympathy and interest, civilians, naval and military men, of influence and station, and unimpeachable veracity, who have had opportunity of observing what is actually going forward, confirm this testimony. Which is most improbable, that real permanent results are being produced in the various fields of Missionary labour, or that the aggregate of testimony brought forward on the subject is incorrect; that, in fact, the friends of Missions have seen a *mirage* and mistaken it for a reality? But the incredulity of the world is intelligible. The instrumentality employed is weak, and confessedly disproportionate to the magnitude of the proposed object. This is all the world sees. It omits in its calculations the great element of all, the power of God, which, operating through a weak instrumentality, out of weakness makes it strong.

And so it has been in these processes of evangelization. Starting from feeble beginnings, and progressing through scenes of difficulty and trial, they have issued in solid and unmistakable realities. Like the coral-line formations, they have been raised above the flood, and constitute a firm basis and platform on which may be erected the super-

structure of more ostensible operations. Strange tongues have been acquired with how much pains and labour; translations of the Holy Scriptures completed; and more than half the languages of the heathen population of the globe enlisted in the service of the gospel. Schools of every grade, from the primary free-school up to the collegiate and theological institution, have been organized, where thousands of children, of both sexes, receive a Christian education. Christian churches have been raised up, inclusive, in all probability, of not less than half a million of professed converts from heathenism, besides the numbers who have been transferred within the veil, and who have joined the great multitude of saved souls before the throne. Civilization has gone forward as the action of the gospel has prepared the way; and nations like the Sandwich Islanders and New Zealanders have put off their licentious and sanguinary habits. The profession of Christianity introduced into nations and tribes has transmitted itself from father to child; and children's children are now receiving instruction in the schools where their fathers were taught. These churches and stations "literally form belts around the world at different latitudes, like lines of outposts surrounding the great battle-field, or rather like chains of woodland fires in the combustible forest, for their light and heat are diffused and spreading on every hand."

There is hope for Africa. When African Missions were commenced, it was strongly felt how desirable it would be if the gospel were to take hold on some interior tribe, not in an expatriated state, but in its own fatherland, and with an acknowledged position amongst the surrounding nations, on whom its influence might be brought to bear. That was the first object proposed by our own Society in its commencement of labour for the good of Africa. The direction given to the first Missionaries was "Branch out;" and the first Missions were extra-colonial. Our African work is designed, in the purpose of God, to have many branches, but branches spreading forth from a common centre; and the providence of God placed that centre amidst the manumitted slaves of Sierra Leone. There the tree of life has taken deep root, and thence it has extended itself, in a healthy offshoot, to that deeply-interesting nation, the tribes of Yoruba, of whom we have spoken largely in two previous Numbers. Other Societies speak as hopefully of Africa as we do ourselves. Let us hear the testimony of our American brethren of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian church—

"A variety of circumstances conspire, in

the providence of God, to prepare Western Africa for the introduction of the gospel, and they ought not to be overlooked by those who feel an interest in the welfare and salvation of this down-trodden race. For more than a year and a-half there has been very little of the slave-trade; and unless some untoward event intervene, the prospect is, that it will never again be resuscitated. Commerce in the natural products of the country is developing itself with almost unprecedented rapidity, and is effecting an entire change in the habits, the feelings, and the pursuits of the people. No one who knew the country under the distracting influence of the slave-trade, can fail to be struck with the tranquillizing change that has been effected in their condition by the peaceful pursuits of lawful commerce.

"Christian Missions, too, have effected a great work among these benighted people. Something like one hundred churches have been organized on different parts of the coast, and more than ten thousand native converts have been gathered into those churches. There are as many as one hundred and fifty Christian schools connected with the various Missions in Western Africa, and twelve or fifteen thousand youths are receiving a Christian education in those schools. Twenty different dialects have been studied out and reduced to writing, into many of which large portions of the Bible, as well as other religious books, have been translated and circulated among the people. Missionaries in that country have increased facilities for protecting themselves against the deleterious influence of the climate, and the treatment of diseases peculiar to that country is better understood. A strong footing has been acquired at more than a hundred of the most eligible points of influence on the coast. The voice of the living preacher is now heard in the capitals of Ashanti and Dahomi, on the frontiers of Soudan, at Kalabar, and, as we have just seen, by one of our own Missionaries, on the heights of the 'Sierra del Crystal.'

"These will be seen to be advantages of great importance; and if they are followed up earnestly and faithfully, in reliance upon the blessing of God, they must result, ere long, in making known the unsearchable riches of the gospel throughout the whole length and breadth of that vast continent. Honour to that church which labours most steadily and faithfully to bring about this glorious result!"*

There is hope for India. There, also, a *status* has been obtained. The Christian con-

verts number not less than 112,000. How diminutive a proportion, some may say, when compared with the millions of India? But it is not by numbers their value is to be estimated. These converts are not limited to one nation: they belong to many nations. They are not, indeed, like the population of Sierra Leone, gathered out of many places into one spot. That, in Africa, was necessary, because these representatives of various tribes could never have heard the gospel, unless brought out of their dark fatherlands to some locality accessible to the European Missionary. But in India, under the protecting rule of Britain, Missionaries have had the opportunity of commencing evangelistic labour in the interior as well as on the coast, on the uplands of the Deccan, as well as in the valley of the Ganges.

Nothing can exceed the magnificence of that opportunity which, in India, is presented to the Missionary action of the church of Christ. The presidency of Bengal expands before our view as a rich field expectant of the seed.

"From Darjeeling on the north, to the south point of Tenasserim, it is 1480 miles broad; while from Sirgoojah in the west, to Debrooghur in the north-eastern extremity, it is upwards of 1500 miles long. The physical aspect of this vast area is of varied interest. It is intersected by noble rivers, which afford great facilities for internal communication; the eastern portion of Bengal Proper being literally the 'land of the flood.' It is diversified with so many eminences, that it has fair claims to the counterpart of the poet's description—the 'land of the mountain:' while only forty-seven miles beyond Darjeeling, the highest mountain in the world, Kanchinchingah, rears its superb head 28,177 feet above the level of the sea. It abounds in extensive woods of all descriptions, from the low bushes of the jungle mehals, and the pestiferous thickets of the Sunderbuns, to the teak forests of the Burmese provinces, and the fir forests of the Khasia hills. It possesses wide-extended plains, bearing on their bosoms the food of nations—plains which for richness and fertility baffle all competition, and which have earned for Bengal Proper the *soubriquet* of the 'Garden of Asia.' Innumerable acres of land, waving with the homely paddy and the rich indigo; forests of the cocoa, the palm, and the betel, with their long shafts rising gracefully above the ground, and their leafy heads basking aloft in the sun; plantations of the sugar-cane neatly trimmed and carefully fenced, to guard against the nightly attacks of the plundering jackal; orange-groves loaded with golden fruitage, diffusing

* Seventeenth Annual Report, 1854, pp. 22, 23.

fragrance far around; and ten thousand clumps of the plantain, the mangoe, the jack, and the tamarind—all these diversify the scenery of this highly-favoured country. It is rich in all manner of agricultural productions, in rice, cotton, silk, indigo, sugar. Nor is it entirely destitute of mineral products. Coal, iron, copper, gold, and of precious stones, the diamond, are found in Beerbhoom, in Assam, and the divisions of the south-western-frontier agency.

"Various peoples, languages, and tongues, are found within the limits of the Bengal Presidency. Here is the vivacious and quick Bengali, whose physical organization is feeble to effeminacy, who 'lives in a constant vapour bath,' whose mind is as weak as it is notoriously supple and acute, and whose morals are by no means of the best description. Here is the stupid but honest Oriya, simple and gullible to a proverb, delighting in the performance of menial offices, and unvisited with the idea of raising himself to a higher platform of rational existence. Here is the blustering Khotta of Behar, largely given to shopping and cheating. Here is the sensual Assamese, ruled by woman, and exhibiting in his moral character traits of disgusting impurity. And here, too, are to be found, on the rugged hills of Bhagulpore and Chota Nagpore, the various aboriginal tribes, the hard-drinking and dance-loving Santals, true to their oath taken by the tiger's skin—the unpolished Coles, rude and inhuman in their dispositions, and the barbarous Dhanghurs, serving as beasts of burden. The languages used in the country are as various as the races which inhabit it. The Bengali is the language of Bengal Proper; the Hindu and Urdu, of Behar; unpolished monosyllabic languages of aboriginal hill tribes; and the Burmese of Pegu and the Tenasserim provinces.

"Nor are the religious faith and practices of these races less various. Hinduism, with its endless rites and ceremonies, is the religion of the majority. Islamism has a large number of followers. A diluted Buddhism is the faith of the myriads of the Burmese provinces; while a sort of fetichism (for such it must be called) exercises domination over the consciences of the border tribes, for whose conversion to Brahmanism strenuous exertions were, it would appear, made in bye-gone days."*

The Presidency of Madras, with its nearly twenty-eight millions of people, is scarcely in-

ferior in importance. "Though not the largest of the Presidencies, nor the most important, either in relation to government, commerce, or political events, it has had the largest share of Missionary effort, and exhibits the largest amount of palpable results." Yet may it well claim far more of sympathy and effort than it has ever yet received. Amongst its interesting nations there is ample scope indeed for a large increase of labour. The Telugus and Tamils occupy the eastern sea-coast and plain. The high central province, with the western strip of sea-coast, is possessed by the Canarese in the north, and the Malealis in the south.

"These twenty-seven millions form a number about equal to that of all the inhabitants of the British isles put together. Yet how different are their circumstances from those of our countrymen! They may have the means of sustaining life, but possess in general little beyond it. They are 'civilized to a considerable extent, but their knowledge of things beyond their own immediate sphere is very limited; and education, worth the name, is at the lowest ebb. Above all, as following error in religion, it becomes us to look at them with Christian eyes, and to inquire what provision has been made for their full and faithful instruction in the way of truth. Of the whole number, twenty-four millions are Hindus: more than two millions are Muhammedans: the Catholics number 650,000: the Syrian Christians, 120,000: the Jews, 1800 at Cochín: while our native Protestant Christians amount only to 76,000."†

These two presidencies alone present an extensive field indeed; but to these we have to add the Bombay Presidency, the North-west Provinces, the Punjab, and, lo! India in its vastness is before us.

The mind recoils at the magnitude of the work, and the greatness of the responsibility which connects with it. Yes; but a commencement has been made. We are ready to admit the inadequacy of existing operations; nor are we forgetful of the fact, that there are large districts which have never been occupied at all, and in the midst of which there is not to be found the feeble light of one solitary Mission. Still, we repeat, a commencement has been made. It is little more than forty years since this vast peninsula was thrown open to Missionary efforts; and yet almost all its languages have been enlisted in the service of the gospel, and are employed in the communication of Christian truth. Missions have been originated, and results have been yielded

* "Calcutta Review," June 1855, pp. 348, 349.
Art. "Bengal as a Field of Missions."
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† Mullens' "Missions in South India," p. 180.

which are scattered like specks of light over the face of India. Bengal, Orissa, the Telugu and Tamil countries, Travancore, the Canarese of Mysore and Dharwar, have their infant churches. Bombay is the centre of various Missionary efforts, and little groups of converts may be found in the great seats of Brahminical idolatry, Nasik and Benares, as well as in many other localities which we cannot now enumerate. We do not wish to overrate results, but there is a value which attaches to them, and it ought to be recognised. In India, as well as in Sierra Leone, the body of converts is multilingual. A very large proportion of the nations of the great Indian peninsula have their representatives in that little band of 112,000 converts, the first-fruits of Indian Missions. The work, then, which has been actually accomplished, is far more influential in its character than the consideration of mere numbers would lead us to suppose. Small as it is, it affects the greater part of India; and, like our African work in Sierra Leone, is peculiarly fitted to constitute the germ of great results. Are these first attainments of little consequence? Are they not conclusively demonstrative of the superiority of the gospel, when opposed to the most astute and best consolidated form of idolatry which the god of this world has ever raised in defence of his kingdom? On the limited area of Missionary occupation in India, the aggressive power of the gospel and the resistive power of Brahminism have been fairly brought into collision, and the gospel has proved the stronger. Is it to be supposed that the god of this world did not put forth all his energy to prevent, if it might be possible, these first results? And why? Because he is aware that they must open the way for further conquests. If unable to prevent Christianity from penetrating within his kingdom, how shall he compete with it now that it has achieved an entrance? The portion wrested from the enemy may be as diminutive as that which Israel took out of the hand of the Amorite with his sword and with his bow, but it is the earnest of an universal conquest. Individuals despise first results, because they are on a small scale; but this betrays misapprehension of the subject, for in these small results the main question has been decided. In them, virtually, the victory has been achieved, and the final overthrow of the kingdom of darkness in India is now only a question of time. It is customary, in charts, to place a mark where battles have been won. Wherever a Missionary station and a native church are dotted down upon the map of India, or elsewhere, there a battle has been

fought, and a victory has been gained. Under successive defeats, Brahminism has lost its *prestige*: a mortal wound has been inflicted upon it.

"Many signs have been manifested of a decay in the strength of Hinduism. The decrease in the number of those who frequent the native seats of learning, and study the ancient and authoritative Shastras; the diminished regard paid by the better-educated class to their Hindu spiritual teachers; the repudiation by that class of the scientific portions of the Vedas and Puráns; the decay and ruin of the ancient temples; the small number of new ones erected in their stead; the great decrease in many parts of the country in the number of people gathered to celebrate the annual feasts and draw the huge idol cars; the increase of the new sects under new leaders, holding as prominent doctrines the folly of idolatry and the necessity of a holy life; the discussion, by Hindus of various castes, of questions like female education and the remarriage of widows, which were supposed to belong to pundits only, and to have been settled by the Shastras ages ago; the extensive acknowledgment by the common people of the folly of idolatry, and of the wicked character ascribed to their gods; a more correct appreciation of the real character of moral evil, and the awakening of a conscience long dimmed by ignorance and vice—all attest the spread of purer knowledge, and a loosening of the bonds which bind the people to their wretched ancestral faith. On the other hand, the diminution of angry discussions with Missionaries, and a greater readiness to listen to what they preach; the willing reception of portions of the Bible and of religious tracts; the large number of copies which are beyond all doubt privately read and pondered; the respect with which the name of Christ is in many places received; and the very strenuousness of the opposition offered to Christianity where it is best known, are signs that its power is felt both by friend and foe, and that many regard it as the religion which shall ultimately prevail."*

There is no doubt that Christianity has gained ground in the estimation of the natives, in proportion as Hinduism has lost ground. The Hindus at the first despised Christianity. That it should ever make a convert was predicated as impossible. When a few became Christians they were pronounced hypocrites, and it was concluded they would only continue for a season, and then relapse; but as to the great body of the converts that has not been

* Mullens, pp. 3, 4.

the case. Many of them, like Gyandronath Tagore, have been publicly known to have made great sacrifices in following out their conscientious convictions in favour of Christianity. Men have been mulcted of their property; they have been deprived of wife and children; they have been cast forth from native society as abhorrent and unclean; they have been cruelly treated, beaten, poisoned by their own friends; yet they have stood fast, and the conviction has forced itself to a great extent upon the native mind, that the results produced by the action of the gospel in India are not like temporary islands at sea, whose unexpected appearance astonishes the navigator, but formations of a permanent and abiding character.

Another Mission field may be briefly referred to, in which God has been pleased abundantly to bless the labours of this Society—the Rupert's-Land Mission. In 1840 the Cumberland Station was commenced, and evangelizing efforts, which had hitherto been confined to the Red River, extended to this remote point, five hundred miles distant from head-quarters. It was a mere experiment, a Christian Indian, who had been acting as a schoolmaster, being the humble instrument employed. From this good man, now in full orders, and acting as the native pastor of the Cumberland congregation, a letter has been recently received, in which he thus describes the matured aspect of the work in this locality at the end of the brief period of fifteen years—

"The Indians have continued much with us the whole of the past year, and we have always had full attendance at all the services, which have been conducted purely in the native language. I trust that myself and my brethren around Christ Church have enjoyed, during the last year, much of the presence and blessing of the Great Head of the church, without whom nothing is good, strong, or holy. In temporal and spiritual things our people are advancing and improving from year to year. The gospel has taken firm root of their hearts, and many of them have had their hearts opened to receive the truth as it is in Jesus. The work of this station assumes the character of regular pastoral duties. We scarcely ever see a heathen face, much less hear a heathen drum: the drum I trust has ceased for ever, and given way to the more peaceful sound of the gospel.

"I have never seen the Indians do better than they have done the past year. They have attended regularly the whole winter; and if any of them went off to the fur-hunting, or otherwise, they would soon come back to

the Mission, saying they were not happy when they were away. Our church is well filled every Lord's-day, and our school very regular. The sick have been visited, and their wants for body and soul have been attended to."

This is now a central Mission, efforts of a similar character, weak in their commencement, but healthfully progressing, having been reproduced in different directions—at Moose Lake, the Nepowewin, higher up the Kisiskahchewun, and on the banks of the Missinipi, which separates the Crees from the Chepewyans. In the developement of the work, at different localities, there is much similarity. At first, when introduced amongst the Indians, the gospel is opposed. They dislike it as an innovation on those superstitions and habits of life which they have received from their forefathers. Some hearts, however, soften beneath its genial influences; the cold and rigid winter of the heart begins to yield; and the dull and apathetic Indian is moved by new feelings and desires. A little band of earnest converts is grouped around the Missionary. Earnest they are, for they begin to labour zealously amongst their heathen countrymen.

Besides the group of interesting stations at the north-west corner of Lake Wenepak (Winnipeg), a belt of them has been formed around the dreary shores of Hudson's Bay—central stations and their branches. York Fort, on the west coast, the landing-place from Europe for voyagers to the Red River, has been occupied. Out-stations have been formed at Fort Severn and Albany Fort. Next comes Moose Fort, and its interesting congregation of Christian Indians, concerning whom our Missionary Horden speaks in a most encouraging manner. Advancing from Rupert's House along the eastern coast of James' Bay, we reach the remote station of Fort George, where our Missionary Watkins, amidst severe privations, has been privileged to behold the commencement of a gracious work amongst the Indians. Here wandering Eskimaux reach him, one of whom he has in training, and finds him most useful in the acquisition of the language; and from this, his head-quarters, he has pushed forward as far as Little Whale River, 240 miles to the northward, where, at certain seasons, the Eskimaux assemble in considerable numbers. At all these points the work of Christian instruction is going forward. The Indians come in greater or less numbers to these posts. They are constrained to do so to get supplies; and here they are met by the Missionary. No opportunity is lost of urging on

their attention the words of everlasting life. The gospel is not only placed in their memories, but in their hands. They learn to read and write the syllabic character, and carry with them portions of God's word into the wilderness, wherewith to feed their souls. We know no more interesting Mission than that of Rupert's Land; the action of the gospel is there so tender and benevolent, it so condescends to the wants and woes of these poor Indians. The great Author of that gospel is manifestly in the midst of them, through His servants, the Missionaries, fulfilling the office of a good Samaritan, binding up wounds and healing broken hearts. In the hearts of this Indian nation, the Crees, a *status* has been obtained; and from the midst of them, as a great centre, we shall yet see the rays of gospel light penetrating to the north-west amongst the Chepewyans, to the south-west amongst the Sioux, and to the north-east amongst the Eskimaux.

Other fields of labour, if space permitted the investigation, would prove alike confirmatory of the statement which has been made, that Missionary operations, in diverse quarters of our globe, have climbed up to a position of no ordinary importance. New Zealand, the island groups of Polynesia, where the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies have accomplished so much, the interesting Karens of the further India, the dispersed Armenians of the Turkish empire, strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, to whom grace and peace are being multiplied, all are interesting; but we dare not wander forth into this illimitable field. Let Africa, India, and North-West America suffice as specimens of that Missionary work which is being so energetically prosecuted in various quarters of our world. We have gone up as an allied force against the fastnesses of Satan's kingdom. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." The conflict has been a protracted one, marked by a great expenditure of valuable life; but we have succeeded in wresting from the enemy important positions, and in these we have entrenched ourselves so strongly that all his efforts have not availed to dislodge us. From these commanding points we are enabled to survey the vast domains over which his rule has so long extended, and where unhappy millions have for generations groaned beneath the iron yoke of this hard master. Results have been obtained, not to rest in, but as *points d'appui* for efforts on a scale of increasing magnitude. We are in a position for immediate action. All quarters of the

globe invite undelaying and strenuous exertion. The dark centre of Africa is opening; the dark heart of Hinduism is opening. The people are disposed to hear: it is a season of opportunity to be improved. There are fixed points throughout these lands, and from these itinerating Missions may go forward, and new posts be occupied. In such a movement the native churches are in a position to render us important aid—such aid as Messrs. Ragland and Meadows are receiving from the churches of Tinnevely—a co-operation which will not fail to re-act with beneficial influence on themselves. It will be as new life infused, and help to the developement of their Christian graces, so as to enable them to stand alone.

Who can be blind as to what the Lord expects of us at a moment such as this? "The night is far spent, the day is at hand." "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?" The morning cometh. The shadows of night are not so deep as they were wont to be, and there are gleams of light abroad, which tell us that the morning cometh, a morning without clouds. A great crisis for action has arrived, one of unprecedented importance. The great idolatrous and anti-Christian systems, which have so long spread their baneful shadows over the fairest portions of our earth, are becoming feeble, and exhibiting unequivocal symptoms of decrepitude. The condition of Mahommedanism is especially remarkable; so much so, indeed, as to claim from us a separate article in an early Number. For the present we must confine ourselves to one extract from a Missionary, who has been in those lands, where a corrupt Christianity, in the just anger of God, has been overlaid by the scourge of that anti-Christian system. He has had opportunity of observing the condition of the East and the waning of Mahommedan influence and power, and his convictions are thus conveyed to us—

"We must take into consideration the present critical state of the whole Orient on account of the great war, which most probably will form a decisive epoch in the history of Mahommedanism and all the eastern countries. We cannot help observing that the current of civilization and Christianity, so long running in a westerly direction, is now changing from west to east. The centre-point of the history of mankind seems to be gradually moving in an easterly direction, towards where those events took place which will always be of the greatest moment to our race. Where the cradle of mankind stood, and where the Son of God lived and died, and rose again, where we find the beginning and the middle, there will probably be the end of

the great drama of human history. Mahommedanism, so long the curse of the Holy Land and the East, seems now entering upon a new phase of its dissolution: its spell, worldly power, is broken; and its end may be as sudden as its up-starting. This critical state of Mahommedanism at the present day seems to be a call on the Missionary Societies rather to strengthen than to weaken their force in Mahommedan countries; so that, if once the door is fully opened, they may have qualified men ready to enter with the promise of immediate efficiency."

Nor is this tendency to decay confined to Mahommedanism.

"The same is true of Buddhism throughout China and its dependencies. The high priest of that system, in his correspondence with the King of Siam not long since, mourned over the decline of Buddhism, and expressed his fear that 'the whole system would die out.' And certainly there are strong indications of this at present. One of the most remarkable movements which the world has ever known is now in progress in China, under leaders who command the destruction of idols and idolatry throughout the empire. However imperfect may be their comprehension of Christian truth, and however much of error may be mixed with their faith, they have published to the world some of the great doctrines of Christianity as their religious creed; they are scattering portions of the word of God, like the leaves of autumn, and acknowledge its supreme authority in matters of faith; and they profess to go forth to their battles in the name of the Lord of Hosts. Evidently there is a power at work under the foundations of Buddhism, like that which lifts the mountains and casts them into the sea.

"The same decay is visible in Brahminism, throughout India and all southern Asia. The high officials of that sect are not slow to acknowledge the fact; and it is interesting to see that they are beginning to resort to popular organizations and the press to stay, if possible, the process of decline, and repel the encroachments of Christianity.

"The same is true of the fallen and corrupt, but nominally-Christian, sects of the East—the Armenians of Turkey and western Asia—the Maronites of Mount Lebanon—the Jacobites of Syria—the Nestorians of Persia, and others. It is true of Judaism. Leading Rabbies are holding earnest councils among themselves to deliberate on what is to be done; while hundreds of the Jewish people are carefully studying and hearing the gospel. It is true of Romanism in almost all papal countries. In Ireland, within the last few years, thou-

sands on thousands of papists have abandoned their church and become Protestant. In Italy, and even in Rome itself, it is believed that nothing but foreign bayonets prevents the people from expelling Pope, cardinals, and priests, and asserting their liberty and rights of conscience.

"Thus the heathen and anti-Christian nations of the world, to a very great extent, seem tired of their old systems, and ripe for a change. God has, to a wonderful extent, prepared the way to supplant and supersede all these systems by the strong, vigorous, and life-giving gospel of His Son. Does it not seem as though they were all soon to vanish away, like the mists of night before the morning?"*

This moment, then, so opportune, this time to strike when the enemy is disheartened, is it distinguished by a great increase of effort on the part of the various Missionary institutions, as well European as American? Are new agencies being organized, new stations occupied, additional Missionaries sent forth? We cannot say so. The existing Missions are with difficulty sustained. There are financial embarrassments, an inadequacy of pecuniary support. It is a hindrance under which all these institutions are suffering, in a greater or less degree, at the present moment. Several of them are burdened with a debt which deprives them of elasticity and freedom of action. Our own Society, we regret to state, is far from being in that unembarrassed position which is so desirable at a crisis like the present.

In June 1854, when the pecuniary requirements of the various Mission fields for the incoming year were brought under the consideration of the Committee, it was found impracticable to grant to the various Corresponding Committees the sums which they stated as absolutely necessary for the due conduct of the Missions, and the estimates had to be reduced by no less an amount than 14,000*l*.

Notwithstanding this prudential measure, on the arrival of March 1855 it was found that the expenditure had exceeded the income by 8913*l*. This deficiency was met by a balance in hand of 3292*l*., and by 5621*l*. borrowed from the Capital fund of the Society.

It may appear strange, that, after so large a reduction of the estimates, the expenditure and income had not been equalized. But this is easily accounted for. The home income of the Society for the year ending March 1855 did not realize the moderate expectations which had been formed of its probable

* Boston (U. S.) "Journal of Missions," May 1855.

amount. It had been calculated at 113,298*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, the income of the preceding year 1853-54. It reached no higher than 107,343*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*, and thus the supposed income, by which the grants were adjusted, was less by a deficiency of 5*l.* 55*s.* 3*s.* 6*d.* The expenditure being also less than had been calculated by 334*l.*, left the sum to be borrowed from the Capital fund that which we have already stated, namely, 5621*l.*

We now have clearly before us the position which the Society occupied at the commencement of the present financial year. It found itself without any available balance, such as it had enjoyed for some years previously, with a diminished Capital fund, and estimates reduced below the standard of actual requirements; for the sum granted in June 1854—that is, a sum less by 14,000*l.* than the requirements of our friends in the different Mission fields—was of necessity adhered to in the arrangements of June 1855.

What, then, if the income for the current year should rise no higher than that of its predecessor, namely, 107,000*l.*, the expenditure remaining at the minimum to which it has been reduced of 113,000*l.*: in what position will the Society be placed in March 1856? It will again find its expenditure in excess of its income by some 9000*l.*; and as there would be no balance as was the case last year, the entire deficiency would have to be again borrowed from the Capital fund, already reduced by the previous abstraction of 5621*l.*, and that fund, thus diminished from 37,000*l.* to 22,000*l.*, would be found wholly inadequate to meet the current necessities of the Society. To relieve the Society from embarrassment, and enable it to sustain its Missions at the minimum of expenditure specified in June 1854, the income of the year ending March 1856 must be raised above that of the preceding year by no less a sum than 15,000*l.*

And even this makes no allowance whatever for the growth and expansion of the Missions. For two years the sums granted have remained the same: there has been no increase. The Society could not give that which it had not. And yet, are the Missions growing Missions? If they be living Missions they must needs be growing Missions. But growth implies an expansive and increasing work, new outstations formed, new circuits organized for the preaching of the gospel, new schools opened, more agents employed. How shall this be done if no increase of means be placed at the disposal of the Missionary—nay, if we withhold from him the sum which he asks for, and which competent judges have pronounced to be nothing more

than is absolutely requisite to sustain the existing work? How are Missions to advance under such circumstances? Shall we interfere with the living growth, and deal with it as though it were a piece of mechanism, which we could stop for a season, and then set it going again? But the expansive principle is destroyed by such a process, and a stunted work, instead of one of fair proportions, must be the consequence. Let us hear our American brethren on the importance of adequate support to Missions. The passage has reference to the need of a sufficient supply both of men and means.

“A Mission is adequately sustained, when it is made an agency adapted in nature, and proportioned in amount, to the object which it is intended to accomplish; or, in other words, when it receives that measure of support which will give the largest and best proportional results. An insufficiently supported Mission must be a languishing, and is liable to be a defeated and short-lived one. A stinted expenditure, where liberality is required, is the very opposite of true economy. It is every way wasteful. There are chapters in the history of Missions that are a sad comment on the waste of life which it may occasion—chapters written almost literally in tears and blood. Early graves, or broken constitutions, and blasted hopes, and desolated hearts, and the entire failure of the enterprise in some instances, speak with a voice of terrible warning. God in His mercy forbid the repetition of such painful illustrations of our topic! . . .

“Inadequacy of support is wasteful of money. It is poor economy to send out Missionaries, and leave them to be broken down. Scarcely less so is it to withhold from them funds necessary to their enlarged usefulness. It is the glory of the Missionary that he is a preacher of Christ. But he is not merely a preacher. He is, or should be, the centre of a system of evangelization. But with insufficient means, what can a Mission accomplish? Commanding positions, the very key of the battle, it cannot occupy. Critical opportunities, never perhaps to return, it cannot seize. Conquests, that have been won at great cost, it may be obliged to relinquish. Nearly all that is done, it does at disadvantage and with loss. Confined in its working within too narrow limits, that indispensable agent, the press, may become a source of vexatious embarrassment; it will be comparatively ineffective and expensive. Schools, in which a generation with a Christian conscience, intelligence, and stability might be trained up, and which, in some cases, may be the best medium for reaching an adult population, cannot

be established, or, after establishment, must be given up; or, with imperfect supervision, and but half sustained, they do little good. When the point of development is reached that requires the Missionary to multiply himself many fold through a native ministry and other agency, if to the seminary, which, under God, is the main reliance for its preparation, but one man is devoted, when two or more are needed, and its energies are crippled by insufficiency of appropriation, fewer of such helpers are provided; their education costs more, and is worth less; and their deficiencies and faults create to the Missionary a new source of anxiety, and unavoidable necessity for labour. And thus, if we were to go through all the relations and modes of Missionary action, we should find that every interest suffers in a Mission that is too weak in numbers or in funds.

"The sum, then, of what we would say is this—It is destructive of the end for which a Mission exists, to withhold from it what is necessary to give to it efficiency. If the Divine power, on which all good depends, is restrained, through want of prayer that would bring it down, in vain are men and means multiplied. If the latter are not furnished, results of instrumental agency are not realized. The support must be steady. Otherwise plan and system, looking to future results, are impossible. A reduction from a former standard, although but temporary, may entail disasters that many years of subsequent liberality of support may not be sufficient to retrieve."*

Are the Missions in connexion with the Church Missionary Society adequately provided? Is life economized by a sufficient supply of labourers, and hearts cheered, and health screened from corroding solitudes, by a sufficiency of pecuniary means? How can it be thought so? Observe the paucity of labourers in the important Yoruba Mission: Hinderer alone at Ibadan, Mann at Ijaye, Maser the only European at Abbeokuta, Crowther alone at Lagos; and to these overburdened men there has been sent forth a reinforcement of two German Missionaries! Travancore and Tinnevely are alike in need of help. Where are the British Missionaries? At present we are suffering under an absolute dearth of candidates for Missionary service. And where is the wealth of Great Britain? Are the evangelical members of the Church of England unable to give a progressive character to the income of the Church Missionary

Society, and so sustain it as to prevent it from slipping back by a retrograde movement? A stationary, nay, indeed, an uncertain and occasionally defective income, how shall it be reconciled with the requirements of a gracious work which continues to advance year by year, in the strength of that blessing which descends upon it from on high?

There are symptoms of improvement in the condition of the Society's income at the present time, which, so far as we can assure ourselves that they are a *bona fide* increase, we recognise with thankfulness. The subjoined statistics, from April 1 to November 30 of the current year, will at once convey to our readers our financial position at the present moment—

INCOME—	Current year.		Last year.		Average of last 5 years.	
Associations . .	26,962	8 6 ..	24,932	2 9 ..	26,475	0 0
Benefactions . .	7782	1 8 ..	4965	3 11 ..	4272	0 0
Legacies	1950	14 3 ..	3656	0 5 ..	3678	0 0
Sundries	2209	16 6 ..	1568	6 9 ..	1522	0 0
Totals . . .	£38,85	5 0 11	35,151	18 10	35,947	0 0
EXPENDITURE	76,575	6 10	77,964	18 3		

It is not certain whether the increase in Association proceeds may not, to a certain extent, have arisen from earlier remittances. It is not certain whether the decrease of expenditure may not have been caused by the irregular action of bills made payable on the Society. Taking it for granted that the items of increase are realities, then there appears to be an improvement in our financial position, when compared with the corresponding period of last year, to the amount of some 5000*l*. But even this falls far short of our requirements, and there will need much prayerful, resolute, and self-sacrificing effort, on the part of the friends and supporters of the Society, to place its funds in a healthful and satisfactory position. But this can be done if there be the willing mind. The wealth of Great Britain is not so exhausted that a matter of 15,000*l*. should constitute any real difficulty. To the item of Benefactions we look with much thankfulness and interest. They are contributions from the more affluent classes, paid directly to the Society's house. That is an item capable of a large increase. It ought to equal that of Associations, which represents more especially the contributions of the middle and operative classes.

Here, then, we are bound to remember the responsibilities of our position. Are we justified in the view we have taken, that these Missionary Societies have been providentially called into existence, and that the Lord is thus pleased to use the co-operation of man for the evangelization of his fellow? Is it

* Forty-fourth Report of the American Board of Commissioners, Oct. 1853, pp. 30—32.

true, also, that hitherto, under gracious influences, that co-operation has been yielded, and that, in the persevering zeal of earlier friends of these Societies, abundant evidences have been afforded us of what may be done under the most discouraging circumstances? And is the present our time of service, the responsibilities connected with the work having been transferred to us? That precious cause on which there has been freely poured forth such an expenditure of prayers and labours, of self-denying contributions and freely-surrendered lives, has it come down to us, that we also may bear it onward on its way, until we have transmitted it uninjured to others? Shall we then prove unequal to the service expected of us, and shall the details of that service be found to languish and suffer at our hands? The honoured work of Christian Missions is prepared to break forth largely to the right hand and to the left. Hitherto it has been as a river whose course has been one of difficulty, amidst the narrow gorges of the mountain regions where it has had its origin. Glacier formations, huge rocks, planted like an army of giants in its path, have vainly tried to arrest it. Step by step, amidst roar and conflict, it has won its way, and has at length approached the last barrier which separates it from the plain country below, there to become a broad and placid stream, an artery of commerce, and a source of fertility to surrounding lands: but just at this point are rocks and hindrances piled up in a barrier of special difficulty, and this must give way ere the waters have free egress. At this crisis we seem to have arrived in the prosecution of Missionary work. The onward flow of that river which is healing and life-giving, is obstructed by the narrowness of the channel through which it has to pass. The heart of the Christian church does not expand as the necessities of the work require. It yields only a contracted channel of sympathy and aid, and the sympathy of God in rushing onward to the aid of perishing millions is retarded by the want of sympathy in man. Enlargement of heart is needed in order to the enlargement of the work; more fervency of prayer, more readiness of service, more liberality of contribution. Means are available, if there were only the devotedness to use them for God. Increase of wealth has been conceded. The great Protestant nations of Europe and America, in which these Societies have their roots, have been placed in a position of high pre-eminence. The riches of England are proverbial. The present war has amply proved the financial pressure which this country is capable of sustaining. But the measure of increase con-

ceded to the funds for Christian Missions has been feeble and uncertain, and far below the requirements of this day of opportunity. Let us briefly recur to the financial position of our own Society. The income for the year ending March 1852 proved to be larger than in any previous year of the Society's history. The total of income from home sources amounted to 107,699*l.*, while the expenditure not rising higher than 98,244*l.*, left an available balance of some 12,000*l.* at the disposal of the Society. It was resolved at once to enlarge the circle of existing operations, and respond to the oft-repeated applications from various quarters, "Come over, and help us." From that year, therefore, we date an enlargement of operations, and a proportionate enlargement of expenditure. This will appear from the subjoined figures—

March 1852, Expenditure from Home . . .	£ 93,244.
March 1853, ditto	£107,490.
March 1854, ditto	£121,166.

March 1855, {ditto, estimates having been reduced, and a drag put on the acceleration of the work} £116,917.

How stood the Home Income during the above years? An enlargement of the Missions had been made, and increased liabilities of a permanent character contracted, in the hope that the income would be proportionably and permanently increased. Has it been so? We again recur to figures.

March 1852, Home Income . . .	£107,699.
March 1853, ditto	£110,148.
March 1854, ditto	£113,298.
March 1855, ditto	£107,343.

During the last three years, then, the expenditure from home has exceeded the income received from home sources by no less a sum than 14,784*l.* Hitherto, balances in hand have, in a great measure, met this deficiency. But these being now exhausted, the question recurs, how, through a narrowing income, shall an increasing expenditure find its way.*

* The financial position of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is very remarkably similar to that of the Missionary Societies in this country. The income for the year ending Sept. 1854 was less than that of the preceding year by dol. 4814. 98. A balance in hand from August 1853 in a great measure met this deficiency. Nevertheless, the expenditure exceeded the income by dol. 12,042. 49. The excess of expenditure could not have been avoided without inflicting serious injuries on the Missions. For the deficiency of receipts various causes might be assigned; but "the chief cause, the Committee have reason to fear, is to be found in deficiency of love to Christ and the souls of men among the friends of the Board." At the last anniversary

How shall the work of Christian charity flow on to make the wilderness and solitary place glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose? Either there must be an increase of income or a contraction of the work. "Either the work must be contracted to the measure of the finances, or the finances be raised to the measure of the work." On which shall we decide? To raise the income will cost us some pecuniary self-sacrifice. To contract the work, and abandon details of labour which we had taken up, will stamp us as an unfaithful generation, an unworthy link in the chain of Missionary instrumentality. We shall be like "the children of Ephraim, who, being armed and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle." In the decision that we come to we shall be prepared to sacrifice that which we consider to be of less value, in order that the element of superior value may receive no injury. What, then, if we keep our money, and suffer the Missionary work to retrograde? A per-

meeting, Sept. 1855, the expenditure has again exceeded the income by dol. 8465, which, added to the debt of the preceding year, leaves a balance against the treasury, on August 1, 1855, of dol. 20,507. 90.

The American Baptist Missionary Union—For the year ending May 1854 the expenditure exceeded the receipts by dol. 9500.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, at its anniversary of May 1854, had an excess of income above its expenditure of dol. 1267. 52; and in May 1855 a similar excess of dol. 7101. 55.

The deficiency of the London Missionary Society is 13,000*l.*, and of the Wesleyan, 15,723*l.*

manent increase of income to the amount of 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* is needed to give our Society free action. Without this, its Missionary operations must be discouraged and put back at a most critical and interesting period of their history. What, then, if there be no effort, no increase? How shall this be interpreted? There is but one interpretation—that the estimation in which we hold the work is not sufficient to induce the pecuniary sacrifice, and that we love our money more than we do the cause of God and the salvation of the heathen. Have we, then, the same mind that was in Christ Jesus, who, "though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through His poverty might be rich?"

Let it be then remembered, that in this matter professing Christians of the present day are being subjected to a test of a very searching character; and the judgment formed respecting their fidelity to their responsibilities and the Lord must be ruled by the manner in which they act. "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me." In the present condition of the Missionary work, "it would argue not only a great lack of practical wisdom, but actual treachery to the Master, by a breach of good faith to withhold the requisite means for prosecuting this sublime, and holy, and hopeful work, in some approximation to the measure of the increasing demand for its enlargement in fields already occupied, and its extension into fields hitherto altogether neglected."†

† Forty-fourth Report, &c., p. 34.

EXPLORATORY TOURS IN YORUBA.

On entering an enemy's country with a view to its eventual subjugation, it is of importance to occupy, as rapidly as possible, the most commanding points. Progress will thus be remarkably facilitated, while, on the other hand, negligence in this respect will be productive of very disastrous consequences. The Yoruba country, with other fair portions of the African continent, has long been under the iron rule of the prince of this world; but the gospel has entered, with a view to the overthrow of his usurpation, that the lawful heir, to whom the promise has been made, "Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance," may have His own. Let, then, the commanding points be seized, and strongly occupied—the large towns throughout the land, where the population is found concentrated. Wherever the chiefs and people express a desire to have a Christian

teacher located amongst them, let there be no delay in improving the opportunity. So far as the willingness of the people is concerned, there exists no difficulty as to the extension of the Mission. At distant and important points to which our Missionaries have penetrated—Shaki to the north, Ilorin to the north-east, and the Ijebu country to the south-west—they have been well received. The difficulty lies with us, not with the people. The straitened financial position of the Society, and the tardiness with which reinforcements come forward—these constitute the hindrances.

We have now two interesting narratives before us, the substance of which we desire to present to our readers; one, of the Rev. H. Townsend's visit to Shaki, from which we propose, in our present Number, to introduce some extracts. A second, which will be read

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with the deep regret which ever accompanies the perusal of a communication from a friend who is no more—an exploratory tour into the Ijebu country, by the late Dr. Irving, B.N., to whose persevering efforts in promoting, by every means in his power, its best interests, the Mission in the Yoruba country is so much indebted. This document, from its peculiar character, we shall give very nearly in *extenso*. We have also some brief details of the Rev. A. Mann's visit to Ilorin.

Before, however, we refer to Mr. Townsend's narrative, there are a few prefatory remarks that are necessary, with reference to this country. It is a large kingdom, divided into several provinces, throughout which the Aku-Igala languages are spoken. Africans speaking these languages are called, in Sierra Leone, "Akus," not only by Europeans, but also, chiefly, by the native population. This is not, however, the historical name by which these numerous tribes were originally united in one great nation. That seems to have been lost amidst the agitations and disturbances to which the country has been subjected for the last quarter of a century. "Aku," or rather "Oku," is simply a mode of salutation which prevails amongst this people, by which, in the ignorance that prevails as to their true national appellation, they have been designated. Koelle, in his "Polyglotta Africana," says that for the last few years the name "Yórùba" has been very erroneously made use of "in reference to the whole nation, supposing that the Yórùban is the most powerful Aku tribe. But this appellation is liable to far greater objections than that of 'Aku,' and ought to be forthwith abandoned; for it is, in the first place, unhistorical, having never been used of the whole Aku nation by anybody, except for the last few years conventionally by the Missionaries: secondly, it involves a twofold use of the word 'Yórùba,' which leads to a confusion of notions; for in one instance the same word has to be understood of a whole; in another, only of part: and, thirdly, the name being thus incorrect, can never be received by the different tribes as a name for their whole nation. If, *e.g.*, you call an Idsébu* or a Yagban a Yoruban, he will always tell you, 'Don't call me by that name: I am not a Yoruban;' just, *e.g.*, as the Wurtembergians or Bavarians would never suffer themselves to be called Prussians."

The Aku dialects, as spoken in different

* Dsebu, Idsébu, Idsebuan, are identical with Jebu, Ijebu, Ijebuan. Mr. Koelle's *ds* has the sound of *ch* in church.

districts, are thus enumerated by Koelle—Ota, Egba, Idséa (or Igéa, or N'géa, or Ndséa), Yoruba, Yagba, Ki or Eki, Dsumu or Idsumu, Oworo, Dsébu or Idsébu,* Ife, 'Ondō, and Dsekiri—twelve provinces in all. The whole kingdom appears to have suffered, in a greater or less measure, from foreign and civil war, but the stroke of desolation descended with peculiarly blighting force on the Egba province. The route from Ibadan into the Ijebu* country, as detailed in Dr. Irving's journal, lay directly through the midst of ruined Egba towns, destroyed in 1826 and 1827 by a combination of Ifes, Ijebus, and Yorubas; and no account has yet reached us which depicts, in so striking a manner, the calamities which have befallen this tribe. The *débris* of the dispersed population, the representatives of no less than 120 towns and villages, whose desolated sites remain to this day, united in the formation of Abbeokuta, the position of which is known to our readers.

We may without difficulty understand the geographical *status* of these sub-divisions. Ota lies along the sea-coast around Lagos. To its north lies Egba, with Abbeokuta as its centre. The Yoruba province lies to the north of Egba. Most of the towns mentioned in Mr. Townsend's journal—Isein, Oke Amo, Alessa, Iluku, and Shaki—belong to this province. To the south-east of Egba, and north-east of Ota, lies the Dsebu country; and to the south-west of Egba, and north-west of Ota, lies the Idsesa province. Yagba lies on the right bank of the Niger, west of Nupe and east of Yoruba. Southward of it lies Ife, where human beings are frequently sacrificed to the deities, especially about Christmas, sometimes forty at once. Two days' journey south or south-east of Ife lies the large town of Ondo, by the Yorubans and Dsesans called Dókō. Ki, or Eki, lies to the south of Nupe; Dsumu to the south-east of Ki; and Oworo to the south-east of Dsumu. The Igala districts, which speak a kindred dialect to the Aku, so that the aggregate is classified as the Aku-Igala languages, lie along the course of the Niger below the confluence, having Idda as their capital. Dsekiri, the last of the Aku dialects, is localized by Koelle along the sea-coast between Dsebu and the Niger-Delta languages.

We now take up Mr. Townsend's route to Shaki.

Leaving Abbeokuta on the 28th Dec. 1854, and passing through Oke Meji, Mr. and Mrs. Townsend reached Ijaye on the 30th. They had an interview with Are, the king, who promised them a messenger to Shaki. On

January the 4th they resumed their journey for Bilorunpellu, where a Christian visitor has been stationed. They crossed the river Ogun on calabashes, and passed the night on the opposite side, in a small hut belonging to the ferrymen. The next day they reached Bilorunpellu. Soon after their arrival they were visited by Bioku, the chief, a kind and gracious old man, of a very pleasing countenance and manners, who presented them with yams, beer, and a kid. The next day, being Lord's-day, after morning prayers, Mr. Townsend went out and spoke with several persons at various places in the streets, some of whom were very well disposed to listen to the word of God. On the road from Bilorunpellu to Awaye they were cautioned to keep together, as well because of robbers as wild beasts, of which numerous tracks were visible, in some places of large animals—the buffalo, elephant—and, in others, of the leopard and antelope. They reached Awaye in safety, and were kindly received by Lashimeji, the chief. From this place the rock Ado was visited.

"Jan. 9, 1855—Andrew Wilhelm, and some of our carriers, paid a visit to Ado rock, and the old chief there. I feared to attempt it, as Mr. Maser, who had gone up, informed me that it was very difficult to ascend, over a very steep face of granite. On their return they brought a small present from the chief to myself, as a token of goodwill. On the Ado rock was formerly the palm-tree with sixteen branches, from which the rites of the Ifa superstition originated: it is a sacred place, where they would not permit Mr. Maser to approach when he was there. The towns on this sacred rock have not been destroyed by war: they are, indeed, inaccessible to a hostile party."

Mr. Townsend remarks, in this portion of his journal—

"A newly-arrived liberated African having come to Awaye on his way home to Isein, I had an opportunity of witnessing here the eager inquiries and anxiety to hear of some lost relatives, supposed to be in Sierra Leone. It is this—the liberation of so many enslaved Africans by our cruisers, and their return—that gives us so great an influence in this country. Several aged persons were very earnest in their inquiries after their children, long lost, but never forgotten."

His route from Awaye to Okeho is thus described—

"Jan. 11—We left this morning for Okeho, or, as it is also called, Okefo, in company with a caravan of traders that had attended the market at Berekudo, and were on their return to Shaki. Our road was most pleasant,

through farms, and near one or two small towns. Our first halting-place was in a farm of cotton, yams, and corn, through which a clean stream of water flowed down between the hills and rocks. We sheltered ourselves from the sun under some banana-trees. From this place our road was very hilly. A very considerable range of hills lay on our left, of which Okeho makes one: the south-west side of one of these hills appeared to be perpendicular. We passed near a town built on the top of one of these hills, but the houses appeared to be few: some of the people were on the road-side, selling ready-cooked provisions to hungry travellers. We arrived at Okeho at an early hour, passing one or two walls of defence, descending and ascending to the town by a most steep and rugged path, almost impassable to our bearers. We were taken to the open space—much contracted by blocks of stone—before the chief's house, where we received a token of hospitality—a large calabash of cold and clean water. Some of the chief's servants came out and prostrated before Are's messenger with every mark of great respect, for the chief is appointed by Are, and can only exist by his favour.

"When an American Missionary arrived at Okeho, some time ago, he found his further progress stopped at the gate. He was not permitted to enter, but the people showed him every kindness, and put a shed, to protect him from the weather, outside the gate. This was done, doubtless, at the instigation of Are, as he had not yet seen a white man at Ijaye, nor was his permission asked by our American friend.

"We were conducted over the town, which is situated high among the rocks, with still higher hills around it. I observed some large holes in the side of one of the hills, and, asking what it was, I was told that one of them is an entrance to a large cave, in which the whole town lived some years ago, when the country was destroyed by war. Several places were pointed out to me towards the west that have an historical interest among the natives, one as the residence of the mother of a Yoruba king of note."

Leaving Okeho on Jan. 12, they passed through the towns Malete and Lero, the chief of which, an old and infirm man, had his room well filled with poisoned arrows, kept in large quivers, and empty powder kegs. In these interior places guns and powder appeared to be but very partially in use, almost all the men in the caravan carrying bows and arrows. In dangerous places the quiver was open, and one arrow half drawn, ready to be seized at a moment. At this village they

were informed that the road between Iluku and Shaki was in an unsafe state, in consequence of a *razzia* made by the Ibadan people, who had succeeded in carrying off many slaves. The people commenced to make charms for the protection of the caravan, but desisted on Mr. Townsend remonstrating with them.

Oke Amo was reached without alarm, a small town, built on a high rock, called the Hill (Oke) Amo. So steep and smooth was the ascent, that to surmount it they had to take off their shoes. Three hills, considerably higher, stand sentinel round the central one.

Passing through a town called Ilessan, and within sight of another town, called Gbagba, on a high hill, they reached Iluku at about 3 P.M. of Jan. 13. Here we take up the journal.

"Jan. 13.—We arrived at the foot of the hill on which the town Iluku is situated at 3 P.M., and rested under a tree before ascending the steep rock before us. A woman was here engaged in preparing indigo for the market, which is done by beating the leaves and stems in a mortar, and then making it up in balls, in which state it is left to dry in the sun or over a fire; and when dry it is fit for the market. A number of women and girls came down from the town, offering to carry loads up to the town for a small sum of cowries. Many availed themselves of their services. We found this hill much higher than that at Oke Amo, and standing alone, and quite bare. The chief, Ladimejé, was from home. We had to wait, therefore, a long time for his return. He came with a large body of attendants, some on horses and some on foot. I recognised in him an acquaintance I had made in Ijaye. He was very glad to see us, and gave us a warm welcome; but the dwelling he gave us was none of the best. It appeared they had a great difficulty in building on the bare rock, and, not being able to put posts into the rock, they resorted to some very clumsy contrivances to obviate the difficulty.

"We stayed up rather late, conversing with the people that came about us. They were much interested, and, I trust, instructed by what we taught them. A man gave A. Wilhelm an interesting account of the prayer he was accustomed to offer up to God, which showed a very considerable knowledge of the Divine Being.

"Jan. 14.—We went up on the highest part of the rock to have a view of the country. To the south we had a sight of the range of hills we came from yesterday. On the west and north-west the course of the river Oyon was pointed out, which they cross on their

way to Shabe, a country under Dahomey's protection, and inhabited by Fulahs having large herds of cattle. Are, of Ijaye, made a foray into the Shabe country just after the attack on Abbeokuta by the Dahomians in the same year, and brought back a large quantity of cattle and slaves. Some of the slaves look after his cattle at Ijaye. They call themselves Shabe people as well as Fulahs.

"The whole country appeared to be a wilderness, abounding in such trees as are able to bear the annual burnings of the dry grass around them, which is done by the natives to enable them to hunt the wild animals that would otherwise hide themselves in the high grass, and also to prevent hostile people hiding themselves near the roads to attack travellers. We have set fire to as much as we found dry enough to burn, with this object.

"We kept divine service in our house. Some few of the natives attended. I went to the chief, and had some conversation with him, stating at large what object we had in visiting the country. He said it would be a great gratification to him to receive an agent of the Society in his town, if Are would permit.

"Jan. 15.—We left Iluku this morning. The caravan remained at Iluku yesterday for us, wishing to avail themselves of our protection. It was rather singular that they should think we, unarmed strangers, could afford them protection; but they think that white people are safe from attack. We passed, not very far from Iluku, the spot where, a few days ago, a caravan was attacked, and about thirty people carried off by the Ibadan people. The broken pots and calabashes scattered about, and the trodden-down grass, marked the spot, and a small track on the left the road by which the robbers carried off their spoil. Our people out-walked those of the caravan; and at our first resting-place we were entreated not to permit our people to go so fast. I found it very difficult to oblige them, as the Egbas would walk at a quick pace whenever they could. I told the caravan people that it would be to their advantage for me and Mrs. Townsend to go in advance rather than behind; for should there be robbers in ambush, seeing us, they would be deterred from doing any thing; but, otherwise, seeing them only, which they would were we behind, they would take it to be an ordinary caravan, and attack them. To this view of the case they assented, and we were allowed to go in advance of the party. In the caravan were two of Ogubonna's wives, going to Shaki to do a little trade for themselves, unknown to their husband. They begged

A. Wilhelm not to tell their husband he had seen them.

"The country presents very much the same appearance everywhere, undulating; sometimes a sharp hill to ascend and descend, covered with high grass, now nearly dry, and trees, in some places as close as apple-trees in an orchard: very few are of a size fit for timber, and very crooked. We passed a range of hills that were on our right, on which was situated the town called Irawo, the seat of the superstition called Orishako. We also passed the ruins of several towns destroyed by the Fulahs: the remaining inhabitants are gone to Shaki.

"We lodged for the night in a farm. The farmer kindly gave up part of his house for our accommodation, and gave us yams. He appeared very anxious to do us service.

"Jan. 16—We left our lodgings this morning, not very early, knowing that we had not far to go. We passed through several farms, and over several streams of water flowing from left to right: we crossed them before, between Oke Amo and Iluku, flowing from right to left towards the river Oyon. We rested inside the gate, where we found a small market for the sale of cooked provisions, for which there was a ready sale. Very little of the town was in view from this place. We passed through the suburbs, and then up a hill on the left, a pass between still higher hills, with broken masses of granite scattered about in every direction, that gave a peculiar aspect to the scene. After ascending this pass, we came to the lower part of Shaki, and very soon to the residence of one of the chiefs, to whose house we were conducted by Are's messenger. We remained under the shade of some trees in the open space before his house until he appeared to receive us. We then advanced to pay our respects. I then told him, that as I was a stranger I did not know whether he was the head chief of the town, or whether there was a higher than himself. He told me he had a superior, and, if I wished, he would conduct me to him. I told him it was my wish. We had to wait, in the presence of a dense crowd of human beings, very hot and dusty from so many feet moving about—the chief sent us a quantity of beer, which was very acceptable—until he had made some preparations, and got his horse saddled. We then set off for the head chief's house, through various parts of the town, over a rugged road, and followed by a multitude that increased in number as we went on, and almost suffocating us with the dust they raised. We were detained some time before the chief's house, multitudes gazing and press-

ing on us from every side. At last we were called into the presence of the chief and the chiefs under him. His name is Okere: the one to whom I was first introduced is called Bagiri. I briefly mentioned my object in coming to see them, and they expressed great pleasure at seeing me. I was formally handed over to Bagiri's charge. He is, I found, the second chief in rank, and the chief business man among them.

"Jan. 17—While we were in Shaki we visited several of the chiefs, and received visits from them: they all appeared pleased to see us. The high priest of the town was introduced to us: he was as friendly as others. He does not yet feel that we are opposed to his system; but should a Mission be established there, his present friendliness may give place to enmity. We were out walking one day near this priest's house: he came out and listened with much attention whilst I addressed a number of people who came together to see us. We had many opportunities of speaking and preaching to the people, both in our house and in the streets. On one occasion, in our house, an Ifa priest endeavoured to defend the worship of Ifa.

"We received a visit from the priest of Orishako, and also visited him. This superstition is much regarded by the Egbas. There is an ordeal connected with it for the trial of persons suspected of witchcraft, and if declared innocent they become worshippers of this superstition, as a token of innocency; and the member of a family thus declared just continues in his family this worship, by dedicating one of the females of it to its worship; and when she dies another is selected to fill the post. The expense connected with this superstition on the death of a worshipper, and the dedication of another in her room, is so great, that it almost ruins the family for a time, but they nevertheless seem to keep it up with much tenacity, as it confers an honour on them. The worshippers wear in their hair, over their foreheads, two pieces of hard clay, one red and the other white, and the object of their worship is a round bar of iron about the size of an ordinary musket barrel. The town of Iráwo, the seat of this worship, has been destroyed, but the priest told me he went there occasionally to perform their superstitions.

"There are beyond Shaki several important towns, such as Kissi and Boho. As the road to Ilorin is closed by the Ibadan war, many pass through Shaki, Kissi, and Boho, to go there—a very long way round. We found many Ilorin traders here. I bought of one a piece of cloth with silver coin.

"At a second interview with Okere, the chief, surrounded by the chiefs of the town, I stated at large our object in visiting them—to see whether they were willing to receive Missionaries among them, as the people of Abbeokuta, Ijaye, &c., had done. Okere and his chiefs stated that they sincerely desired it. I stated, also, that we wanted liberty to teach, and, for the people, liberty to receive the word of God; to which they gave consent. There was a Mahomedan man present, of some rank, expressing his assent also; and he told A. Wilhelm privately, that, although a Mahomedan, yet he saw that destruction to his country had been the effect of Mahomedan power; and as he saw that good resulted from white men's influence, he wished them success, desiring thereby the good of his country.

"Bagiri told me that Are of Ijaye had no influence at Shaki; that he had been sending to them messengers and presents, but they did not like him; that they were strong enough to defend themselves from their enemies, and therefore independent; but they rendered service to Atiba* as the rightful king of the country. He also said that he wished we had come to Shaki without Are's messenger, for they were suspicious of him; but they were glad to see Bioku's messenger, for they had all confidence in Bioku. He claimed relationship with the alake of Abbeokuta, stating that he was a descendant of a former

alake on his mother's side. This is a great bond of union. He promised to send a messenger to the alake, and desired us to greet him kindly for him.

"Shaki occupies a large extent of ground, the rocks not admitting of their building closely, or with any regard to order. I should suppose it contains as many or more inhabitants than Ijaye. There is a large market held periodically, at which people from the surrounding country attend, including Ijaye, Ilorin, Abbeokuta, &c. The Shaki people, however, usually go down to Berekudo, at a market where they meet the Abbeokuta traders. Purchases are always made with money. Ivory, native cloths, native beads, native tobacco, and slaves, are sold by the up-country people. English cloth, beads, guns, gunpowder, rum, Brazilian tobacco, and salt, are sold by the down-country people. In some parts goats, sheep, fowls, and pigeons, form a principal part of their trade, coming from the upper parts of the country downwards. Shea butter is another article, but of limited extent. This is not abundant, I am told, until we reach the Niger: it is said to abound in the Nufi country.

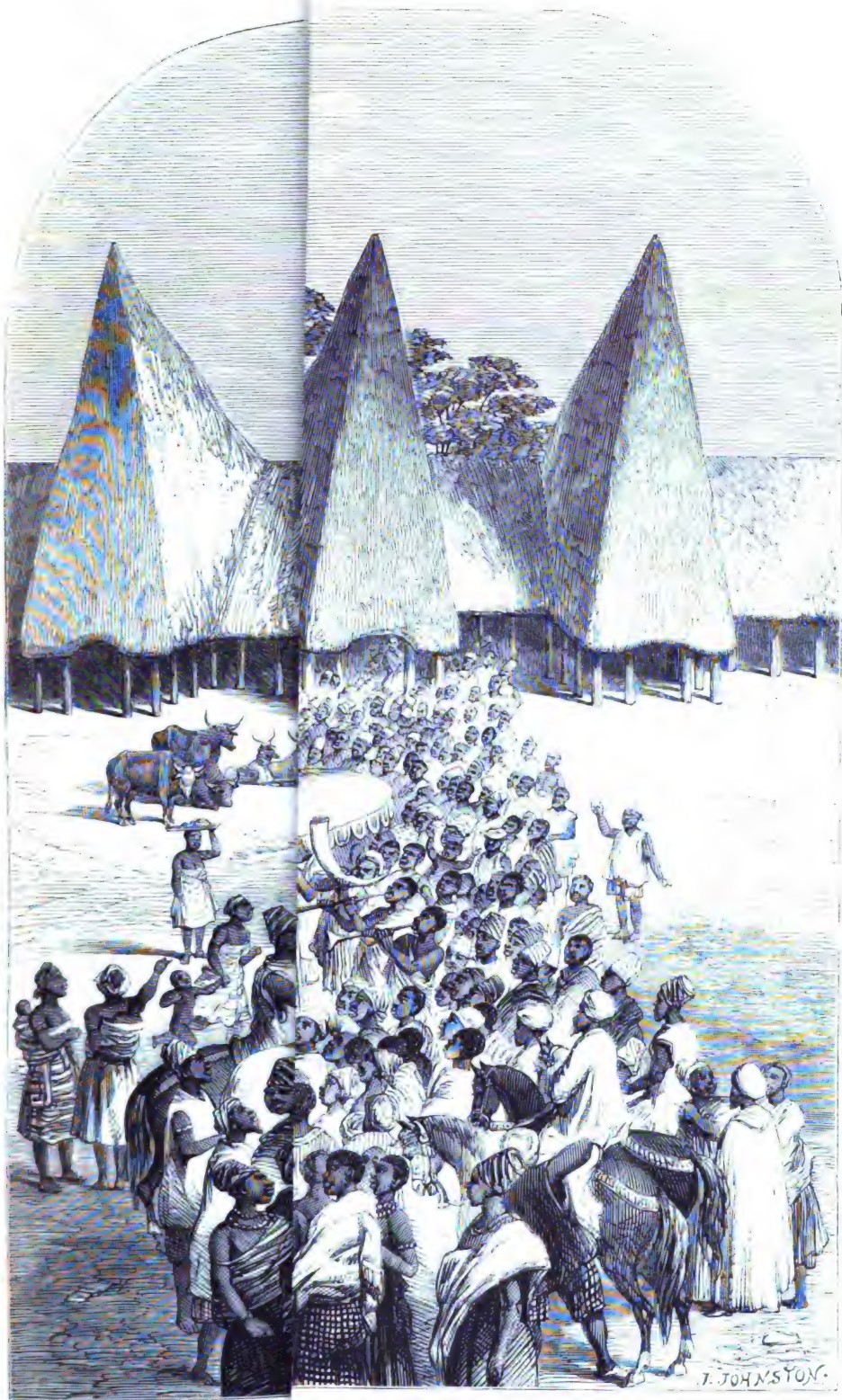
"We left Shaki at an early hour on the 23d, and reached Iluku in the evening, a very long day's journey. A large number of people joined us, although not the usual time for a caravan to start, and we had to wait upwards of an hour for them on the road. On the 25th we reached Okefo. The old chief had died

* In Sept. 1853 Mr. Townsend and Mr. Mann proceeded from Ijaye to visit Atiba at Ago, the royal town. The following paragraph from Mr. Townsend's journal, printed in the "Church Missionary Record" of July 1854, describes their reception—

"Sept. 28—This morning we were received in great state by the king. Within the gate is a large open yard, at the upper end of which is the royal residence, having six pyramidal projections from the roof and house, called koki, under one of which his majesty was seated on a chair of ample size. The posts of the koki were covered with scarlet cloth and hangings. Before it, on the open ground, was spread what appeared to me to be a carpet, on which some of the children and wives of the king were seated. Next, on a row of three on each side, were six tent-like red umbrellas, each supported by a man. Then, next, were three trumpeters seated on the ground, having long straight metal trumpets, I think of European make. They did not appear to be able to make more than two notes on them. The people stood and sat in much order on either side, forming an avenue. Those before sat, those behind stood. On approaching, we had to wait at the further extremity, while some nine or ten old men made their prostrations, rolling in the dirt. This, I suppose, was arranged to impress us with a notion of the

great dignity and honour of the Yoruba monarch. At last we were directed to advance a little, which we did, and made our bows to his majesty; and then we were directed to stand, and various complimentary messages passed between us. The state attendants, or chief officers of the king, are eunuchs. One of these brought the king's words half way, where he was met by the person under whose charge we were placed, to whom the message was committed to be delivered to us. We were then directed to advance nearer, that we might be better seen. We were not in grand apparel, fit for a king's palace, but, nevertheless, we were greatly admired, especially Mrs. Townsend. The king, from the respectful distance at which we stood from him, overshadowed as he was by the koki roof, we could not well see. He wore a crimson damask or velvet robe, with a pyramidal cap of the same colour, with a fringe attached to its under edge that covered the upper part of the face, so that we can form no notion of the king's person. After he was satisfied with seeing us, we were dismissed with a present of 20,000 cowries and a young bullock."

It is this reception which is represented in our Frontispiece, from a drawing by Mr. G. Townsend, Exeter, made under the immediate eye of the Rev. H. Townsend, now in this country.



RECEPTION ANN, BY ATIBA, KING OF YORUBA,

since we passed through: he was then very unwell. Are's messenger set up a wailing for the deceased, soon after his arrival, after the most approved manner, but it took but a little to comfort him.

"Jan. 26—We left for Isein; to do which we turned aside from the road by which we came. We had to pass over some very high land. I was glad to walk, and put on a warmer coat, to keep myself warm. We passed near two towns called Ontinrin and Oriluwa, both situated on high hills, not far from each other. On entering the town of

Isein, we went to the house we formerly inhabited, and were kindly received, and our former apartments immediately made ready for us."

On the next day Mr. Townsend was kindly received by the aseini, who, as a proof of his willingness to receive teachers, permitted the selection of a suitable spot of ground for a Missionary station. Also with Lashimeji, the chief of Awaye, arrangements were made for the immediate location of a Christian teacher.

PESHAWUR.

THE following letter from the Rev. C. G. Pfander, dated July 14, 1855, will place our readers in possession of the latest intelligence received from the Peshawur Mission. The coalition which he refers to between Mahomedanism and Romanism against the gospel reminds us of the Scripture fact, "And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they were at enmity between themselves."

"It is now nearly half a year since this Mission has been commenced, and you will no doubt be glad to hear of our work and our labours. Several items have, however, already been communicated to you, but I will now endeavour to give a more complete account.

"The first step taken after our arrival here, in January, was the formation of a local Association, to assist the Missionaries with their advice and help in the temporal concerns of the Mission. The next was, to secure a proper site for Mission premises, or to purchase the requisite houses. In this, however, we have not yet succeeded. We have, however, been more successful in obtaining a very well-situated house and ground for the school in the city, which, being government property, has been let to us at a very reasonable rate, and we have the hope ultimately to obtain it, either by grant or purchase. Colonel Martin is repairing the building, and, when completed, it will be large enough to accommodate about 200 boys. Ultimately it might be found necessary to erect a new and more convenient and suitable building, but for some years to come the present will do very well.

"The languages spoken here are Hindustani, Persian, and Pushtu. The Hindustani is spoken in the city and in cantonments; and as government have made it the official language, it will become gradually more general: the Persian is spoken by the higher and educated classes: the Pushtu is the language of the people, and the only one spoken in the vil-

lages, and by all the surrounding tribes. Mr. Clark has taken up the Pushtu and Persian languages, and myself the Persian and Arabic. A certain knowledge of Arabic is necessary, in order to be able the better to enter into discussions about the Korán when necessary, as also to secure the more their attention to our arguments.

"With the preaching in the cantonment bazaars we commenced soon after our arrival, and have been going on with it regularly, four times a week, ever since. We have generally a considerable number of quiet hearers: only now and then some Mahomedans come forward to oppose. In the city we have as yet made no attempts in preaching. We thought it better not to do so until the school should first be fairly established there. In our preaching we are assisted by two catechists, who were formerly connected with the Agra Mission.

"The school was opened in May last, and has succeeded beyond our expectations. Though there was, and is still, a considerable opposition against it on the part of the mullahs, who, being aware of our object, have done all they could to dissuade both pupils and teachers from attending it; yet, notwithstanding, the school has prospered under God's blessing, and has now an average attendance of 90 to 100 boys. Many of the scholars are grown-up young men, and some of the boys are the sons of the first families in the city. Mr. Clark has the charge of it; and we have every reason to hope that it will form both an important as well as a promising branch of our labours.

"We have had some intercourse, also, with the higher classes, by visits from them, but not so much as we should have wished; and there is not much hope that it will increase, unless a spirit of inquiry were to spring up among those classes. Whenever an opportunity offered, we supplied such visitors with

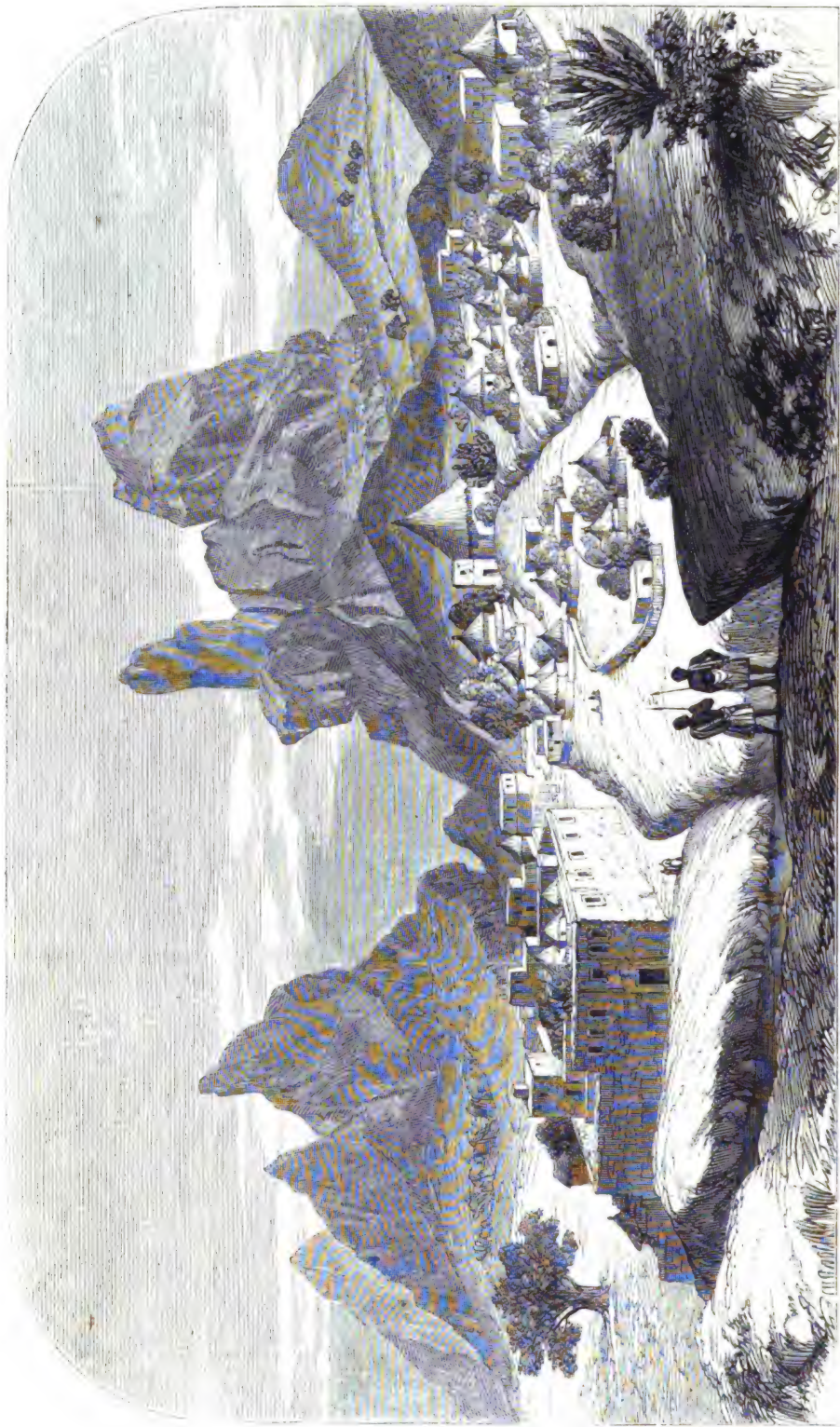
copies of the Persian Scriptures and other books, and have also sent books to Cabul and a few other places. We have two hopeful inquirers—one from Candahar, a hajî, who enjoys a considerable amount of esteem among the Mahommedans here. He lives on our premises, and gives me lessons in Arabic, and instructs the catechists in Persian. The other inquirer is an Afghan, formerly a wild and fanatic Mussulman, but softened down already, to a certain degree, under the influence of the gospel. He serves as jamadar in one of the irregular cavalry regiments stationed in the district, and has only been once with us, but promised to come for further instruction as soon as he could get a longer leave. The history of both these men is, as far as known to us, of a peculiarly interesting character; but until we can speak with more certainty about them and their faith in Christ we consider it better not to say more. But, on the other hand, we have had the sad disappointment of witnessing the relapses of Abdul Masih, the young Persian who came from Teheran, and was baptized here by the chaplain two years ago. He promised well at the commencement, but by-and-by his former evil habits grew again upon him, and, he not being earnest and watchful enough, the enemy obtained again the victory. We admonished and warned him, but all in vain; and so he left us suddenly, about a month ago, of his own accord, thus anticipating his being sent away. He went from hence to Lahore and Amritsar, asking the Missionaries there to receive him; but his request was refused, and we have not since heard of him any more. As he seemed, notwithstanding all his failings and his bad conduct, still to preserve a full and clear conviction of the truth of Christianity, we hope he may yet return and repent.

"My spare time has of late been taken up again with, and will be devoted for some time to come to, the controversy with the Mahommedans. Several of their learned men have organized of late a systematic opposition to Christianity. Some of them belong to that class of natives who have received an English education in the government colleges, and have there more or less become acquainted with our deistical and anti-Christian writers. This has suggested to them a new line of attack, which they have taken up very eagerly, finding that their old weapons are powerless. They have consequently gathered up all that they could find in the books of such writers against the gospel, and have directed their attacks principally against the inspiration and the integrity of the New Tes-

tament. They have also made use of some of our orthodox writers to the same end, by misrepresenting their views. In this spirit they have published lately several books, both at Agra and Delhi. To these I have been writing a reply, which I hope will be ready for the press in the course of a few months.

"A remarkable feature in this controversy is the aid which the Romish priests at Agra afforded to our opponents. I was told of it, on good authority, when at Agra, and am now fully convinced of the fact, having read through all those books they have printed against Christianity and our publications. There is a bitterness in them against the Protestants which is quite unusual to a Mahommedan, and can be explained only on the ground of such foreign influence. There are the same misrepresentations of Luther and Calvin as are brought forward by the Roman Catholics; there is the old charge against the Protestants of having altered the Bible, because they have rejected the apocrypha; and even the "Tablet," of Dublin, as well as the "Catholic Herald" of Calcutta, are dragged forth to help in the attack against the Bible of the Protestants. Now all these, as well as many of the objections of English and German infidel or rationalistic writers, the Mahommedans would not have brought forward, had they not been pointed out to them by their Romish helpers. Here we have thus a union, though on a small scale, of infidelity, Romanism, and Mahommedanism, against Christ and His gospel.

"It remains for the consideration of the Committee, whether it would not be desirable to appoint another Missionary to join the Peshawur Mission. This measure would almost become an absolute necessity in case no schoolmaster should come out this year. The new Missionary could then take charge of the school until the arrival of the schoolmaster, and Mr. Clark would be able to pursue his studies of the Pushtu uninterruptedly, and commence with excursions into the surrounding villages, as far as these are accessible. Besides, there is the revision of the New Testament in Pushtu, not mentioning the want of tracts and other books in this extensively-used language. After the arrival of the schoolmaster, the brother sent to our assistance could then return again to his station, should it be found that he is more required there than here. But no new station should be commenced, either in the Punjab or the north-western provinces, as long as the wants of the central stations are not fully supplied.



ADOA, IN TIGRÉ, WITH THE MISSION PREMISES AS THEY EXISTED IN 1833.—*Vide* p. 53.

ABYSSINIA.

ABYSSINIA again finds a place amidst the reports of our Society's operations; and Dr. Krapf, by whom it has been recently visited, brings before us, in a journal which we introduce into our pages, the existing state of that faded empire and fallen church.

It is no untried ground, but one on which our Missionaries have bestowed much labour. On its mountains have stood the feet of Christ's messengers, proclaiming good tidings; and Adowah, the capital of Tigré, Gondar, of Amhara, and Ankobar, of Shoa, have been, for a greater or less period, the residences of faithful men, who, by intercourse with the people and distribution of the holy Scriptures, have diligently laboured to revive the truth and power of uncorrupted Christianity. Nay, one of them found a burial-place beside the church of Madhan Alam (the Saviour of the world) at Adowah. "I could have wished," he said, when death had laid its hand upon him, "to live longer, that I might proclaim the salvation which is in Jesus to this poor people: but the will of the Lord be done." Abyssinia's need of the gospel is just as urgent now as it was then.

The attention of the Society, at an early period of its proceedings, was directed to the fallen oriental churches—the Greek, Armenian, Coptic, and Abyssinian. It would have been surprising had it not been so. In these ancient candlesticks the lamps had become utterly extinguished, and they who professed the Christian name, instead of recommending the gospel to the surrounding Mahomedans and heathen, misrepresented it by their superstition and immorality, and excited prejudices against it. Thus unrelieved darkness brooded over the fair regions of the Mediterranean. But if the lamps might be rekindled, how rapid the alteration that would ensue, and how seasonable and welcome the return of light; how beneficial the influence that would be exercised! These fallen temples had long obstructed the path which leads to inquiry and improvement, and had proved a grievous stumbling-block to the Mussulman. What if their restoration might be effected, and the ruined shrines resume somewhat of their former excellence and beauty? Simultaneous action was resolved upon; and from Malta, as a centre, Missionary operations were directed to Constantinople, the Holy Land, and Egypt. Nor was Abyssinia forgotten. Its commanding position, abutting on the dark centre of Africa, claimed especial attention. It was recognised as the advanced post of the Christian church; and although the watch-

fires had long gone out, and the sentinels to whose guardianship it had been entrusted had fallen fast asleep, yet, re-occupied by a reformed and active Christianity, its value as a point of occupation from whence efforts for the evangelization of Central Africa might be initiated, would be great indeed, and the beacon-fires kindled upon its mountains would be seen far and wide.

The condition of the Abyssinian church was such as to call for the deepest commiseration; nor ought that feeling be less intense now than it was thirty years ago. A generation has passed away, but the great work of reformation and amendment still remains to be commenced. Its religion consists of a strange admixture of corrupted Christianity, Judaism, and heathenism. Its Christianity is as the frame on which death has passed; once comely, vigorous, but mortal sickness came, and death ensued. Fatal errors increased until the creed of the church became so disorganized that spiritual life fled. The lifeless form that remained was enwrapped in the integuments of a Judaic ceremonial, and, like an Egyptian mummy, has been transmitted down to us. Without is this singular covering; within, nothing save decay and bones; and the only wonder is, that it has so long held together, and that it has not long since been scattered to the winds. Bishop Gobat, and the Missionaries Krapf and Isenberg, in their journals of residence in Abyssinia, sufficiently reveal the extent of doctrinal corruption.

It must be remembered, that, unlike the churches of Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor, the church of Abyssinia was not originated by apostolic agents, and that Christianity, introduced into that country at the beginning of the fourth century, had already lost much of its pristine lustre. The evil process of so corrupting the faith of Christ as that it should accord with the requirements of the unregenerated heart, had commenced. Men liked not the antagonism of the gospel to their worldly and vicious tendencies; and they desired such a modification of its action as to afford room for the indulgence of such tendencies, without being subjected to any particular disquietude of conscience. The spiritual action of the truth was to be diminished by the infusion of doctrinal error; and this fraudulent interference with its integrity was to be compensated for by the addition of gorgeous rites and ceremonies, to which Christian worship in its original simplicity was a stranger. Christianity, as in-

roduced into Abyssinia, had already received the germ of such a deteriorating process; and, although still retentive of sufficient energy to bring under its profession the population of this African kingdom, and to advance considerably beyond its present limits towards the heart of that dark continent, still the element of corruption continued to develop itself, until Abyssinian Christianity became what we find it at the present day. Christ is no longer the object of living faith, bringing into sanctified exercise all the affections of the soul, and yielding, through their action, the hallowed fruit of a devoted life. In Abyssinia He is merely used as the *matériel* of a disputative theology, which loves to perplex itself with unprofitable distinctions, and to plunge both priests and people in the bad feelings of acrimonious controversy. "The Christians of Abyssinia are at present divided into three parties, so inimical to each other that they curse one another, and will no longer partake of the sacrament together. It is one single point of theology that disunites them . . . the unceasing dispute concerning the unction of Jesus Christ." One party is of opinion, that when it is said that Jesus Christ was anointed with the Holy Ghost, it means that the Godhead was united with His human nature, the name "Holy Spirit" only signifying the divinity of Christ; others, that it signified the accomplishment by the Holy Spirit of the union of the Godhead with the humanity; and others, His reception in His human nature of the Holy Ghost, in order to enable Him, as man, to the work of our redemption. His unction, understood in this sense, they designate a third birth. Thus Christ is contested about, but is neither loved nor served. The trust of the soul is not with Him. Intrusive mediators shut Him out. The Virgin, St. Michael, and innumerable saints, remove the soul to an infinite distance from Him. The natural mind withdraws from Him whose recognition carries with it a correcting and sanctifying influence, and attaches itself in preference to creature mediators, whom it can honour, and yet remain itself in the dishonour of its sin. The impeccability of the Virgin is the favourite dogma of the Abyssinians; and there was no feature in the faithful testimony of Bishop Gobat which caused more offence, or rendered so many of the monks his enemies, as his frank disclaimer of all confidence in her intercession; so much so that they called him Mussulman.

Estranged from Him in whom alone there is recovery for fallen man, the Abyssinian Christian is left under the power of his natu-

ral corruption; and the low state of morals in that country is commensurate with the deterioration of doctrine. Abyssinia has been for generations a land of strife, and Tigré and Amhara have wasted each other in sanguinary conflicts, and victory has been disgraced by the barbarous mutilation of the conquered. Major Harris mentions "the mutilated wretches, bereft of hands, feet, eyes, and tongue, by the sanguinary tyrants of Northern Abyssinia," who, in the festival of Tekla Haimanot, presented themselves for alms at the court of Shoa.* Licentiousness as well as cruelty is at large. Matrimony exercises no binding, separating influence. Its obligations restrain not; and when the lightly-contracted union becomes irksome, it is severed by mutual consent. The husband, if his means permit him, multiplies his concubines, and finds his punishment in the inconstancy of those whom he degrades. The swarms of friars, monks, and anchorites, habited in yellow dresses as badges of poverty, or in the prepared skin of the antelope, in no slight degree contribute to this result. They put on angels' clothing, as the Abyssinian phrase is for turning monk, but too frequently it is only a guise to conceal a depraved heart and licentious course of life. Thus immorality spreads like an infection through all classes of society.

Instead of the fasting of the soul from evil, by which the disciples of Christ ought to be distinguished, the Abyssinian substitutes bodily fasting. These fasts are long and rigorous. "If we reckon all of them together, they take up nine months of the year, but there are only a few monks who observe them all. There are fasts of fifty-six days before Easter, and one of sixteen days in the month of August, which is observed in remembrance of the apparent death and ascension (called the assumption) of the Virgin Mary: these, together with the fasts of Wednesday and Friday, are indispensable. Also the fasts of forty days before Christmas-day are generally observed in the interior, but more seldom in Tigré. Besides this, there is scarcely any confession made where the priest does not enjoin a fast, more or less long and severe; but people can dispense with this by money. . . . Fasting consists in abstaining from all animal food except fish, and in not tasting any thing, not even water, till three o'clock in the afternoon, except on Saturday and Sunday, when they may eat and drink after eight o'clock in the morning."†

Major Harris describes the severity of the fast that precedes Easter. During the three

* Harris's "Highlands of Ethiopia," vol. ii. p. 246.

† Gobat's "Abyssinia," pp. 348, 349.

concluding days the priests had neither eaten bread nor drunk water, and the monarch of Shoa appeared enfeebled and emaciated by the rigorous mortification to which he had submitted himself. From the fast in honour of the Virgin even children of tender years are not exempted.

Unnatural restraints, in their re-action, break forth in immoderate indulgence. With the crowing of the cock on Easter morning commence feasting, drunkenness, and attendant brawls. Ample provision is made for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof, and the Redeemer's resurrection is dishonoured in its commemoration by a carnival of evil.

But man has his convictions and strokes of judgment on his conscience, and even in ignorant Abyssinia these are not altogether wanting. In the hour of mortal sickness something more is needed than the merits of fasting, and the invocation of the Virgin and saints suffices not to still the dread disquietude of the soul. As with the Romanists, the priest is sent for to hear the confession of the dying man, and administer absolution. The death-bed and the tescar, or feast given at different times to priests and poor people, to engage them to pray for the soul of the deceased, are gainful seasons to the rapacious priesthood. Even to the absolved, on his departure from the body, there is no prospect of immediate rest. Before heaven can be attained, there is an indefinite period of suffering to be endured, which may be abbreviated by the multiplication of prayers and alms. Hence property is hurriedly consigned to the priesthood to secure their interposition, that by their fastings, prayers, and communions (masses), the commutation of suffering for money may be effectuated. "The payment of eight pieces of salt wafts the soul of a poor man to a place of rest; and the tescar, or banquet for the dead, places him in a degree of happiness according to the costliness of the entertainment. The price of eternal bliss is necessarily higher to the rich; but German crowns procure the attendance of venal priests, who absolve and pray continually, day and night, and the reeking brundo is frequently devoured in commemoration of the event. Royalty is taxed at a still more costly rate, and the anniversaries of the deaths of the six kings of Shoa are held with great ceremony in the capital. Once during every twelve months, before the commencement of a splendid feast, their souls are fully absolved from all sin."*

But we must glance briefly at the Jewish

formalities which envelope this defunct Christianity, and first in the arrangement of their churches. The Abyssinian church is circular in form, crowned by a conical thatched roof, surmounted by a brazen cross. The interior is in three divisions. The first is a circle, extending like a corridor around the building, where morning worship is held. The second compartment is the sanctuary where the priests officiate, with a corner for the admission of laymen, during the administration of the communion. The walls are decorated with miserable paintings representing the Madonna, the Holy Trinity, St. George and the green dragon, &c. A veil screens off the kedis kedis, or holy of holies, within which is deposited the tabot, or ark of the covenant. The presence of this sanctifies the church. Every church has its ark, but the true ark of Zion is believed to be deposited in the church at Axum. On particular occasions priests go forth in solemn procession, bearing, under great umbrellas, the ark of their particular church, which, like the host of the Romanists, receives, as it passes along, the homage of the superstitious multitudes, young and old, rich and poor, bowing down before "the temple of the eternal God."

Harris graphically describes the ark of the cathedral of St. Michael at Ankobar, borne beneath a canopy of scarlet cloth before the Shoa army on its annual foray into the Galla territories; and on the triumphant return of the king and his rabble soldiery, after pillage and burning, the massacre of some and the enslaving of many others, the same ark preceding the troops, with one dancing before it.

Other Jewish assimilations may be indicated—the practice of circumcision; the observance of Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, as well as of Sunday; the prohibition of the shoolada, or sinew which shrank, which is upon the hollow of the thigh; the prevalent anxiety to accomplish, if possible, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. "They believe that the moment they kiss the stones of Jerusalem all their sins are forgiven them; but the meritorious act is the fatigue of the journey."*

Jews at an early period emigrated to Abyssinia, more particularly on the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; and their descendants may still be found there under the name of Falashas, amidst the mountains of Semien and Lasta. Previously to the introduction of Christianity they exercised much influence in the land, and moulded the nation to many of their own usages. The imperial family of Abyssinia boasts its descent from Solomon,

* Harris, vol. iii. pp. 154, 155.

* Gobat, p. 107.

while on the national standard was displayed the motto, "The lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed." But on the national reception of Christianity, the Jews, refusing to embrace it, in the mountain fastnesses formed themselves into a distinct community, governed by their own kings and queens, until the middle of the tenth century, when the Jewish princess Esther, taking advantage of a season of calamity, rushed down on the suffering Christians, and, putting to death the scions of the royal race to the number of 500, proclaimed herself Queen of Abyssinia. Of the princes of the blood one survivor alone remained, nor was it until the thirteenth century that the ancestral throne was restored to the royal lineage.

Superstition, the offspring of religious ignorance, finds a home in Abyssinia, and both priests and people are the slaves of vain apprehensions, from whence they seek protection in equally vain devices; and thus the degraded Christianity of the country has been found unequal to the expulsion of practical heathenism. Evil spirits are supposed to occupy the houses after dark; and the Amhara fears to throw water on the ground, lest he should interfere with the mysterious avocations of some unseen elf. Amulets are multiplied on the arms and neck, and the tulsim, a worked zone, studded with minute leathern pockets, containing sacred spells, enveloped in double and triple wrappers, encircles the waist. The sick are supposed to suffer under the influence of the evil eye; and a bullock, after having been driven round the patient's bed with singing and clamour, is slaughtered without the threshold. "In common with the heathen Galla, the Christians of Shoa make annual votive sacrifices in June to Sar, the evil spirit—continuing the idolatrous practice, notwithstanding its strict penal interdiction by royal proclamation. Three men and a woman, who understand how to deal with the evil one, having assembled at the place appointed, proceed to perform the ceremony in a house newly swept. A ginger-coloured hen, a red she-goat, or a male Adel goat with a white collar, are sacrificed; and the blood of the victim, having been mixed with grease and butter, is placed, during the night, in a secret alley, when all who step therein are supposed to receive the malady of the invalid, who is thus restored to perfect health."*

Thus these ingredients of Judaism, heathenism, and corrupted Christianity, combine to the formation of that singular *melange* which, under the name of Christianity, occupies the highlands of Ethiopia. From such a

congeries of error, what of beneficial action could be expected? Unequal to the illumination of its own people, no awakening influence has been exercised on the Mahomedan or heathen tribes around. Toward those without its pale its aspect has been unchangeably repulsive. From time immemorial, war has been waged with the heathen Galla; and the annual foray has gone forth to waste and to destroy. Hereditary detestation of the heathen, the prospect of booty, and the indulgence of every evil passion, urge onward the Christian warriors of Abyssinia, as in wild hordes they rush down from their mountain homes on that portion of the Galla territory where they are least expected. Neither the feebleness of age nor the tender years of infancy are spared. The North-American Indian bears away the scalp, the Dahomian and the Dayak the head of their fallen foe: the bloody trophy which the Abyssinian selects had better be consigned to silence.

It is not surprising that this nation has been deeply stained with participation in the slave-trade. The great slave-trading routes—one from west to east, *viâ* Sennaar, Argobba; the other from the slave-feeding states Enarea and Gurague to the south, *viâ* Ankobar, to the slave-mart of Abd-el Russool, whither purchasers flock from Zeyla, Tajurra, Hurrur; or by Debra Libanos, through the midst of Amhara, as far as the northern frontier of Tigré and Massowa—pass directly through the heart of Abyssinia. "Caravans, consisting of from 100 to 3000 individuals, of all ages, pass through Shoa during the greater portion of the year. Three-fourths are young boys and girls, many of them quite children, whose tender age precludes a sense of their condition."* The revenue of the rulers of Shoa has been swelled by a transit-duty levied on every individual exposed for sale or barter. Besides this, his late majesty, Sâhela Selassie, claimed a right of pre-emption; and the royal selection extended itself to the appropriation of not less than 8000 household slaves, of whom 300 were concubines of his harem. The northern provinces have not been so fully identified with the traffic: still, they have their Shangalla slaves.

Abyssinia, in its estrangement from God, and grievous misrepresentation of the true faith, has not been without its chastisements and bitter calamities. Arab invaders, in the seventh century of the Christian æra, overran the low country intervening between its alpine regions and the Red Sea; and this tract is now occupied by their descendants,

* Harris, vol. ii. p. 297.

* Harris, vol. iii. pp. 307, 308.

the wild Adäel, or Danakil. This, with the establishment of the Mameluke power in Egypt, deprived Abyssinia of all commercial facilities, and rendered her an isolated kingdom. The flood of Moslem invasion, which had inundated the fairest countries of the East, extended itself to the foot of Abyssinia's mountain barriers, and soon the very existence of the nation became imperilled. In the sixteenth century Mahommed Graan, "the left-handed," king of Adel, forced his way through the defiles and mountain passes into the very heart of the empire, took possession of Shoa, overran Ambara, and, pursuing the emperor Nebla Dengel through Tigré, defeated him on the banks of the Nile. The country was wasted, the churches burned, the princes of the blood, one survivor excepted, slain, and the emperor, a fugitive in the wilderness, was discovered and put to death. The wild Galla tribes, taking advantage of the disorder which prevailed, overran and colonized Shoa. It appeared as if the moment had at length arrived when Abyssinia was to lose its national independence, and its church, like others of the oriental churches, to bow herself to the earth, that the Moslem conqueror might place his foot upon her neck. But Abyssinian nationality, although dismembered, was not destroyed. The seasonable arrival of a body of Portuguese soldiers at Massowa drew off the attention of the Danakil, whose leader, Graan, was slain in battle, while with the Galla the Abyssinians continued to struggle. Amidst the mountain fastnesses of Tegulet and Mans they resolutely defended themselves; and Dr. Krapf, on viewing the rugged features of those provinces, the difficult hills, separated from each other by tremendous torrents, understood why "the continual efforts of the numerous Galla cavalry, and those of the Mahommedans of Adel, were always disappointed in taking that part of Shoa, and why the Christian name could not be exterminated by their ferocious hordes." Gradually recovering strength, the Abyssinians, under the leadership of Sabela Selassie's ancestors, resumed the aggressive; and, recovering Ankobar, made it the capital of the Shoa kingdom, which, although nominally a province of the empire, has been, since that period, an independent state. And thus Abyssinian nationality has survived, although in an impoverished condition, and despoiled of the grandeur of its palmy days. How shrunk within its former limits may be concluded from the Christian remnants, outlying far beyond its boundaries, which have continued, although in extreme degradation, to exist in the midst of countries

which are now, with the exception of these isolated spots, entirely heathen and Mahommedan.

One of the most remarkable of these are the five islands of the lake Zooai, which are said to contain 3000 Christian houses. This lake, in Gurague, is distant 150 miles south from Angollala. There, in the church of St. Michael, are said to be "deposited the holy arks, drums, gold and silver chairs, and other furniture, belonging to all the sacred edifices of Southern Abyssinia, which, with numerous manuscripts, no longer extant, were here deposited by Nebla Dengel at the period of Graan's invasion." "Although destitute of priests, the churches are preserved inviolate, and monks and monasteries abound."*

In Gurague, according to information received by Dr. Krapf from a priest of that country,† the greater part of the inhabitants are Christians, yet mingled with many Mahommedans and heathen. "It is so called from its situation. It is on the left if you look to the west from Gondar. 'Gera' means the left, and 'gie' signifies side; hence, 'on the left side.'‡ Cambat is a mountainous province, lying south of Gurague, and due east of Zingero, inhabited exclusively by Christians. They have churches and monasteries, although, like the people of Zooai, they are said to be without priests. The Adea and Alaba Galla—the latter Mahommedans, and described by Harris as "dire monsters, and more dreaded than the wild beasts, whom they far exceed in ferocity"—interpose between Cambat and Gurague. Wollamo, a mountainous district, lying below Cambat, and to the south-east of Zingero, is another locality of Christians. Its inhabitants, a people of fair complexion, and speaking a distinct language, are frequently brought by the slave-dealers to Shoa. Eight days north of Zingero is the country of Mager. "There is another country in the same neighbourhood, called Kortshassi: it is surrounded by Gallas on every side, and all the inhabitants are Christians."‡ Beyond Caffa,§ and extending to the head of the Gitché, one of the principal sources of the river Gochob, is Susa, of all the isolated remains of the ancient Ethiopic empire the most important and powerful. The elevation of the country is greater than that of Shoa, while beyond lie mountains "which seem to touch the skies, and are covered with perpetual snow." Between its

* Harris, vol. iii. p. 74.

† Journals of Messrs. Krapf and Isenberg, p. 97.

‡ Krapf, p. 99.

§ Enarea and Caffa interpose between Susa on the west, and Mugar and Zingero on the east.

customs, ecclesiastical and civil, and those of Shoa, there exists a great similarity. There are the same annual forays, and the laying waste of defenceless districts. These are directed chiefly "against the Sooroo, a tribe of naked negroes inhabiting the wild valleys of Sása. The Gumroo, a wild people clothed in hides, and rich in flocks and herds, are also frequently invaded, and hundreds swept into captivity."* "The language spoken is quite distinct from that of the Galla, from the Amharic, and from the ancient Geez, or Ethiopic. It possesses a written character."†

These remnants stand forth in the midst of the surrounding heathen, like the insulated pinnacles of a submerged continent. It is a remarkable fact, deserving of attention, that from the northern frontier of Abyssinia to the fifth degree of N. lat., i.e. upwards of ten degrees, are to be found dispersed these remnants of a degraded yet surviving Christianity. What a chain of advanced posts would they not constitute, reaching far into the dark continent of Africa, if indeed won over to the gospel! The cause of Christ would then have its entrenchments in the midst of African heathenism. Even in their degraded state, their continued existence is so marvellous, that we may conclude some divine purpose remains to be answered by it. What if the light of truth might be rekindled in Abyssinia, and its rays be reflected on these outlying portions? We are well aware of the difficulties connected with such an undertaking, and that many are of opinion that corrupt Christianity is a far less hopeful field of labour than heathenism. It may be so. We enter not now into that question. But these degraded Christians are without the gospel, and their destitution imposes upon us an obligation. The difficulty of a duty does not exempt us from the effort to discharge it; and discouraging as such an undertaking may for a season prove, it is not impracticable. The progress of a reformatory process of a most decided character amongst the Armenians is a proof of this. They are also a people dispersed amidst ascendant Mahomedanism. They were ignorant and superstitious, yet willing to receive the scriptures in the vernacular. Some degree, at least, of the same willingness exists amongst the Abyssinians. The holy scriptures and sound Christian books may be distributed, and Christian intercourse held with the people. The Lord can bless such efforts. It is a matter of urgency that they should be made, for Mahomedanism is not inactive in this direction. The Moslem

trader propagates his creed, as he extends the circle of his slave-trading operations. Half the population of Enarea "have abandoned idolatry, whilst despotism has taken root and flourishes under a line of Mahomedan rulers. Surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, this kingdom embraces an extensive plateau of table-land, which forms the separation of the waters to the north and south, and must be amongst the most elevated regions of Africa. . . . Soka, the capital, contains from 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants, mixed pagans and Mahomedans, who inhabit houses of a circular form, somewhat better constructed than those of the Amhara."* Zingero, to the south-west of Enarea, and interposing between Caffa and Cambat, has recently come under the Mahomedan rule of Enarea. Of this country Dr. Krapf observes, "It appears to me that the people of Sentshiro were formerly Christians, because they have circumcision and some Christian feasts; but otherwise they do not appear to know any thing about Christianity." Human sacrifices are said to abound. "When exporting slaves from that country, the merchant invariably throws the handsomest female captive into the lake Umo, in form of a tribute or propitiatory offering to the genius of the water. It is the duty of a large portion of the population to bring their first-born as a sacrifice to the Deity, a custom which tradition assigns to the advice of Sorcerers."† In Goma, contiguous to Enarea, the Moslem faith is universal. Throughout these remote countries, lapsed Christianity, heathenism, and Mahomedanism, are strangely intermingled, but it is evident that the latter element is the active and proselyting one, and, without the intervention of pure Christianity, will soon become predominant.

The church of Rome, in her ambitious aspirations after universal dominion, has not overlooked the commanding position of Abyssinia, and her efforts for its subjugation have been of the most persevering character. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese, presuming on the succour which they had afforded to Abyssinia in a time of peril, used their influence with the Emperor Claudius to induce his submission to the see of Rome, but in vain. Then commenced the mission of the Jesuits. They first appeared at the court of Gondar in 1555. Their attempt at encroachment was, however, mildly, but firmly, resisted by Claudius; and when the Romish bishop challenged to a discussion the learned men in Abyssinia,

* Harris, vol. iii. pp. 53, 54.

† Ditto, p. 58.

* Harris, vol. iii. pp. 79, 80. † Ditto, p. 81.

the emperor, "fearing lest the sophistry of the Jesuit might puzzle his monks, took a principal part in the dispute; in which, according to the Jesuit historians themselves, he foiled the bishop."* Oviedo, finding all his efforts vain, proceeded eventually to excommunicate the whole nation; an act which was not suffered to remain a *brutum fulmen*, for it was soon followed by a formidable irruption of the Mahomedan Adaiel, "procured," as Harris states, "through the treacherous designs of the Jesuits;" in resisting which, Claudius, a man remarkable for piety, learning, and moderation, was slain. Adam, his successor, attributing his brother's death to the intrigues of the Romish priests, consigned them to prison. But they had their revenge. The Bahr Negash, or lord of the sea-coast, reared the standard of rebellion, and, strengthened by Portuguese from Goa, slew the emperor in battle, and liberated the Jesuits. The new emperor, Malek Sashed, proved, however, as intractable as his predecessors. The fathers, unwilling to relinquish the hope of so rich a spoil, urgently solicited more soldiers from Goa, as the most effective weapon that remained to be used for the conversion of Abyssinia; but the Pope, for some reason, refused his sanction, and an order from the head of their Society constrained the fathers to leave Abyssinia in 1560.

For forty years the Mission was suspended. In 1603 the Jesuits re-entered Abyssinia. Amidst contending rivals for the throne, they found the kingdom in a most distracted state; but Peter Pays, the leading Missionary, carefully watching the changes of events, succeeded in attaching himself to the party which eventually prevailed; and established a powerful influence over the new king, Susneus, or Sultan Saged. His brother, Ras Cella Christos, became the avowed partisan of the Romish priests. Successive edicts were issued in favour of Romanism. The remonstrances of the abuna, the rebellions of influential chiefs, wrought no change in the emperor's determination; until at length, in 1626, Saged, with his courtiers, solemnly abjured the Alexandrian faith, and, submitting himself to the see of Rome, commanded all his subjects to follow his example.

But although the court had yielded, the nation had not; and successive rebellions evidenced its discontent. It was in vain that the insurgents were defeated, and their leaders executed: the Abyssinians proved as pertinacious as the Jesuits; and the king-

dom remained convulsed, until, wearied of the slaughter of his subjects, and convinced of the hopelessness of forcing the nation to compliance with his will, the monarch yielded to the entreaties of those around him, and granted his people the free exercise of their ancient faith. "It is not possible to describe the rapture with which this welcome edict was received. The praises of the emperor resounded from every quarter. The rosaries and chaplets of the Jesuits were tossed out of doors, and burned in a heap. Men and women danced for joy in the streets, and the song of liberation burst from the lips of the disenfranchised multitude.

"The flock of Ethiopia has escaped from the vultures of the west.

The doctrine of St. Mark is the column of our church.

Let all rejoice, and sing Hallelujahs,

For the sun of our deliverance has lighted up the land."†

"Thus ended a Mission, which, for the intrigue with which it was introduced into Abyssinia, the artifice and cruelty with which it was carried on, and the miserable and disgraceful termination which it received, admits of no parallel in the annals of the world."‡

The first Protestant Missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Gobat and Kügler, of the Church Missionary Society, reached Abyssinia in the beginning of 1830. The Mission was continued until 1838, when opposition on the part of the Abyssinian priesthood, fomented by certain members of the church of Rome, who had entered the country, compelled the Missionaries to quit Abyssinia, Oubie, the chief of Tigré, declaring his inability any longer to protect them. Dr. Krapf, unwilling to abandon the Mission altogether, resolved to act on an invitation addressed by the King of Shoa to the Missionaries, while at Adowah, to visit his country; and, accompanied by Mr. Isenberg, succeeded in reaching that kingdom in May 1839, where they conjointly pursued their labours until November of the same year, when Mr. Isenberg departed, to return to Europe for a season. Dr. Krapf remained alone until March 1842, when he left for Egypt. The journals of the Missionaries, and the sufferings endured by Dr. Krapf on his homeward journey, at the hands of a powerful chief, Adara Bille, have been published in a separate volume, to which we refer our readers.§

* "Brief History of the Church in Abyssinia," by Professor Lee.

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† Harris, vol. iii. pp. 127, 128. ‡ Lee, p. 45.

§ "Journals of Messrs. Krapf and Isenberg." Seeley. 1843.

In November of the same year three Missionaries—Messrs. Krapf, Isenberg, and Mühleisen—left Egypt, with the intention of re-entering Shoa. They found, however, the doors closed against them, and all access precluded; the result, no doubt, of Popish intrigue acting on the jealousy of the priesthood. Since then the Protestant Mission has been suspended, and Romish Missionaries have been at work. That they have not been inactive during this season of exclusive occupation appears from Dr. Krapf's testimony. In a letter written on his return from his recent visit to Abyssinia, he says*—

"I found Tigré somewhat changed since I was there at a former period. The great number of travellers, who generally followed loose habits, the influence of the Romish Missionaries, has greatly diminished the desire of the natives for evangelical instruction or conversation, and for obtaining copies of the Bible. The Romanists have warned them against the use of Protestant Bibles: they have suppressed them wherever they could: yea, I was told that Mr. Jacobis, the chief Romish Missionary in Abyssinia, bought many copies from the people for salt-pieces, and shut them up in boxes, and some he burnt, only that the people should not read them. All teaching of the Romanists refers to the Holy Virgin, whom they labour to the utmost to have still more venerated and adored than is the case with the Abyssinians, who themselves are idolaters enough in this respect. This Mariolatry is also most strenuously promoted in Sudan, on the bank of the White River, where the Romanists have pushed their Mission towards the fourth degree N. lat., Chartum, on the confluence of the Blue and White Rivers, being the centre point of their operations. At Halai, on the eastern frontier of Tigré, I had a hot dispute with the boys whom Mr. Jacobis had instructed. They were almost mad in defending the worshipping St. Mary, and cited even Bible passages in corroboration of their views. The cunning Romish Missionary also taught them the Abyssinian books referring to the Holy Virgin, &c., viz. 'Woodassie,' and 'Dusana Mariam.' The whole frontier of Halai, Dixan, and vicinity, is infested with Romanism, which built several churches, in which Abyssinian priests, who embraced the Romish tenets, officiate. Other Abyssinian priests, who adopted the Romish faith, were sent into the interior to propagate Romanism. These were all paid. In this manner Mr. Jacobis had taken his measures well, to the conversion of the whole of Abyssinia, of which he

already boasted in the letters he wrote to Europe."

It will be seen, however, by the perusal of Dr. Krapf's journal, that the interference of the Abyssinian authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, has arrested the progress of Romish proselyting schemes, and that the Missionaries have been ejected from the country.

In January 1855, Dr. Krapf, accompanied by Mr. Flad, a German lay-Missionary, and Maderakal, an Abyssinian, who had been a student in the Malta college, left Cairo, with the intention of entering Abyssinia. A German Mission, of an industrial character, under the direction of Bishop Gobat, had been decided upon on behalf of that country, and the various members of which it was to consist had assembled at Jerusalem. Dr. Krapf was then preparing to return to the east coast of Africa. It was thought very desirable that the infant Mission should have the benefit of his experience; and that, with his aid, its entrance into Abyssinia might be much facilitated. He himself also entertained the hope, that, after the settlement of the German Missionaries, he might perhaps be enabled to penetrate from Shoa across the intervening portion of the continent to the east coast, visiting on his route some of the Christian remnants to which reference has been made. Finally, it was decided that Dr. Krapf, accompanied by one of the brethren, Mr. Flad, should proceed to Abyssinia, on a tour of investigation, the other brethren awaiting the result at Jerusalem. On reaching Cairo they were introduced to the new Coptic patriarch, who appears to be an individual of more enlarged mind than the former dignitary, and who has already introduced many beneficial changes in the Coptic church: for instance, he has removed almost all pictures, and was found engaged in the erection of a large and convenient building, where young candidates for the ministry might be trained. He is conversant with the Amharic language, having been for several years with the present abuna of Abyssinia, Abba Salame, who himself had formerly been a pupil in the Church Missionary Society's school at Cairo. The patriarch, when the proposed Mission and its objects were explained to him, fully approved of it. He had no doubt of the willingness of the Abyssinians to receive mechanics, especially blacksmiths, carpenters, and masons; but thought they would have some objection to receive Missionaries who were merely priests. The great enemies of the Missionaries would, he conceived, be the Romish agents; but he undertook to write to the abuna, and to Oubie, chief of Tigré, Cassai, the new chief of Amhara, and the King of Shoa, in their fa-

* August 1, 1855.

vour. He informed them of the imprisonment, at Gondar, of Peter Jacobi, the superintendant of the Romish Mission. Jacobi had been summoned by Cassai, but, refusing to go, and using abusive language, had been sent to jail. The abuna, Abba Salame, had been opposed to Jacobi and the Romanists from the beginning, but Oubie always supported them, and, as he received presents from them, would not listen to the abuna's proposals for their expulsion. Cassai and Oubie were said to be at war.

It was evident, therefore, that Dr. Krapf and his companions were about to enter Abyssinia at a very interesting period. It will be seen, from Dr. Krapf's journal, that the changes which had taken place were of far greater importance than they could possibly have anticipated.

"Jan. 20, 1855—As I have drawn up, and communicated in a letter, the principal incidents which came to my notice during my journey in Palestine, I may dispense myself with a description of that journey; and I shall therefore begin my narrative with the date of my departure from Suez, which took place on the 20th January.

"After Mr. Deimler had left us, to proceed to Bombay, in conformity with the instructions of the Committee, our party consisted of myself, of Mr. Flad, who had joined me at Jerusalem by the order of Bishop Gobat, of the young Abyssinian, Maderakal, who joined us at Cairo, and of Wolda Gabriel, an Abyssinian servant whom we had engaged at Jerusalem.

"Before we arrived at Suez, our boat, which was to take us from Suez to Jidda, had been hired by Mr. Betts, an officer of the Egyptian transit administration, who had the kindness to engage an Arab captain for the sum of 600 Egyptian piastres; so that, immediately on our arrival at Suez, we could embark our baggage, and start from the harbour at four o'clock P.M. We anchored, however, at six o'clock, at the very spot which is believed to have been the passage of the Israelites from Egypt to the Arabian coast. This incident encouraged our hearts, which felt comfort in the idea that the Keeper of Israel does neither sleep nor slumber; that He is around His people, and takes their travelling by land and by water at heart, and is a strong tower to those who trust in Him alone.

"Jan. 21—Towards evening we reached the harbour of Tor, where there is a village inhabited by ten or twelve families of Greek Christians, who receive their priests from the Mount Sinai. The poor people live upon a

little trade and fishing. They are the only remnant of Christianity tolerated in Arabia. Some of the villagers called upon us on board our vessel: they asked us anxiously about the progress of the present war between Russia and Turkey, and their opinion was, that the Protector of the orthodox faith, which they believe is in the Greek church, must be ultimately victorious. We endeavoured to turn their minds to spiritual matters, and to show them the necessity of their becoming evangelical lights amidst the Mahomedan darkness.

"Jan. 23--30—With a tolerably fair wind we passed Ras Mahammed, the bay of Akäba, Etzbe, Bogos, Shabaan, Yambo, and Djar—anchoring places on the Arabian coast. I chiefly employed my time on board in reading the Amharic New Testament with Mr. Flad and Maderakal. Morning and evening prayers were held, sometimes in English, at other times in Amharic for the sake of our servant.

"Jan. 31—After we had left the harbour of Djar a fair wind sprang up, which drove us onward with great speed. In the afternoon we met with an Arab vessel, which had lost its mainmast, and which made a signal to our sailors to approach it. On coming too close to it, our boat got such a tremendous brunt from the other that it was a wonder how it could escape without being seriously damaged. With a thankful heart for the Lord's gracious watching over us, we entered the harbour of Robogh, where we passed the night.

"Feb. 1—Just before we came within sight of Jidda the sail-yard of our boat broke; an accident which recalled the uneasy feelings of yesterday afternoon to our minds. However, we reached Jidda in safety, and met with a friendly reception from Mr. Col, the British consul, who had the kindness to acquaint us immediately with an Arab captain who was on the point of sailing from Jidda to Massoa (Masowah), on the Abyssinian coast. We gladly availed ourselves of the opportunity—which saved us expense and delay at Jidda—and took a passage on board his vessel.

"Feb. 2—At the request of the consul we stayed at his house till the departure of the vessel should take place. He not only treated us most hospitably, but afforded us, also, every assistance in making our preparations for the voyage to Massoa. I was pleased to observe that Mr. Col, by his kind, wise, and moral conduct, has produced a good impression upon the Mahomedan population at Jidda. People at home can hardly conceive how much good is done abroad if morality is united with ability in a foreign

consul, but, also, how much harm is done if the reverse is the case.

"Feb. 8—Departure from Jidda. Our vessel had a party of Mahommedan pilgrims on board, who came from Mecca and returned to Abyssinia. Some were from Massoa and Tigré; others from the Wollo tribe, Tehuladere, near the lake Haik, which I saw in 1842. The pilgrims of Tehuladere mentioned that Adara Bille, the Galla chief of Lagga Ghora, who robbed me in 1842, is dead, and that his son rules the tribe at present. These pilgrims were excessively attached to Mahommedanism, as the Wollo Galla generally are. Their fanaticism created hot disputes between them and our Shoon servant, Wolda Gabriel, who defended Christianity against them very decidedly, but, unfortunately, rather in a spirit of bitterness, which we endeavoured to restrain as much as possible. As the history of Wolda Gabriel is of some interest, I shall give a brief description of it. He is a native of Shoa; and he said that he had seen me at Ankobar, in his boyhood. From Shoa he went to Gondar, with a priest who had to transact some business with the abuna. Having settled his affair with the archbishop, the priest made up his mind to pilgrim to Jerusalem, requesting Wolda Gabriel and another Shoon lad to accompany him to the holy city.

"After the party had arrived at Jidda, the young companion of Wolda Gabriel fell sick, and was attended to by Gabriel in his sickness. One afternoon Gabriel went out to fetch water from the well: on his return he found the sick companion prostrated dead on the ground; and, on inquiry, learned that the priest had taken the luggage of the dead, as well as of the living, and departed from Jidda in a vessel. At the same time the Mahommedan owner of the house seized the survivor, and sold him as a slave to Mecca, whence he was brought to Medina. Of course the priest must have arranged the sale of Gabriel with the Mahommedan for a certain sum of money. Gabriel was forced into the Mahommedan religion. Having stayed about one year at Mecca and Medina, his new master went to Jidda on some business. Whilst the lad was at Jidda again, he made the acquaintance of a Mahommedan merchant, who came from Massoa, and who had a number of slaves whom he wished to sell at Suez. This merchant requested Gabriel to escape from his master, and come on board the vessel and superintend his slaves. Gabriel complied with this request, and safely arrived at Suez with the slave-merchant. But the latter, instead of rewarding Gabriel, sold him to Cairo, where he was bought by a rich Ma-

hommedan, who sent him to a school. It happened one day that a Christian Abyssinian priest met Gabriel in the streets of Cairo, and accosted him in Amharic, asking him who he was, and where he came from. Gabriel told him his tale; whereupon the priest gave information, through the Coptic patriarchate, before the Egyptian authorities, which set the slave at liberty. Having obtained his freedom, Gabriel joined a caravan of Christian Abyssinian pilgrims, and went to Jerusalem, where he entered the Abyssinian convent. Being dissatisfied with the monastic life, he left the convent, and became the servant of some Europeans, and at last of Mr. Georges, a Missionary among the Jews. From the Missionary he got a Bible, and the knowledge of the Protestant religion. When I arrived at Jerusalem, and Gabriel learned that I intended to travel to Shoa, he offered his services to me on the road, and I engaged him with pleasure. The young man can read and write: he is very fond of reading the Bible; but, alas! his heart is as yet unchanged, though he defends true Christianity, against Mahommedans and oriental Christians, with an energy and openness which is pleasing, and by which he surpasses our timid Maderakal. Anticipating my narrative, I may mention that Wolda Gabriel fell sick at Adoa (Adowa) and Axum, and could not proceed with us to Gondar.

"Feb. 12—We were overtaken by a tremendous storm, which came upon us with thunder, lightning, wind, and rain. With difficulty we reached the open harbour of Birket, on the Arabian coast. The captain, in his consternation, constantly cried out, 'Ya Rabb! Ya Rabb!' 'O Lord! O Lord!'

"Feb. 15, 16—The storm continued without interruption; also a great deal of rain fell. The sailors were compelled to moor the vessel with four anchors, lest we should be driven to the rocky coast of the fanatic Assir Arabs, who, without mercy, would have robbed and killed the 'Christian dogs' if we had fallen into their hands. In consequence of the violent rain wetting our luggage—as the boat was open, and even our small cabin did not entirely prevent the rain—we lost a part of the provisions bought for our inland journey. May we never forget from what perils the Lord has delivered us within the last three days and nights!

"Feb. 17—As our fellow-passengers complained to the captain of money and other articles purloined, he instituted a search with the sailors. The missing things were found amidst the kit of a Shangalla slave girl, who belonged to the captain, and who is somewhat crazy in her wits. Whilst she confessed the

theft, she regretted having found no access to our cabin, as she would have taken whatever Allah—God—might have given her. The captain was about to beat her soundly, but, knowing her to be half mad, we begged him to abstain from corporeal punishment.

*"Feb. 18—*We were again delivered from imminent danger by the good hand of God. Last night our steersman fell asleep at the helm. The burning light, which was in a small wooden box, caught hold of the paper which surrounded the compass. The fire then seized some sailcloth which lay around the steersmate. Fortunately, he awoke before the fire reached a sack of gunpowder, which belonged to the captain, and which the sailors foolishly had put upon the cabin in which we were sleeping. This gracious deliverance of God showed us anew the necessity of recommending ourselves, with increased earnestness, to the protecting care of the Almighty by day and night.

*"Feb. 20—*Arrival on the island of Massoa. Mr. Baroni, the Secretary of Mr. Plowden, the English consul, received us kindly, in the absence of the consul, and communicated to us the news of the important changes which had lately taken place in Abyssinia, in consequence of the victory which Cassai had gained over Oubie, the ruler of Tigré. Soon after our arrival we were called upon by Guebru, an Abyssinian youth, who, with his brother Mirdja, had been educated by Dr. Wilson at Bombay. Oubie had sent him, some time ago, to Bombay, to buy some articles for him in India. Guebru told us, that, after his first return from India, he, in connexion with his brother Mirdja, had commenced a school at Adoa, which was at first opposed by Kidana Mariam, a priest who in 1838 had effected the expulsion of the Protestant Missionaries, after he had received a hundred dollars from the Romish Missionaries for that purpose. Guebru, finding that he did not succeed in forming and continuing the school, engaged a priest from Waldubba, whom he supplied with the means requisite for conducting the school; but unfortunately small-pox broke out, and carried off the priest and some scholars, and the remainder left the school, which was never recommenced since that time. I was much pleased with the open manners of the young man, who might do some good to his countrymen, if he were supported and superintended by an able European Missionary.

*"Feb. 28—*Mr. Plowden, the English consul, arrived from the north of Tigré, whither he had gone for the sake of protecting a Christian tribe, having been oppressed by the Naib of Harkiko. The consul's opinion was that

we could safely travel as far as to Tigré; but, on the frontier we should wait till the government of the new king, Theodoros*—previously called Cassai—was proclaimed, and firmly established, and consequently the roads would be cleared from robbers, as every Abyssinian is a robber during the interim of the government, and until the new ruler is proclaimed in every important market-place of the country. Mr. Plowden has a high opinion of Theodoros, whom he knows personally; and he thinks that the new king of kings—of Ethiopia—as Cassai is now called, will essentially improve the condition of Abyssinia.

"Whilst we were at Massoa we were now and then visited by Abyssinian Christians, who stayed on the island for the sake of trade. One of them, who is a learned man, charged me earnestly to write to Mr. Isenberg, and request him to return to Tigré, as all our enemies—viz. Oubie, Kidana Mariam, and the Romish Missionaries—had been removed.

*"March 1—*This morning the new Pasha of Massoa—appointed by the Turkish governor at Jidda—introduced himself to his subjects. The great people of the island, also the English and French consuls, the Romish bishop and Missionaries from Mucullu—a place on the mainland where the Romanists have a church—and ourselves, were invited to witness the ceremony. All persons standing, a firmán from the Sultan was read in Turkish, and then the natives were requested to comply with the appointment of the selected personage. The firmán especially implied and enjoined that the new pasha should be friendly towards the English and French, being the allies of Turkey. The late Governor of Massoa had hanged himself in consequence of some crimes he had committed, and concerning which he anticipated his dismissal, and deportation to Constantinople.

"We received fresh news to-day from Abyssinia, which told us that the defeat of Oubie is certain and perfect. Oubie is captured and in prison; his son, Shetu, has been killed in battle; his other two sons, Cassai and Gongul, have implored the mercy of Dedjemadj Cassai, who, after his victory gained over Oubie, has been crowned king of kings—of Ethiopia—and proclaimed under the name Theodoros. The conqueror took 7000

* "The Abyssinians have a book called *Fakra Yasous* (Love of Jesus), which says that a certain man, Theodore, will rise in Greece and subdue all the world to his empire, and that from his time all the world will become Christian." "The Falashas also have an idea that the Messiah will appear as a great conqueror called Theodore." Gobat. Hence Cassai's assumption of this name.

muskets, 60,000 German crowns, and many other treasures, from Oubie; who, besides, is to pay yet 40,000 German crowns if he wishes to be released from prison. Balgadarai, a relation of Ras Wolda Selassie and Sabagadis,* and a friend of white people, has been appointed by Theodoros to be the viceroy of Tigré. The Romish Missionaries have been positively banished from Abyssinia, and are not allowed to return.

The king wishes to see Mr. Plowden, whom he knew and valued for many years. In consequence of this news the consul encouraged us to commence our inland journey.

"*March 5*—Mr. Plowden had the kindness to call for two guides from the nomadic Shoho on the coast, through whose territory we are to travel. He arranged the wages of the guides at the moderate sum of four German crowns. I was much pleased with this arrangement, which saved us trouble and expense among the bothering Shoho, who, in former times, laid travellers to Abyssinia under exorbitant contributions; but Mr. Plowden, by kindness and firmness, has prevailed upon the Shoho to fix the sum of two German crowns for each guide. This shows the great use of European consulates established in foreign parts; but they can only do good if they are not too liberal and lavishing towards the natives, and if the interest and advantage of the traveller is also taken into consideration, which Mr. Plowden has done in a praiseworthy manner.

"*March 6*—Having recommended ourselves and our object in prayer to God, we started from Massoa in a boat which took us to Harkiko, or Dohono, a great village situated on the mainland at the foot of the first mountains of the Shoho country. It is about four miles from the island of Massoa. It is the seat of the naib, who, under the control of the governor of Massoa, rules the Shoho country, which nominally belongs to the Turkish Government. The naib had, previously to our arrival, been requested by the consul to furnish us with camels. Formerly it was customary to give a handsome present to the naib; but this custom has ceased, by the influence of the English and French consuls at Massoa.

* Sabagadis was a chief, to whom the late Mr. Salt, British Consul General in Egypt, had, when in Abyssinia, had the opportunity of doing some important service. His gratitude was, ever after, evinced by his regard for the English nation. He was taken prisoner by the Gallas under Ras Marian, and beheaded in Feb. 1831. *Vide* Gobat's "Abyssinia," p. 289.

"In like manner the price for the camels which carry goods to the foot of Mount Shumfeito, on the Abyssinian frontier, has been reduced. Formerly I had to pay three German crowns for each camel; whereas now one and a-half is paid. I rejoice to say that I had, in all these matters, at this time, scarcely any trouble, compared with my first journey to Abyssinia in 1837.

"*March 7*—We started from Dohono after midnight. After some rest in the morning and at noon, we reached, in the evening, the station Hambamo. We were much troubled by rain. It falls on the coast in January, February, and March, whereas the rainy season in Abyssinia Proper takes place from June till September. When there is rain on the coast, the nomadic Shoho proceed with their cattle to the frontier of Tigré, where they are out of the rainy region; and *vice versa*, when the rain commences in Habesh they retreat to the coast. This state of things compels them to be friendly with the Abyssinians, as well as with the people of Dohono and Massoa, otherwise they would be ungovernable savages. Our road was, for the most part, level, sandy, and intersected with acacia trees.

"*March 8*—We continued our journey through Samhar, as this tract of the Shoho country is called. In the evening we encamped on the station Tubbo, near a waterbrook. The howling of the hyenas was tremendous at night.

"*March 9*—In the morning we passed by the spot where the father of one of our guides, some years ago, had been killed by a lion. The son never passes by the grave without offering up a short Mahomedan prayer. In the afternoon we reached the foot of Mount Shumfeito, where the camels must return, and the loads are to be carried by men or by bullocks up the mountain, which is about 6000 feet above the sea. Our camel-drivers returned, and we waited for the bullocks, which the Shoho had promised to bring on. On the road we had only now and then met with an encampment of the Shoho. They had asked us for tobacco, of which the Shoho are passionately fond. Mr. Flad was very unwell last night. He had an attack of fever in consequence of the rain to which we were exposed in the Samhar.

"*March 10*—I felt unwell last night, owing to the dampness of the air. In the morning the Shoho showed their natural noisy and quarrelling propensity, when they divided our loads of baggage for carrying it up the mountain, which we ascended on mules in four hours. On our arrival at

Halai, the first Christian village on the frontier of Tigré, we were friendly received by Ayto Habtai, and his brother Wolda Michael, to whom we were recommended by the English consul, who, on his way through Tigré, usually takes up his lodging in their house. The indisposition of Mr. Flad increased, and obliged me to administer medicine.

"*March 11*—Our first Sunday in Habesh. We read a sermon in German for the edification of myself and Mr. Flad, and explained a chapter of the New Testament in Amharic for the edification of Maderakal, Wolda Gabriel, and some other Abyssinians present.

"*March 12*—To-day, Pater Jacobis, the Romish Missionary, arrived *incognito* from the interior. He was on the flight from Habesh to Massoa.

"What a remarkable turn of things! When Jacobis, with his associates, arrived at Adoa, seventeen years ago, we—Isenberg, Blumhardt, and myself—were expelled from Abyssinia; whereas now it is the turn of the Romanists to depart, whilst we are allowed to re-enter the country under circumstances far different from the state of things in former time. The contemplation of these remarkable changes strengthened our confidence in Him who finally will overthrow the schemes of all the enemies of the gospel, if the people of God faint not in faith, patience, prayer, and well-doing. For it is in this manner that the saints will conquer the world—not by might nor by power, but by faith and self-denial alone.

"As I have mentioned in my letter to Bishop Gobat—of which I have sent a copy from Cairo to the Committee—the proceedings of the Romanists, during their seventeen years' stay in Abyssinia, I may be dispensed with transcribing them in this journal. I will only briefly state, that they made many converts at Halai, Dixan, Kaich Kur, and other villages situated on the frontiers of Tigré; that many Abyssinian priests in the interior sided with them; that they re-baptized their converts, re-ordained the Abyssinian priests, and burned our Bibles, or shut them up in boxes, whenever they could buy them for this destructive purpose; that they tried hard to remove the present Coptic abuna or archbishop, who opposed Romanism; that they laboured strenuously to enjoin the most extravagant worship of the Virgin Mary; that they were patronized by Oubie, ruler of Tigré, whom they reconciled in times of embarrassment, and opposition from the Abyssinian priests, with rich presents; and finally, that Pater Jacobis proposed to supply that ruler with foreign troops, if he would

appoint him the patriarch of all Ethiopia: but all these endeavours signally failed when Theodoros got the helm of the Abyssinian empire.

"*March 13--18*—Mr. Flad gradually recovered under the effect of medicine, and the gracious blessing of God bestowed upon it.

As many Abyssinian priests and laymen called upon us at Halai, I had frequent opportunity of explaining the word of God in that quarter. Also some boys, instructed by Pater Jacobis, called upon us. They wore on their necks crosses of brass, which the Pater had given them in sign of Romish Christianity. They asserted that the devils could not touch them as long as these crosses were suspended to their bodies. They also most pointedly maintained that Mary must be worshipped, as she was the queen of heaven. When I asked them for scriptural proofs, in corroboration of their presumptuous assertion, they could adduce nothing from the Bible, but only referred to the apocryphal Abyssinian book, *Dérsäna Mariam*, "*Stories of Mary*," which Pater Jacobis used as his hand-book in his instructions. When I adduced the passage of 1 Tim. ii. 6—"There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus"—they could say nothing against it, and went off. Afterwards we learned that the boys were strictly forbidden to call upon us again. There was an Abyssinian priest who called upon us three times a day. It was evident that he was a Romish spy, who was to see whether anybody of their party called upon us. As often as he came I took the Bible, and read and explained a chapter to him. His son is also a priest in the service of the Romanists.

"*March 20*—Mr. Coffin—an Englishman, who for forty years has been in Abyssinia, and has become a perfect Abyssinian in every respect—passed through Halai on his way to Massoa. He told us that the road from Adoa was tolerably safe, and that the new king had been publicly proclaimed in the market-place at Adoa. This news encouraged us to quit Halai, and not to wait for Mr. Plowden, who promised to come soon after us to Halai. Accordingly, we requested Ayto Habtai, our host, to provide us with mules and bearers of our baggage from Halai to Adoa. He procured for us all that we required. We had to pay one and a-half German crowns for a bearer, which was less than seventeen years ago.

"*March 22*—Mr. Flad having recovered strength for the prosecution of our journey, we started from Halai, accompanied by Ayto Habtai, who was requested by the consul to

convey us as far as to Bach Lebech, his friend, residing at the entrance into the wooded wilderness of the Tzaranna valley, which is usually infested by robbers. Our road was sometimes very crooked and rugged, as is generally the case in the mountainous

parts of Abyssinia. In the evening we encamped by the side of a water-brook in the vicinity of the village Marta. Habtai ordered his people to watch at night, as the place was infested by lions.

(*To be continued.*)

THE INLAND SEA OF UNIAMESI.

THE progress of African discovery is deeply interesting. From the east, the west, the north, the south, the great unknown centre, which has been hitherto wrapped in mystery, is being approached, and the interior regions, which extend between Zanzibar and the coast of Guinea, reveal themselves by a gradual procedure.

Dr. Barth's researches, especially his route to Yola, the capital of Adamawa, in June 1851, are of great importance. He is the first European who has been successful in reaching that remote country, previously unknown to us, except by name. Entering from the north frontier, he traversed a territory rich in pasture and numberless herds, the population dense, and their houses built with much care and solidity, on account of the duration of the rainy season. Slaves and ivory form the principal articles of export. On June 18th Dr. Barth crossed the two principal rivers of Adamawa, the Benué and the Faro, both of which rivers join not far from the spot where he passed them. The Tshadda, the name by which their united stream is known to us, has since been explored by the steam-ship expedition of last year as far as Hamaruwa, 300 miles above the confluence with the Niger.

The researches of Dr. Livingston and Mr. Galton, from the south, have encroached very considerably on the hidden centre, and made us acquainted with most important geographical features in that portion of the continent which they have explored. Mr. Galton has introduced us to the Damara people, and their intelligent neighbours, the Ovampo, on the north. The Damara are a nation of independent herdsmen, occupying open, hilly, and undulating pasture-lands; while the rich corn-lands are held by the more civilized Ovampo. Dr. Livingston's journeys have been of a most arduous character. In the early part of 1853 he engaged on his fourth tour of exploration. After eight months' journey from the Cape, he reached, in September, beyond lake Ngami, the town of the chief Skeletu, on the river Linyanti, and proceeding from thence in a north-westerly direction, in company with a detachment of the followers of that chief, in search of an outlet on the west coast, after great difficulties and

hardships reached St. Paul de Loanda in the end of May 1854. Undaunted by these difficulties, we find him—in a letter dated Cas-sange, Angola, January 14th ult.—expressing his intention of resuming his explorations instead of returning to England, and of endeavouring to penetrate across the continent to the east coast.

"I return, because I feel that the work to which I set myself is only half accomplished. The way out to the eastern coast may be less difficult than I have found that to the west. If I succeed, we shall at least have a choice. I intend, God helping me, to go down the Zambesi or Leeambye, to Quilimane, I may, in order to avoid the falls of Mosioatunya, and the rapid and rocky river above that part, go across from Sesheke to the Maninche-Loenge, or river of the Bashukulompo, and then descend it to the Zambesi. If I cannot succeed, I shall return to Loanda, and thence embark for England."

We now look northward, and to the progress made in that direction.

In our volume for 1852* we referred to the efforts made by the Egyptian government to discover the source of the White Nile, and traced up their expeditions to the final point which had been reached, the Isle of Tshánker, in the country of the Bari, lat. 4° 30' north. Since then, European exploration has penetrated as far as Garbo, lat. 3°, where cataracts arrested the advance of the voyager, M. Ulive. An interesting map has been prepared by M. Brun-Rollet, which presents the course of the river, so far as it may be conjectured from native information. Above the Garbo cataracts the numerous villages of the Makedo appear on both banks of the river. After two days' journey they are succeeded by the Merouli on the right bank, and the Coucans on the left. After these are the Lougoufi on the right bank, and the Modi on the left. The course of the river is, at this point, so contracted between mountains, that the people cross it on the trunk of a tree thrown from one bank to another. More to the south are the Bido, having, on the east,

* *Vide* "African Geography—the Nilotic Regions," pp. 82—87.

the savage Fadjelon and Chiocco. Further south are the Kuenda. The Kuenda meet the Bari in the countries of the Fadjelon and Chiocco, and obtain from them the ivory which they sell to the foreign merchants who visit them from the sea-coast. Robenga is the capital of the Kuenda; two days' journey from which appear the high mountains of Kombirat, supposed to be under the equator. To the south of the Kombirat mountains are the Fadongo, beyond whom are other very elevated mountains, whence the Kuenda suppose the Nile to flow. Very nearly in the same latitude Dr. Krapf and Mr. Rebmann have placed the snow mountain Kingnea (Kenia). To the west of the Fadongo the Kuenda say there lies a great lake, from whence flows a river, the course of which is not known.

This brings us to the subject of a great equatorial lake or sea, on the probable existence of which we offered some remarks in our volume for 1852.* On his journey to Ukambani, in 1851, Dr. Krapf met with a merchant from Uembu, a country two days' north-east from the river Dana, who affirmed the existence of a great lake, called Barengo,† the end of which could not be reached under many days' journey. Ancient geography was conversant with the idea of an equatorial lake. Ptolemy affirmed the existence of a lake near the equator, from whence flowed the Nile of Egypt. The mediæval Arab geographers from native information had arrived at a like conclusion. Aboulfeda,

* Vide "African Geography—the Nilotic Regions," pp. 80—82.

† Mr. Erhardt's remarks—"The salt lake Barengo must not be identified with the fresh-water lake of Central Africa. Barengo lies about 36° east longitude, and under the equator, consequently north of Jaga. From Jaga, in due westerly direction, it is still about 560 miles to the eastern coast of the Ukerewe, or Bahari ya Uniamesi. The eastern shore runs from north to south for about 350 miles, turns then towards east, and continues so for about 370 miles. Taking another turn in a southern direction, it continues to run down for about twenty days' journey. This is the narrow part of the sea known on the coast as the Niasa."

It is remarkable that Ptolemy mentions two lakes, which he places east and west of each other, and about 450 miles apart. Pigafetta admits the existence of two lakes, but locates them north and south of each other, in almost a direct line, and about 400 miles apart. Mr. Erhardt refers to the Ukerewe as distinct from the Barengo, and places it to the north of Jaga, under the equator, and 36° east longitude, while the eastern coast of the Ukerewe is 560 miles further west.

on the authority of Ibn Saïd (Bulletin de la Soc. Geog. 1851, p. 370), speaks of a lake under the equator, "whose centre had for its latitude zero, and whose diameter, taken from west to east, was comprised between the 52° and 54° of longitude." This they confounded with the lake Koura in the vicinity of Kanem, i.e. the lake Tshad. It is singular that our East-African Missionaries, Rebmann and Erhardt, from native information have become fully convinced that such a sea or lake exists. Mr. Rebmann has published a letter in the "Calwer-blatt" of October 1, 1855, in which he expresses frankly his views on this subject. He has also annexed a map, in which the position of the great inland sea is laid down, the Lake Niasa, the southern portion of it, opening out into the Ukerewe, or inland sea of Uniamesi, so as to constitute one great sea.

We publish a translation of Mr. Rebmann's letter, observing that we view these conjectures as a gradual approximation to the truth, and therefore interesting, but that we wait for a more full exposition of the realities of the case. The map is under the consideration of the Royal Geographical Society.

Before, however, we introduce Mr. Rebmann's communication to our readers, we would insert a brief note, on the same subject, from the Rev. S. W. Koelle, the author of the "Polyglotta Africana."

"In answer to your question whether any of my *notitia* confirm Mr. Rebmann's and Mr. Erhardt's view of a great inland sea, I must say that this idea is by no means new to me, and I also brought it before the public in my 'Polyglotta Africana' long before Mr. Rebmann's letter was written; so that to me the map you sent revealed not the existence, but merely the more exact geographical position, of the great inland lake. The fact is, that the natives whom the slave-trade brought from the deep interior to the west coast, and native traders who penetrated from the east coast, are equally positive as to the existence of a great lake—or perhaps several great lakes—in the interior; but the information received by your East-African Missionaries, who were nearer to the spot, was more calculated to point out the approximate geographical position, than the information which I obtained from men of whose fatherlands nothing was known but that they were to be found in the unknown interior of South Africa. This uncertainty as to the exact position was the reason why Mr. Petermann could not enter such a lake upon the map of my Polyglot.

"I do not care to contend for the identity of the lake of my informants with that of Mr.

Rebmann's informants, for it is certainly possible that there may be several large lakes in the great central depression of the southern continent: yet I must say, that, from the impressions produced on me by my informants' statements, I always looked for the position of their great Reba lake somewhere about the north part of Mr. Erhardt's Ukerewe.

"But, however the question of identity may be answered, one thing is certain, that the testimony of my West-African informants, as contained in my Polyglot, maintains the existence of one or several great inland lakes: for if one mentions a collection of water 'whose end no man can see,' and another speaks of a depth of from four to ten fathoms, or even of twenty fathoms—120 feet—in the far, unknown interior of the continent, we must either allow these waters to be inland lakes, or rivers of such an enormous bulk of water as nowhere find their way into the ocean, and consequently must empty themselves into a large inland sea.

"Let me now give a few short passages from my Polyglot, in confirmation of what I have stated above.

"1. p. 11—A native of Pāti in Báyon says, the river Neñ comes from Mbúron and goes to the Lúfūm country, four weeks' journey east of Pāti, where it joins the large lake Libā, whose end 'no man can see.'

"2. p. 13—A native of Mbépot in Páram states, where the river Neñ is narrowest, a man on the opposite banks appears as a child, and in other places the opposite banks cannot be seen. Its depth varies from four to twenty fathoms, and it inundates large tracts of land in the rainy season.

"N.B. It is evidently an error that Mr. Petermann, on the map, makes the Neñ part of the Chadda.

"3. p. 12—A native of Bánqū, in Bágba, speaks of 'the large river' Débē, as called Rífbā in the Rífbōm country, and as having living on its borders a small tribe of people, called 'Bétsaŋ,' who are excellent hunters, but only three to five feet high.

"4. p. 12—A resident of Tíapōn in the Bá-mom country asserts, that the river Měpōan which is not fordable on foot even in the dry season, joins the much larger Débā, which comes from Ndób, and in which its red water is distinguishable for a great distance.

"N.B. This is similar to the Rhine in the Lake of Constance.

"5. p. 20—A native of 'Mbām, in the Ndób country, maintains that the river Bíg is called Déba in the Mpōmum country, where

it is 'so large that it can only be crossed in canoes, even in the dry season.'

"6. p. 12—A native of Ngóla says, that his native village, Ndób, is only four hours' walk from the large and wild river Níra, which is not fordable on foot, even in the dry season. It runs from west to east, coming from Pápia and going to 'Mbara, and its depth is from four to ten fathoms, i. e. from twenty-four to sixty feet.

"To my mind this coincidence of West and East-African testimony places the existence of large bodies of water—rivers and lakes—in the unknown interior of South Africa beyond all doubt, and it only remains for European travellers to visit them, and to determine their form and their real geographical position."

Mr. Rebmann's communication, dated Mombas, April 13, 1855, is as follows*—

"I wish the 'Calwer Missionsblatt' to have the honour of presenting among its pictures the first map of Africa in which the heart of that country, the notorious *terra incognita*, is at length laid open before us. To the 'Calwer Missionsblatt' is due, before all others, this credit, as fresh example of one of the many fulfilments of the promise, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God,' &c., and as a new proof of the important services which, in all their unassumingness and quiet simplicity, Missions often render to proud philosophy. The 'Calwer Missionsblatt' has again, as the first, or one of the first, Missionary journals in Germany, rendered, though certainly unsought for, no insignificant aid to the furtherance of geographical knowledge among those classes of people, who, without this noble knowledge, must have been quite deprived of it; for it is impossible to read regularly Missionary reports from all parts of the world without becoming, at the same time, in some degree acquainted with geography. I have often thought, that, were I a pastor or schoolmaster in Würtemberg, I would make it a much more important point than is enjoined, to bring geographical knowledge before my people; because it is a means, though an indirect yet a much more important one than people are generally aware of, of bringing the Creator Himself before us, and because the Bible itself contains so much geography and natural philosophy.

* Mr. Erhardt being in London, the proof of this article was placed in his hands. He has somewhat modified two or three points in Mr. Rebmann's letter, from his more intimate acquaintance with the native reports on which Mr. Rebmann's communication was founded.

"That which I have said of the 'Calwerblatt' I can also remark, with a good conscience, of those Missionaries upon whom it has devolved, for the first time, to bring the unknown interior of Africa to the knowledge of the Christian and civilized world. We came to Africa without a thought or a wish of making geographical discoveries. We came here as Missionaries, whose grand aim was but the spreading of the kingdom of God. When the Geographical Society at Paris had sent me, a few years before, a large silver medal for the zeal I had shown in the promotion of geographical knowledge, I replied, that such a testimony was not due to me, as my travels had been throughout, not for the interests of geography, but only for the interest of Missions. The discovery of the snow mountain Kilimandjaro, on the 11th of May 1848, should therefore be merely looked upon as an accidental circumstance, and not in any way as deserving a reward. How carefully I avoided giving myself out as a geographical discoverer may be seen from this, that the vain-glorious word 'discover' does not once occur in either of the accounts of my three journeys from Jaga. No more had my fellow-worker, Missionary Erhardt, any geographical discoveries in view when he spent six months of the preceding year in the wretched little town of Tanga, in order to study Kisambá, and was obliged, *volens volens*, to hear the travellers' accounts, which the ivory merchants, who came into his tent, would relate to him unasked. It is from Tanga, and many other little towns that lie opposite the island of Zanzibar, and not from Mombas, that the people are to be found who advance regularly, and from many different points, to the great Bahari, in the centre of this portion of the world. There is no road from Mombas to Uniamesi, nor to the Masai. The land of commerce for the Mombas people is only Jaga, as that of the Wanika is Ukambáni. There is no beaten road from hence across these two countries, and this is, in fact, the reason why neither I, in the year 1849, from Jaga, nor Dr. Krapf, in the year 1851, from Ukambáni, succeeded in advancing any further.* Where the natives have no way of passing, we Missionaries cannot force one. It was these

merchants from Tanga who represented the lake of Uniamesi to brother Erhardt as being merely a continuation of the Niassa lake. The latter, they said, turned from its westerly direction towards the north, then expanded very much, almost as far as to the mountains, which, running through the centre of the continent, formed the mighty watershed. Their northern side contains the sources of the Nile, of the Tchadda lake, and of the river of Tchadda; while the southern side sends its waters partly to the Atlantic Ocean, by the Congo or Zaire; partly to the Indian Ocean, by the Jub and Dana, or Osi, marked on the map as Quilimancy; and, as seems to me highly probable, even into this inland sea. As we have hitherto considered all the native accounts as very uncertain, and not at all exact, Brother Erhardt was not at first prepared to put much faith in these statements. There was only one circumstance which seemed to him remarkable; namely, that all the travellers, from the different starting-points presented at Uibu (on the map Ibo), Kíloa, Mboamaji, Bagamoyo, Pangani, and Tanga—consequently from a strip of coast about six degrees long—eventually arrived at a Bahari, or inland sea. Nevertheless, it did not appear to him as if the Niassa lake were necessarily a continuation of the Uniamesi one; so much so, as that both formed one large lake, or rather a sea, in the centre of the country. In October of last year, Brother Erhardt came again to Kisuludini, and we naturally conversed upon this subject; but came to no conclusion, except that nothing could be known with certainty upon this point until some European had been to the place. It is remarkable that I had then had a man in my service for a year, whose home lies two or three days' journey to the west of the Niassa lake, and he had already told me that the greater part of the rivers in his country flow towards the north, and that from his country—Kumpane—the third part of a day's journey in an easterly direction, and three days' journey in a northerly one, would bring you to the lake Niandscha, as it is there called. In the mean time Brother Erhardt had begun to compile a great map, from all the geographical information he had received; from whence it appeared that the lake—if drawn according to the information given, quite independently of each other, by the Suaheli merchants and many natives of the countries bordering on the lake, whom Brother Erhardt had met with in Tanga—joined the rivers coming from the

* Brother Erhardt's beautiful and elaborately detailed map brings before our eyes, besides the great inland sea—perhaps as large as the Caspian—also the various caravan routes across it, as well as the many people and tribes which are spread to the east and west of it.

south at the same place as we had already found traced upon an old English map; so that no doubt could remain of their debouch into the same. It came to pass at length, that, one November day, as we were again conversing upon the subject with each other, and comparing the physical form of Africa, in south and north, east and west, the solution of the problem suddenly occurred to us both at the same moment, as we perceived a mighty tract of low land and an inland sea where the hypotheses of geographers had hitherto supposed vast high lands. Now, the information of our African reporters was not only in perfect accordance with what has been hitherto marked in our maps as actually known, but also with all that we have ourselves learnt, to no small extent, of the form of the country round about us. If the centre of Africa were high ground, how could the course of all the rivers, which the Portuguese must cross on their road from east to west, be towards the north? And why have we not, from the southern side of the so-called Mountains of the Moon, a river, as the Nile or the Tshadda—which, according to the testimony of the traveller, Dr. Barth—if I remember rightly—nearly equals the Nile in its greatest width, and is not so inferior to it as the Congo in the east, and the Jub in the west? These questions can only be fully answered by the acceptance of an inland sea in Central Africa.

"The leading features of the geographical appearance of Central Africa were as follows—A great declivity from the south and north-west forms a huge basin towards the centre: on the east there is a mighty plain, from which, however, rise, in a very remarkable way, a chain of single and completely isolated mountains, and groups of mountains, placed there, by the great Creator and Architect of the earth, just where it is hottest, near the equator, for coolness and refreshment; yes, a refreshment to the weary eyes of the travellers, as they see them crowned with eternal snows, and forming a complete chain from the south, to the north, where they seem to join the so-called Mountains of the Moon, and where we must seek for the most easterly sources* of the White Nile. The westerly sources* of that river are very probably close to those of the Schary, which flows into Tshad, and the Tshadda, which unites itself

to the Niger (Quorra); and the Arabian writers of the middle ages, as well as the European geographers up to the middle of the last century, would therefore be right in asserting that the Niger—through its tributary the Tshadda—rose near the sources of the Nile, and flowed in a westerly direction across the continent into the Atlantic Ocean. The groups of mountains, so far as we have seen them, were chiefly from the south to the north, and are—beginning at the Rufu, the continuation of the Uniamesi plain—as follows: Usambára, Páre, Kisúngo with Ugóna; Kadiáro; Ndára; Búra; Jaga; Kingnea (the snow mountain seen by Dr. Krapf in the distance); and Kikúyu. That all these mountains form no terraces by which you can reach still higher ground, and that the Kilimandjaro is no mountain-chain, nor has even the appearance of one, as H. Kiepert, in his Atlas—10th edition of 1850—assumes, but that they form one whole and completely isolated mass of mountains, surrounded by smaller but still isolated ones, we are convinced by our own personal observations. The only little terrace, which might be called so, consists in a chain of hills, varying in height from 200 to 1500 feet, and stretching, between four and eight hours' journey from the coast, from Kilifi as far as Bóndei, and are inhabited by the Wanika. Part of this range, inland from Mombas, is Rabai, Rabai Mpia, and Kisuludini, our station. From Kilifi, as far as Ras Ngome—marked on the map as Gomany—a smaller ridge of hills extends, which are already situated in the Galla country. From thence the land rises gently and imperceptibly from the coast, as far as Cape Gerdaf—marked on the maps as Guardafui. This is likewise the character of the land to the south of Usambára, towards Cape Delgado, called by the natives Mgau. It is very remarkable that the little tract of high ground from the Wanika mountains towards the interior rather descends than ascends, and that, at about the distance of a good day's journey from our station, you suddenly have to descend a ledge of 150 feet deep, which stretches irregularly in a half circle from Usambára to Ukambani; so that Dr. Krapf, in his journey from Ukambani, had first to descend, and then, at Yata, again to ascend it. The mountains of Teita—Bura, Ndara, and Kadiáro—form so slight a terrace, that you might easily avoid it, and proceed on level ground, in the journey to Jaga, if you had not to purchase provisions from the inhabitants of the mountains.

* This remark applies more particularly to the Bahr Misslad, or Bahr Keilak, which, according to Mr. Brun-Rollet's map, joins the Bahr el Abiad, or White Nile, between the 9° and 10° north latitude, from the westward.

Once more the land sinks to where Kiliman-djaro, in majestic simplicity, rears his white head to heaven; while to the west of it I saw, to my astonishment, again this same plain not more elevated than on the eastern side, stretching away like the smooth surface of the sea. Our African travellers also, who travel from those places on the coast already named—from a south-westerly, westerly, and northerly direction, to the great Bahari—all, with one voice, declare him to be a liar who asserts that there are any mountains on their route to be ascended. There are, to be sure, mountains, but they are as *niumba*, i. e. houses, over which no one attempts to climb, but goes round. Only when they approach quite close to that portion of the lake called *Niasa* the travellers meet with a mountain range, in surmounting which they have as much to descend on the western side as they had ascended on the eastern. This range, which stands as a wall before the lake, runs from north to south. The lofty mountains of *Ngw* may be considered the chief outpost, which unite themselves with the *Wagnindo* hills and *Wahiao* mountains, and contain the various sources of the rivers *Lufiji* and *Rufuma*.^{*} Between the high mountains of *Usambára* and *Ngw* the vast plain of *Uniamesi* stretches to the very confines of the Indian Ocean.

"If we now survey the whole expanse once more, a gigantic alpine range of mountains is offered to our eyes, stretching obliquely across the whole continent, and, indeed, just at the widest part. Its promontories, or outposts, are known by us already as snow mountains in the east. To the south of this largest central elevation there seems to be a second, although more depressed, to correspond with it, lying between the fifteenth degree of latitude and the tropic of *Capricorn*, having an inclination to the north, as appeared from the rivers already enumerated, which flow into the inland lake. On the south it contains the northern springs of the *Orange River*; towards the east, those of the *Zambesi* or *Kilimani*. Its western side is marked in *Keeble's* map as barren deserts. The elevated countries on the north and south of the lake are united by mountainous tracts; but with this

remarkable difference, that on the western side there appears to be a fresh rise and elevation of land towards the interior; while on the eastern side there is, so to speak, level ground, with only single elevations, owing to mountains, as '*niumba*,' being found there.

"To speak now more particularly of the inland lake, surrounded as it is on three sides, the southern commencement or tongue of which is, according to our African informants, so narrow that the people on the opposite sides of it can shout to each other. Here the first ferry, *zandinge*, i. e. 'come and fetch me,' appears to be. The second ferry, further to the north, lies between the two coast villages of *Msauka* in the west, and *Mdshenga* in the east. A boat only crosses twice or thrice in the day here. In the next crossing an island mountain intercepts, called *Mbaazuru*, i. e. 'the height.' At this place they make their first day's halt, sleep here, and complete the crossing next day. Still further north is the ferry between *Zenga* on the west and *Gnombo* on the eastern coast, where it takes a boat a whole day to cross, according to the African way of reckoning, from earliest cockcrow to the time when the fowls return to roost. This passage between *Zenga* and *Gnombo*, particularly, is considered so dangerous, that it is only ventured upon in a perfect calm, and on that account no sail, but only a rudder, is used. A father and son, also, never go in the same boat together, nor two brothers, that a wholesale death may be avoided. In order to be quite sure beforehand of a perfect calm, they let fall a little flour on the ground three times in the course of one day. If the flour falls straight to the ground each time, the crossing may be attempted next day. This is called '*ku demba Niandscha*,' 'examining the *Niasa*.' When they have happily returned from their last ferrying they have a feast of rejoicing, called '*kirosi*.' He who never attempts the crossing receives the nickname of '*kiwerenga masira*,' that is, an 'egg-counter,' or a man who shuts himself up at home.

"On the eastern shore of the lake the *Wad-schania*, a tribe of the *Wahiao*, live, whose territory extends as far as to the sea-coast. They are called *Wanguru* by those living on the western side of the lake. Along the western shore we find, first, the *Wamaravi*. Their land is called *Maravi*, and in many maps this is given as the name of the lake, which according to our African informants, is an error. An *M'maravi* is a *Maravi* man, or a *Maravier*: *Wamaravi* is the plural. They inhabit the

^{*} The *Rufuma* should not be always confounded with the *Rufu* river. The latter has its sources in *Jaga*. The *Rufuma* rises in the *Wahiao* mountains, under the 37° east longitude, and between the 8° and 9° south latitude, and flows south and south-east and east into the Indian ocean. Neither the *Rufu* nor the *Rufuma* has the least connexion with the *Ukerewe*.

plain about half a day's journey westward of the lake, and partially, also, the eastern declivity of the high lands which meet us here. Those of them who live close upon the shore of the lake are called also Waniandscha—Niasa people. On the high ground itself we find the Wakamunda, that is, literally, 'highlander,' to whom my informant from Kumpande belongs. Besides these there are the Wamuera and Wakumbodo—or Wambodo—i. e. south and north men, distinguished from each other by their relative position in respect of the Niasa lake. This circumstance is the more striking when we consider, that, just at the point where the Wakumbodo begin, the lake quits its northerly direction, and turns round by the north and west, where it receives those streams which flow from the south—Roanga, Zambesi (to be distinguished from the Zambesi which runs to the east) Murusura Roapura, Mufira, Guarava, and Rofoe—which it is rather remarkable nearly all the natives, with but little variety in their expressions, corroborate. At the same time Salimini—the Mahomedan name for my Kumpande man—mentioned the great river Bua to me, which runs towards the north, at about two days' journey westward from his country, receiving the smaller rivers Zaru, Pfubui, Mde, Mdede, and Kakuyu. At that part where the lake makes a bend towards the west, it seems to become, at the same time, so broad, that there is no connexion between two shores, and the Wakumbodo only go to the nearest island for fishing. How much further to the west this collection of waters spreads, before bending round to the north again; how far again, in its northerly course, it proceeds; as well as regarding the probable breadth of the Ukerewe, as the inland sea is there called; and lastly, of the wonderful and sky-high island mountain Kavogo, where, according to the belief of the Africans, the lord and owner of Ukerewe dwells, and shows both his favour and disfavour in many ways; for all this I would refer him who wishes to hear more from our African informants, to my dear fellow-labourer, Mr. Erhardt's, beautiful and elaborately detailed map.

"I close with the wish that the time may soon come, when the Nile, and that arm of the Niger, the Tshadda, from the north, and the Zambesi or Kilimani from the south, may bear messengers of peace, sailing or rowing across the Ukerewe sea, on shorter or longer journeys into the interior of the heart of Africa; and that on the shores of its waters millions may see the year of grace of our

Lord, and the day of salvation of our God break.

"April 20—I will profit by this opportunity to add a word in my own justification regarding the snow mountain, which I saw, on the 11th May 1848, for the first time. Some, like Dr. Beke, have made too much of it, because they connected it directly with the sources of the Nile. Others have explained the whiteness on Kilimandjaro to be chalk. I cannot, however, believe that any European, whose eyes have been accustomed from childhood to the peculiarly dazzling whiteness of snow, should ever take chalk for snow. Let it be supposed, however, that it was chalk: the time of the year, in that case, should make no difference in the appearance of those places which have once appeared white. But now, in the hot season, the whiteness on the eastern summit of the Jaga mountain mass is almost gone, whilst on the western dome-shaped elevation it does not reach nearly so far down as in the rainy season. And how can we account for the many larger and smaller rivers, which come down from 'that dry limestone' the whole year round? If, however, for some reason, people will not believe a Missionary, it yet remains to be explained how the natives have come to take that white thing on their mountain, which they call 'kibo,' for water. I certainly might have entered here more into detail from my original German journal. I considered, however, all purely geographical knowledge as so much of a secondary consideration, that, in my abstract in English, I wrote them, usually, merely as marginal notes, after the text had been quite finished. I certainly, in my simplicity, never imagined either that it should be believed of an European, if even shortsighted, that he could repeatedly mistake the dazzling whiteness of snow for either chalk or a white cloud. The communication which I particularly wished I had made is this—those Jagas who attempted ascending the mountain filled a calabash with some of this white thing, placed it on the fire, and, after a few minutes, drank water from it. And further, that when they placed pieces of it on their shoulders to carry home to show their countrymen, and particularly the king, these pieces crumbled away as soon as they had got a certain distance down the mountain. These statements, which I received from the mouths of the natives, without needing an interpreter, I have, in my English account, comprised in the few words of the remark, 'The Jagas know also well that kibo is nothing else than water.'"

The idea of a central depression of the great African continent is very lucidly presented in the following extract from Sir R. I. Murchison's Address at the Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, May 24, 1852—

"Mr. Galton's journey, together with other excursions towards the interior of Southern Africa, whether undertaken from the south or from the west, have led us to conclude that, whilst plateaux of some altitude fringe the coasts, and advance some distance into the interior (rising, as in the Dammara country, according to Mr. Galton, to heights of about 5000 and 6000 feet above the sea), the more central country, instead of being a mountainous region, is a watershed of little greater elevation, whilst the most central region of all is of no great altitude, and is occupied by a succession of lakes, of which Ngami is the southernmost. . . .

"In support of the general view to which I now call your attention, I must state that it has been suggested to my mind by the explanation of the geological phenomena of the Cape Colony by Mr. A. Bain. This modest but resolute man, having been for many years a road-surveyor in the colony, had, in all his excursions, collected specimens of the rocks and their organic remains; and, gradually making himself acquainted with the true principles of geology, he has at length traced the different formations, and delineated them on the above-mentioned map.* In this way he has shown us that the oldest rocks (whether crystalline gneiss or clay slate, here and there penetrated by granite) form a broken coast fringe around the colony from the southern to its western and eastern shores, and are surmounted by sandstones, which, from the fossils they contain, are the equivalents of the Silurian or oldest fossil-bearing rocks.† These primeval strata, occupying the higher grounds, of which the Table Mountain is an example, and dipping inland from all sides, are overlaid by carboniferous strata, in which, if no good coal has yet been found, it is clear that its true place is ascertained; and as Mr. Bain has detected many species of fossil plants of that age, we may still find the mineral pabulum for the steamers which frequent these coasts.

"Above all these ancient strata, and occupying, therefore, a great central trough or basin, strata occur which are remarkable from being charged with terrestrial and freshwater

* Mr. Hall's.

† "Mr. Bain himself so styles these rocks in the map deposited in the library of the Geological Society."

remains only; and it is in a portion of this great accumulation that Mr. Bain disinterred fossil bones of most peculiar quadrupeds. One of the types of these, which Professor Owen named 'Dicynodon' from its bidental upper jaw, is a representative, during a remote secondary period, of the lacertine associates of the hippopotami of the present lakes and waters. The contemplation of this map has therefore led me to point out to you how wide is the field of thought which the labours of one hard-working geologist have given rise to, and to express, on my part, how truly we ought to recognise the merits of the pioneer among the rocks, who enables us, however inadequately, to speculate upon the entirely new and grand geographical phenomenon, that, such as South Africa is now, such have been her main features during countless past ages, anterior to the creation of the human race. For the old rocks which form her outer fringe, unquestionably circled round an interior marshy or lacustrine country, in which the Dicynodon flourished at a time when not a single animal was similar to any living thing which now inhabits the surface of our globe. The present central and meridian zone of waters, whether lakes, rivers, or marshes, extending from Lake Tchad to Lake Ngami, with hippopotami on their banks, are therefore but the great modern, residual, geographical phenomena of those of a mesozoic age. The differences, however, between the geological past of Africa and her present state are enormous. Since that primeval time the lands have been much elevated above the sea-level, eruptive rocks piercing in parts through them; deep rents and defiles have been suddenly formed in the subtending ridges, through which some rivers escape outwards, whilst others flowing inwards are lost in the interior sands and lakes; and with those great ancient changes entirely new races have been created.

"Travellers will eventually ascertain whether the basin-shaped structure, which is here announced as having been the great feature of the most ancient, as it is of the actual geography of Southern Africa (i.e. from primeval times to the present day), does or does not extend into Northern Africa. Looking at that much broader portion of the continent, we have some reason to surmise that the higher mountains also form, in a general sense, its flanks only. Thus, wherever the sources of the Nile may ultimately be fixed and defined, we are now pretty well assured that they lie in lofty mountains at no great distance from the east coast. In the absence of adequate data, we are not yet entitled to speculate too confidently on the true sources of the White Nile;

but, judging from the observations of the Missionaries Krapf and Rebmann, and the position of the snow-capped mountains called Kilimanjaro and Kenia (only distant from the eastern sea about 300 miles), it may be said that there is no exploration in Africa to which greater value would be attached than an ascent of them from the east coast, possibly from near Mombas. The adventurous travellers who shall first lay down the true position of these equatorial snowy mountains (to which our Abyssinian medallist, Dr. Beke, has often directed public attention), and who shall satisfy us that they not only throw off the waters of the White Nile to the north, but some to the east, and will further answer the query, whether they may not also shed off other streams to a great lacustrine and sandy interior of this continent, will be justly considered among the greatest benefactors of this age to geographical science.

"The great east and west range of the Atlas, which in a similar general sense forms the northern frontier of Africa, is, indeed, already known to be composed of primeval strata and eruptive rocks, like those which encircle the Cape Colony on the south, and is equally fissured by transverse rents. As to the hills which fringe the west coast, and through apertures of which the Niger and the Gambia escape, we have yet to learn if they are representatives of similar ancient rocks, and thus complete the analogy of Northern with Southern Africa. But I venture to throw out the general suggestion of an original basin-like arrangement of all Africa, through the existence or a grand encircling girdle of the older rocks, which, though exhibited at certain distances from her present shores, is still external, as regards her vast interior.

"Let me, therefore, impress on all travellers who may visit any part of Africa, that their researches will always be much increased in value if they bring away with them (as I have just learned that Mr. Oswell has done) the smallest specimens of rocks containing fossil organic remains, and will note the general direction and inclination of the strata."

In concluding these brief notices of interesting matters, which we hope to find more amply developed in the Annual Report of the Royal Geographical Society, we may be permitted to observe that the time appears to be at hand when it is the divine intention that inner Africa shall be revealed; and therefore men are being providentially raised up, whose business is exploration, and who, being specially fitted for this object, have a powerful

impulse given them to go forward. Some of them are Missionaries, such as Livingston, Krapf, &c., men actuated by the highest of motives, but who feel persuaded that, in penetrating unknown countries, they are fulfilling their vocation. Some may be disposed to ask, How do these long journeys subserve the Missionary cause? In an important sense indeed. It is the Saviour's will that the gospel shall be preached to every creature; but how shall we occupy a country until it be explored? That is the first step. There must be some to pioneer. When they who have the courage to do so have gone before, and searched out the lands that have hitherto been wrapped in mystery, then we shall be in a position to advance, and bring up in their rear our more permanent operations. And who can say what wonderful facts may be brought to light by these men, who now, at the risk of life, are crossing deserts and rapid rivers, and placing themselves, defenceless and unarmed, in the hands of rude chiefs, to whom the European has hitherto been a stranger? What facilities for the prosecution of Missionary labour—so marvellous, as to call forth new interests, and enlarged sympathies and efforts, on the part of the church at home? Perhaps Central Africa has hitherto been reserved from European recognition with this especial object. What an astonishing influence the discovery of America exercised upon the mind of Europe! New purposes were awakened; new efforts called into action; new channels for enterprise were opened; and the energies of men with a strong tide flowed onward in the direction of the new world. The ruling principle of the day was an unhappy one, and the advent of Europeans to the aborigines of America proved a calamitous era. But it is different now. Pure Christianity has come forth from its obscurity, from the dens and caves where it had been hidden. It has achieved great conquests, won over to its side powerful nations, and attained a position of commanding influence. There are capabilities of effort in the churches of the reformation far greater than any they have yet exhibited. They only need to be awakened. The laying open of interior Africa, with its dense and interesting population, its inland seas and lakes, and interlacing rivers, might be used by the Spirit of the Lord as a means for calling those capabilities into action; and the influence which Europe would exercise on Africa in the nineteenth century, when contrasted with those from which America was so severe a sufferer in the fifteenth, would constitute a new theme of thankfulness and praise to God.



FREMONA PORTUGUESE CONVENT, NEAR ADOA, ABYSSINIA.

ABYSSINIA.

WE continue, from p. 40 of our last Number, Dr. Krapf's journal of his late visit to Abyssinia.

*"March 23—*We reached the village of Bach Lebech, to whom we delivered Mr. Plowden's letter, in which the consul requested him to accompany us through the Tzaranna wilderness. Bach Lebech had been formerly—and we think he is still—a captain of robbers who did much mischief in this unhomely region. He had, some years ago, robbed Mr. Plowden's property; but learning who this gentleman was, restored it to him, and made friendship with the consul. Indeed, this man can be of great use, but also of great harm, to travellers in the wooded and uninhabited wilderness where the robbers can attack travellers unawares. Even in time of peace this wilderness is seldom quite safe. But it is to be hoped that the new king will put an end to the robberies.

*"March 24—*We started soon after midnight, as Bach Lebech had suggested that it would be better to traverse a part of the wilderness at night. We had given him two German crowns, and some needles, scissors, and razors, as his reward for conveying us through the wilderness. He accepted it with some reluctance, and more from a regard to the consul than from contentment with our present. Having some distrust in him, we the more earnestly recommended ourselves in prayer to the protection of Almighty God, and at the same time we took such precautions as we thought humanly admissible. We placed a part of our money into my boots, which I caused to be made in London for this purpose, viz. with separate holes in the soles, which could altogether conceal thirty-six dollars—each boot eighteen. The remainder of our money we wore in pouches around the loins. On the march, Bach Lebech went before us through the jungle. Several musketeers were in front, in the middle, and in the rear. About noon we reached safely the river Balassa, where the greatest danger was over. Having personally seen the thick forest, in which escape in case of a sudden attack is impossible, we heartily thanked God for our deliverance from this unhomely region. When we had reached, in the morning, the outskirts of the thicket, we heard on a sudden the noise of many drummers, and soon afterwards we saw a multitude of people running up and down by the wayside. This circumstance filled our hearts with uneasy feelings, and I remembered immediately my disasters in 1842 and

1851, when I was robbed; but Bach Lebech came up with the news that the noisy people were performing a funeral ceremony. Bach Lebech having accomplished his duty, returned from the river Balassa. He would, however, not depart without begging for some other little things, and without expressing a wish that I should bring him a fine horse from Shoa, when I should return from that country and pass by this road. It is a great pity that such a fine and large tract of country has hitherto been left uninhabited, and in the possession of wild men and beasts. What might it become in the hands of an industrious European colony, which might have its houses on the adjacent hills, if the valley should prove unhealthy during a part of the year!

"Whilst we were cooking our dinner on the banks of the fine river Balassa, we were on a sudden surrounded by a petty governor and his soldiers from the neighbourhood. He gravely asked who we were, where we came from, and where we were going to. He inquired particularly whether we had left Massoa before the proclamation of the new king, or not. I gave the necessary reply to all his inquiries. Especially did I tell him that we left Massoa after the proclamation, as I could well foresee that our inquirer came with a hostile intention, considering himself authorised to rob us if we left Massoa when there was no king in Abyssinia. We told him, also, that we were sent to the king and abuna, and showed him a box, in which there was a portrait of the new Coptic patriarch in Cairo, for the abuna in Gondar. At Cairo I at first disliked taking the box, which was sent to us from the patriarch for carrying it to Abyssinia as a present to his friend Abba Salama, the archbishop; but on further consideration at Cairo I found that it might be useful on our journey, as we could say that we are the bearers of letters and presents from the patriarch to the abuna. At this and other subsequent opportunities the box proved of the greatest use to us. The governor finally was content with a little snuff, a pair of scissors, and a box of phosphoric matches, and he went off, to our great delight.

"Having taken our dinner, we departed from the river, and moved up the mountain, where there is a village called Gera Sernai, in which we were recommended by Mr. Plowden to his friend Fescha. In his absence his brother Medhen received us into his house for the approaching night. From Gera

Sernai we had a majestic view over a large part of the country around. But we felt it cold on the top of this elevated mountain.

"*March 25*—Departure from Gera Sernai.

Medhen accompanied us as far as to the river Ungüdjá, whence we ascended again a high mountain. In the evening we took up our lodging at the village Megára Tzámré, with Shum Solomon, who expressed his regret at the inability of treating us properly, as the soldiers of Oubie had some time ago ransacked his village. Everywhere the people asked us about Pater Jacobis. If we had been his friends or of his party, they would have robbed us instantly, as he is considered outlawed. Bach Lebech especially was quite angry when he learned that Jacobis has, *incognito*, reached Halai, without passing by his village on the Tzaranna valley. Bach Lebech said, 'Whenever I shall catch him I will take his shirt from him, and send him off in a state of perfect nudity.' The cautious Pater came from Semien to Adoa on roundabout ways, and in disguise, by the assistance of his friends. He was accompanied by two Abyssinian priests, who are so attached to him that they will share with him his exile at Massoa.

"*March 26*—In the afternoon we reached Adoa, where we took up our lodging in the house of Mr. Plowden, whose servants showed us great attention from first to last. We had scarcely arrived when Pasha Seino, the custom-officer—he is a son of Pasha Seino who was an enemy of our Mission in 1838, and who died since that time—made his appearance, carrying with him a sheep, and a jar of Abyssinian beer and mead, for our party. He did it from regard to Mr. Plowden, who rendered him some service during the time of distress he met with in consequence of Oubie having confiscated his father's property and degraded him from his post. The mother of Maderakal came immediately to welcome her son, after an absence of about twelve years. The scene was of a touching nature. She believed that he was dead long ago. She brought a jar of mead, which was too strong for me and Mr. Flad to drink of it.

"*March 27*—We went to the village Maigogo, to see Ayto Workie, the father of the two young men, Guebru and Mirdja, mentioned above. As the heat was considerable, and we walked on foot, Mr. Flad got a new attack of fever, in such a severe manner that I became apprehensive of melancholy consequences.

"*March 29*—By the Lord's mercy, my dear brother Flad is better, but not yet out of danger. In the course of the day we were

called upon by Mr. Mirdja, the son of Workie, who had just arrived from Semien, where he had seen the king, who received him in a somewhat ill humour, as Workie and his family had been in favour with Oubie, and Guebru had brought goods for Oubie from India. However, Mirdja thinks that the king will change his mind when he sees the English consul, who may reconcile the family with his majesty. Mirdja mentioned that the news regarding the king's prohibition of the slave-trade, and of Abyssinian polygamy, was quite true; that the Mahomedans should not sell the slaves—whom they possess—abroad, but only to the Christians; that they themselves should turn Christians within two years, or leave the country; that the king intends to write to the French and English consuls not to admit any Romish priest from Massoa into Abyssinia; and that he has sent an embassy to the Emperor of Russia to make friendship with him. How it came that Theodoros sent an embassy to Russia I cannot understand, unless he has heard that the Russian emperor is at war with the Mahomedans, whom his Ethiopian majesty wishes to overthrow also in his own empire.

"In the afternoon I called upon Wolda Rufael, a native of Adoa, in whose house Messrs. Isenberg and Gobat had lived formerly. Himself, as well as his wife, described the distress which they had experienced since our expulsion from Abyssinia; and they asked me anxiously whether the Protestant Missionaries would not return after Oubie, and all other adversaries of the Mission, had been removed. When I inquired after the books which we had left on our departure in 1838, he said that he had partly sold and partly given them away; but that about fifty copies remained in the storeroom of Mr. Shimper the German botanist, who had taken off the covers, which he used for the drying of his collected plants. As I desired to see the books, he said that he could not open the room, as Mr. Shimper had taken the keys with him. I must remark that Mr. Shimper is a German by birth, who arrived at Adoa in 1836, for the purpose of collecting plants for a botanic Society in the kingdom of Würtemberg. On his arrival, he was kindly received by Mr. Isenberg. He at that time manifested a good conduct, and endeavoured to render himself useful to the Missionaries, who admitted him to their table and house. But after our departure he abjured Protestantism, and turned a Roman Catholic, by the influence of Pater Jacobis and his associates, to whom he proved a useful instrument in proselytizing the people

of the district of Antidjo, the government of which was entrusted by Oubie to Mr. Shimper, who was a favourite of that ruler. But when Shimper used his influence in promoting Romanism in his province, the abuna interfered, and opposed his endeavours. But Shimper, relying in the favour and power of Oubie, treated the abuna with contemptuous language, which the abuna at that time was unable to resent, as Oubie patronized both Mr. Shimper and the Romanists, on account of the rich presents which he received from them from time to time. But after Theodoros had captured Oubie, and also Mr. Shimper, who followed Oubie's army, the abuna found means not only to expel the Romanists, but also to humble Shimper in a sensible manner. He was pardoned by the king, on condition that he should abandon the Romish faith, and join the Abyssinian church; but the governmental post of Antidjo was lost for ever. However, the abuna, from motives of kindness and compassion, gave Shimper a little land near Adoa, for the maintenance of his three children and Abyssinian wife, whom he had married a long time ago. As Mr. Shimper was absent from Adoa, I wrote him a letter, requesting that he should give up the books to Maderakal, who promised to sell or give them gratis, as occasion may be.

"As I have spoken about Maderakal in my letter to Bishop Gobat, I will not allude to him in this present journal. The Committee is fully acquainted with his career in France, Cairo, and Malta. I may only say, that he might prove useful under the direction and guidance of an able European Missionary. His mother is a lady of some rank and fortune, and she is pious after the Abyssinian fashion. She is liberal to the poor, to the priests, monks, and churches. I hope and pray, that, under the instruction of her son, she may be impressed with the pure knowledge of the Bible, and that she may find the way of righteousness as it is in Jesus. She thanked me for all that I had done to her son on the journey; and she also thanked those who have instructed and maintained him in Europe. It was, however, her desire that Maderakal should stay with her for a time, and not go to Gondar or Cairo, a request which I found quite appropriate.

"From Ayto Rufael's I went to see the house which Mr. Isenberg had commenced to build, but not finished, before our expulsion. The little house in which Mr. Blumhardt and myself had our lodgings is still in a state of preservation, and is inhabited by an Abyssinian priest. But the unfinished house, and the wall which surrounds it, is fallen to pieces.

Some priests and deacons of Adoa have constructed miserable huts upon the place, which recalled melancholy feelings to my mind.*

"Debtera Matheos and Wolda Rufael requested me to ask Balgadarai, the viceroy of Tigré, or the king himself, for the restoration of the house; but I thought this scheme yet too premature. If our Mission returns to Abyssinia, it should be located in another quarter, unless the abuna or king desire us expressly to take up our stay at Adoa. Debtera Matheos was very anxious to know whether Mr. Isenberg would return, and whether he should now begin the translation of the Old Testament in the Tigré dialect. I replied, that the Committee had given me no orders to engage at present his services; but I hoped they would accept his assistance and co-operation as soon as they direct their Missionaries to return to Abyssinia. Debtera Matheos is a man of great intellect, and is much respected at Adoa. He is well versed in Ethiopic, and speaks also Arabic. But his Christian knowledge is more intellectual than experimental. However, I think that himself and Maderakal, and the sons of Workie, and also the young Abyssinian, Berru, who is still at Malta, might, under the superintendence of an able European Missionary, do much good for Abyssinia. I would, indeed, wish very earnestly that these Abyssinians, who have already a better knowledge of true Christianity, might be used, and not allowed to become rotten from unemployedness. This matter deserves the consideration of the Committee.

"I advised Maderakal to compose a dictionary of the Tigré language, which might be of use to subsequent Missionaries. This, and the instruction of Mr. Coffin's sons, and of some other Abyssinian boys, might supply him with ample work, until Bishop Gobat's plan, or some other scheme, in behalf of Abyssinia, becomes feasible. But this kind of usefulness was only recommended by me to Maderakal in form of good advice: I did not engage him, nor promise him any pecuniary assistance, as the Committee had not authorised me in this matter. I told him distinctly that he has not to draw any money upon the Church Missionary Society, as long as he is not recognised as their agent; and in order to avoid all mistake from any quarter,

* Our last month's Frontispiece illustrates the various buildings referred to in this paragraph, in the condition in which they were on the departure of the Missionaries from Tigré in 1838. The Frontispiece in the present Number represents the Fremona Portuguese convent, near Adoa.

I mentioned this subject in a letter to Mr. Plowden, the British consul.

March 30—I had a pleasing conversation with Bellata Salech, the head servant of Mr. Plowden's establishment at Adoa. He reads the Ethiopic Bible in comparison with the Amharic, and is of a very inquisitive mind. We spoke on fasting, absolution, worshipping of the saints, and on other topics prominent in Abyssinian theology. The conversation was indeed edifying and refreshing to my own soul, and I shall always remember it with delight. Every Missionary and minister of the gospel will testify, from experience, that sometimes he is enabled to speak with more clearness, openness, and power, than at other times, and that he feels an unspeakable joy and peace of heart, if he can proclaim the gospel to his fellow-men in the Spirit of God, rather than with his powers of intellect. Such moments are heaven and paradise in this lower world.

"As Salech was so fond of reading Amharic, I gave him a copy of the Amharic Psalms. I saw him afterwards reading and comparing the Amharic with the Ethiopic copy, in connexion with our servant, Wolda Gabriel, whom I saw frequently reading the Bible with Abyssinians.

"In the afternoon Mr. Flad on a sudden fainted, and fell to the ground as if he were dead. However, after some time he recovered his right senses, and got well again from that time.

"In the evening I had a conversation with Pasha Seino on the principal doctrines of Mahomedanism. When I drove him into straits from which he could not escape, he broke off the conversation, saying, 'To-morrow I will bring you a Mahommedan doctor of our religion, whom you will not be able to refute.' I replied, 'Let him come, if you please.'

"*March 31*—Neither Pasha Seino nor the Mahommedan learned came to-day. As Mr. Flad felt better, we began our preparations for the prosecution of our journey to Gondar. We bought two mules for ourselves, and hired porters for carrying our baggage.

"*April 2*—About eight o'clock A.M. we quitted Adoa. Maderakal accompanied us for some distance. After a march of four hours we reached Axum, the former capital of the Ethiopic kings. We took up our lodging with Agau Deras, a rich merchant, who knew Bishop Gobat, of whom he spoke very favourably. Agau Deras is a friend of all white people. When he asked why the English were so much opposed to the slave-trade, which he himself appears to have car-

ried on, I referred him to our Saviour's command, 'As you wish that men do unto you, so do unto them;' and, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself;' and, 'Jesus gave Himself a ransom for us, to redeem us.' He understood the drift of these passages. Towards the evening we took a walk to see the great church, built of stones, and also to see the obelisks at Axum. There are a few obelisks still standing, but the greater part are overturned and broken. It appeared to me that these stupendous works were hewn out of a hill of granite formation which was then on the spot. On the pedestal of one obelisk we could distinctly observe the form of bowls or cups, which show evidently that heathenish offerings were made to the deities on that spot, which may have been the head-quarters of ancient Ethiopic paganism. To the east of the obelisks is a large tank, from which the water may have been fetched for the priests and their ceremonial services. Even now the inhabitants of Axum fetch their water from that tank, which is filled by the rains. The church was, no doubt, a heathenish temple. I can now fully understand the expression which the Abyssinians use concerning this church. They say that it was built by the devil. By this they mean to say that the idolatrous Axumites, or Ethiopians, of old, built this edifice in the time of their heathenism, which, in the sense of the Bible, and of the ancient fathers of the church of Christ, is considered the work of the devil. But when the Axumites were converted to Christianity, this heathenish or devil's temple was changed into a Christian church. Thus the Abyssinians say that their first kings were serpents; that the Sando—an immense and huge serpent—had ruled over Tigré and Hamassen. This assertion alludes evidently to the pagan and despotic kings of ancient Ethiopia.

"The present church at Axum greatly needs repair on several points, but nobody thinks of it.

"There is an immense worka-tree in the vicinity of two obelisks still standing. The body of this tree measures eleven cords, according to Mr. Flad's measurement. When the people saw us approach the obelisks, they asked us whether any gold was to be discovered beneath the pedestals. The highest obelisk is about sixty-five feet high. No doubt Axum was a grand city in ancient times; and the new king, Theodoros, could scarcely select a finer place for his intended new capital than Axum, which opens into a large plain towards the south and south-east. I felt much grieved at the numerous priests

of that city, who are so cold and indifferent in religious matters. There was not one who came to converse on the subject.

"As our servant, Wolda Gabriel, felt sick again, and declared his inability to proceed with us to Gondar, we sent him back to Adoa, whence he may find an opportunity of returning to Shoa, his native country.

"*April 3*—We departed from Axum, selecting the road through the province of Shirre for our route to Gondar. In the evening we encamped in the open air, near the village Madjoot. A villager had at first great objection to our servant fetching grass from his land; but learning that we intended to see the king and abuna, and receiving some needles and a pair of scissors, he kept silence, and became so friendly that he went home to fetch some beer, bread, and Abyssinian soup, which is peppered so much, that a stranger, not accustomed to it, thinks his lips to be set on fire.

"*April 4*—We started early from Madjoot, descended and ascended hills, and rested about noon on the banks of the river Salech Lecha, which is also called Mai Tuaro. Afterwards we travelled through a wooded wilderness, and descended into the plain of Adi Getat, and encamped on the banks of the river Balass.

"*April 5*—We started at five o'clock A.M., descended the steep ravine of Gemálo, and ascended again to a plain country. We rested at Mai Tamen, where we met with many merchants from Wolkait, who carried cotton and cloths to Tigré. In the evening we encamped near the river Mashewéni.

"*April 6*—As usual, we started at five o'clock in the morning. We rested about nine near Dagésheha. The heat was great to-day. As we could not reach the river Tacassie, and as our people were afraid of encamping too close to it, on account of lions and other wild beasts, we passed the night in a hamlet called Adángeto, where the merchants have to pay their duties. The custom-officer gave us some beer and bread. Usually our people prepared their own bread from the flour we had given them at Adoa. Every one receives a large cake in the morning, and a second cake in the evening. This is customary with Abyssinian bearers of luggage.

"*April 7*—We had to descend several hours till we reached the channel of the river Tacassie, which runs between two steep and high ranges of mountains, and which renders the crossing in the rainy season impossible for the armies of Tigré and Amhara, as there is no bridge leading over the river, though

its construction would be easy, as there is plenty of large trees on the river's banks. The channel of the river is about 160 feet in breadth; but at the dry season it is covered with water only about 60 feet, the depth being $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 feet. We felt it extremely hot; and I doubt not we should have been attacked by fever if we had stayed too long on this spot. The Abyssinians themselves dislike staying on the Tacassie. Having cooked and enjoyed our dinner, we commenced ascending the steep mountain which surrounds the river in its north-western course. It took us some hours till we reached the top, on which a plain opened before us. We encamped in the village Heida for the ensuing night.

"*April 8*—We stayed at Heida, to-day being Easter-day, and the Abyssinian fast at an end. I endeavoured to turn the minds of our porters to Easter thoughts, by reading and explaining the history of Christ's resurrection from the dead; but our carnal Abyssinians were bent more upon talking, drinking their beer, and eating up their purchased goat, than upon spiritual matters. It is painful to witness the spiritual indifference of these so-called Christians; and yet there is a great difference between our Suaheli Mahomedans and heathen Wanika and Wakamba in the south. Low as Christianity stands in Abyssinia, yet the Missionary feels that he has, at least theoretically, a foundation common with the Abyssinians, who need only a reformation and revival of Christianity; whereas the heathen are his strangers in theory as well as in practice: they are without God and without Christ.

"*April 9*—We started from Heida at five o'clock in the morning, and crossed, after some time, the rivers Gúi and Serentia; and we cooked our meal on the river Buéa. In the evening we encamped at Mai Lahen.

"*April 10*—We passed the rivers Mai Teclit and Ensea, and encamped in the evening at Tshau Ber, in the province of Waldubba, which is chiefly inhabited by monks and nuns.

"*April 11*—We rose early, and descended till eight o'clock, when we reached the river Sarima. About noon we cooked our dinner on the banks of the river Dagusit. We constantly went up and down high hills and mountains, which rendered our march very fatiguing, but, at the same time, brought before our eyes a variety of scenery, picturesque and romantic in the extreme. In the evening we encamped at the village Debba Baher, situated on the foot of the high mountain Lamalmo. As the villagers had been ransacked by the king's army, they excused themselves with the inability of providing us with food. On drinking from a well, one of

our servants swallowed a leech, which gave him great trouble in the throat; but having taken much snuff into the nose, the leech went off.

"*April 12*—With great trouble we ascended the steep and high mount Lamalmo, which signifies 'greenness, verdure,' undoubtedly owing to the green spots which cover its top, and to the forest of juniper-trees, which are green throughout the year. On the top of the mount we had a grand and majestic view over an immense tract of country. All the minor hills and mountains, and the many brooks and rivers which join the Tacassie, and which we had crossed, lay at our feet. We could cast a glimpse even as far as to the Shangalla country in the north, and upon the mountains of Semien in the east, where we observed hail on mount Báhuít, which is one of the most prominent of that Abyssinian province. It was cold on mount Lamalmo. About nine o'clock A.M. we passed by the village Kedus Georgis Feras Saber, where the Saint George so much revered in Abyssinia is said to have destroyed an hostile army, wherefore the place is considered a sacred one, and no soldier is allowed to enter. At ten o'clock A.M. we reached the village Dobark, where the noisy and quarrelling custom-officers detained us with great rudeness. After much noise and dispute, and having received some tobacco and a pair of scissors, they allowed us to depart. They took a promise from us that we should not pass on, but pass the night in the village of Ayto Atku Tashu, the governor of the province of Woggara, which begins from the top of the Lamalmo. The troubles we experienced from the custom-officers have been great at the various custom stations, though the officers are forbidden to take any thing from white people, and all such as are no merchants; but, notwithstanding, travellers are detained if they give no present to those greedy officers.

"We reached Degua, the governor's village, in the rain, which overtook us on the road. When we called upon the governor, who intended to leave his place to-morrow, to join the king's army, we found him half tipsy among the multitude of his camp-followers, who were eating and drinking to the full at the governor's expense. He showed a great deal of childishness and rudeness. He immediately asked about pistols, &c. A small percussion pistol, of German make, being produced by our servant, he took such a fancy to it that he constantly held it in his hand, and praised it unceasingly. When I endeavoured to turn his mind to spiritual matters he was

deaf to all that I said, and was only bent upon praising his own greatness, and upon expressing his desire for the pistol, which might be of great use to them on the approaching expedition of the king against the Mahomedan Wollo-Galla tribes. Finally, he sent us off, assigning us a miserable cottage for a night's lodging; but he did not provide us even with a morsel of bread, which is utterly disgraceful in Abyssinia, where hospitality is customary and meritorious. The night was cold and rainy.

"*April 13*—When we were about to take leave of the governor of Woggara, he refused to let us depart before he had received the pistol and some powder and shot, which he demanded from us on the plea that he had not taken any customs from us. On our refusal of the pistol, he said, 'You are my prisoners: I will not allow you to go to Gondar.' Seeing that he was in earnest to plunder us, we gave him the pistol, which he accepted, on condition, as he said, 'that you give it to me from motives of friendship, and that you do not tell the king, as if I had taken it from you in a forced manner.' I kept silence to this cunning conduct of his, for I could well foresee that the least opposition on our part would lead to serious consequences. Indeed, since we had parted with the robber-captain, Bach Lebech, we had not met with a beggar more shameless than the governor Atku Tashu of Woggara. His servants and soldiers were of the same beggar-like disposition. They troubled us with various demands. Having received the pistol, the governor said, 'Now you can go to Gondar: the road is quite safe.' Yesterday he had told us that the road was infested by robbers, and that on this account he would have us accompanied by his brother, for protection's sake. But all this talk was only a roundabout way to make himself great and important, and to oblige us to make him a present of the pistol. It is to be hoped that the energetic government of Theodoros will put a stop to the beggaries of his governors. After we were out of sight of Atku Tashu we directed our march toward Amba Georgis; and we encamped in the evening in the wilderness of Masal Dengia, where we found plenty of grass and wood left behind from the king's army, which had encamped some time ago in that region.

"*April 14*—We started early; and having travelled a considerable distance over plain country, we rested at Antsheba Meda, near Senia Dar, where merchants use to take rest. At noon we cooked our dinner near the brook Argef. Before ascending toward that brook

we had a majestic view to the south and east. In the south we observed the Tzana lake, or Lake of Dembea, as it is also called. To the east we saw the high mountains of Semien; and toward the south-east we observed the high mountains of the Wollo Galla, through whose territory I had travelled in 1842. The province of Woggara, which we were traversing since yesterday, is very pretty, level, and has plenty of good water and of good black soil, which might yield a rich harvest if it were properly cultivated. But the greater part of this province is uncultivated, and left a wilderness, destitute of inhabitants. This state of things is owing to the wars which are fought in this country, as the Abyssinian cavalry can easily move and operate on this level terrain. The climate is cool—rather cold. The Abyssinians have the following rhyme concerning this province—

Woggara Egsiabher, sei fátara :

God has created Woggara in this manner :

Kabiet betegabba tsau ;

If thou enterest the house, you have smoke ;

Dedj betewotta, nefásu ;

If thou leavest the house, you have wind ;

Ebel betebella, fassu ;

If thou eatest corn, you have winds ;

Woggara Egsiabher sei fátara.

In this manner God has created Woggara.'

In passing the river Angreb we went over the stone bridge which King Fasil had caused to be constructed by Portuguese artificers several hundred years ago. The road from the frontiers of Woggara to Gondar leads over several steep hills, which protect this Abyssinian capital from any sudden inroad toward the north. Before ascending the hill on which Gondar is situated we had to cross

a river which runs to the lake of Dembea. On our arrival in the capital we took up our lodging at Kedus Gabriel, that quarter of Gondar in which the abuna has his residency. As he was absent, we were coldly received by his steward ; but Hadji Cheir, an Egyptian priest, and Guebra Haiwot, an Abyssinian monk, and keeper of the abuna's luggage, having recognised me, we were soon admitted to the archiepiscopal lodgings. Guebra Haiwot had formerly gone with me and Mr. Isenberg to Jidda and Egypt. We were very glad to find a room immediately, as there was rain falling on our arrival.

"April 15—This was one of the most troublesome days we spent in Abyssinia. As we learned that the king and abuna, with the army, was approaching the enemy's country, it was necessary that we should use all possible speed in order to reach and meet them before any collision with the enemy should take place ; but it was difficult to reach the king's camp, which was already sixty or seventy miles off from Gondar. In the first instance, we needed a guide for the road, and some porters for carrying our food and most necessary things. The bearers who brought our things from Adoa wished to return to their country ; and people from Gondar were not willing to serve us. In this difficulty Hadji Cheir offered us most valuable help, by ordering some of his people to carry our things ; and a great man of Kedus Gabriel volunteered to be our guide to the royal camp. His secret hope and desire, as we afterwards learned, was that we should take him with us to Jerusalem, whither he wished to make a pilgrimage.

(To be continued.)

CONFERENCE OF MISSIONARIES AT CALCUTTA.

IN our December Number* we referred briefly to this Conference, but we feel that it merits a far more extended notice. In many respects a peculiar interest attaches to it : not only because of the great importance of the topics brought under consideration, the lucid manner in which they were dealt with by men who spoke, not from theory, but from an enlarged experience, and who have thus brought together, for the benefit of distant friends, a mass of the most valuable information ; but also because of the peculiar constitution of the Conference, and the broad catholic basis on which it was formed. It consisted, not of the Missionaries of one Society only, or of several Societies having their existence

within the pale of the same church ; but it was a General Conference, composed of Protestant Missionaries of all denominations, who, within the limits of the Bengal Presidency, have been bearing the burden and heat of the day. Many would have distrusted such a Convention, and have predicted that variance would inevitably ensue. But such was not the case. Throughout all the discussions the utmost harmony prevailed, and the character of the proceedings vindicated alike the wisdom and love of the arrangement. The dissemination of the Redeemer's gospel, and the advancement of His kingdom of peace and joy amongst the heathen round, were the grand themes presented for deliberation ; and around these the brethren were grouped in conference. All reference to

* Pp. 286—288.

those details of ecclesiastical discipline which exercise such a separating influence on the churches of Europe were set aside, and with holy resolution the brethren were enabled to act upon the apostolic injunction, "Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing."

We recognise in this the incipient realization of a hope which we have long ventured to entertain—that in the Mission-fields, and in the example and bearing of the Christian churches, which, by a wondrous process, are being raised up out of the depths of heathenism, would be found a corrective for many evils which mar our home Christianity, and seriously impair its usefulness. That from the "work of faith and labour of love," carried on in distant lands, a healthful influence would re-act upon the parent churches, is an expectation grounded on one of the essential laws of Christianity; namely, that the communication of light is the increase of light, and that, in imparting it to others, it is reflected back on ourselves. The exemplification of union in this Conference, and the lesson it conveys to us, are some of these reflex benefits. Dissension on points not vital to the salvation of the soul is one of those evils by which, at home, we are most sorely afflicted. In cases where the difference that exists is fundamental there must be antagonism, unless truth is to be compromised. Between the flesh and the Spirit, nature and grace, there is a necessary and unalterable contrariety. To fashion such an exposition of doctrine as should consist in an amalgamation of the divine and earthly element has always been a great desideratum in the world's eyes, nor have the efforts to accomplish this ever been more ably or perseveringly prosecuted than in our own day. The world, in its more prudent and thoughtful aspect, is averse to the pure and simple element in either case. It pronounces each to be an extreme, and desires it to be diluted with the other. It would correct open profanity, and disrespect for Christian ordinances, by an admixture of the religious element, but the pure evangelism of the gospel it rejects as sublimated, and unsuited to the requirements of man. Hence the efforts which are made to devise a system which shall leave man unregenerate, and yet place him in the position of one who has a spiritual existence; which assumes regeneration to be common to all the visibly baptized, and, on that assumption, requires that they should be regarded and dealt with as not in the flesh but in the Spirit; and, when the subsequent life and

irreligious character are at variance with such an assumption, endeavours to reconcile the discrepancy by changing the nature of grace, so as to reduce it to a principle of potentiality, which may be overborne and extinguished by the sinfulness of nature, and which, as to its final issue, is left dependent on the will of the individual: that is, grace, whose peculiar province is to prevent us that we may have a good-will, instead of being thus prevenient in its action, before empowered to act must receive the sanction of the will. It is a vicious circle which our modern theorists have elaborated, and beyond the narrowing circumference of which they seem unable to advance. They hail it as a *juste milieu*, a haven of rest from disquietude and doubts. It is to be feared that it becomes their prison, not their haven.

We refer to this as a specimen of the spiritual alchemy which prevails at the present day. But there are many other forms of it: for instance, the strenuous effort which is being made to reconcile rationalism with inspiration; not absolutely rejecting the latter element, but limiting its sphere of action, so as to afford to the sceptical tendencies of man free scope to work out their mischievous results. Truth in its ideality is inspired, but, in the language in which it is clothed, is human and uncertain. Here we have another principle of that composite order which is now rising to popularity.

At a time like this, when the object of the world is, in every possible way, to accomplish a fusion between truth and error, it is incumbent on those who desire to act with fidelity to their Master in dangerous times, to estrange themselves from all such efforts, and strive with holy resolution that the divine element may be preserved free from earthly admixture, in its primeval purity and simplicity. There is a caution and precision needed at the present time, because of the subtle action of the world, which may seem hypercritical; but, at whatever cost, let that precious medicine, on the administration of which in its purity depends the salvation of sinners, be preserved unadulterated.

Unions founded on compromise, and which touch the integrity of truth, are fatal, and to be avoided. In respect of such, the exhortation, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate," is now most pertinent. But such separation should induce closer union amongst those who dislike that the "silver should become dross," and the "wine mixed with water." If, while in agreement as to that which is vital and fundamental, we are found to be intolerant towards each other in matters

of detail which do not affect the integrity of the truth, we expose ourselves to grave reproach; and the world will not be slow to allege, and with a show of reason, that our inflexibility arises, not from conscientiousness, but from a contentious spirit. That grave estrangements have existed, and do still exist, amongst men of gospel principles, because of diversity of view as to the form with which the common truth should be invested, whether Episcopacy, or Presbyterianism, or Independency, &c., is a matter of notoriety. We do not mean to imply that such questions are of no importance: they have their place; but they do not so seriously affect the interests of truth as the duty of maintaining "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;" and if they cannot be approached without causing dissension, it is better they should be reserved until the church has more of God's Spirit, and is better qualified for their consideration. Meanwhile, the love of Christ ought to be more powerful to unite, than such differences to separate: otherwise there is a forgetfulness of the principle which the Lord Jesus Himself has laid down as the basis of communion—"Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." His prayer is comprehensive of all who, in every age, should believe on Him through the instrumentality of His word: and all who have thus been led to the apprehension of Him He regards as brethren, and desires that peace should be maintained amongst them. Many are indisposed to act on so comprehensive a principle, and, recognising as brethren only such as are in uniformity with them on points of discipline and ecclesiastical constitution, ignore all others. But to modify the basis of communion which the great Head of the church has specified, is a disloyal act, and derogative of His authority. Such a procedure on our part appears to indicate that the ascendant principle of our own hearts is nature, and not grace.

There is no doubt that great injury has been done to the gospel cause by the dissensions which have prevailed amongst evangelical Christians of various sections and denominations. Christianity has not been done justice to: it has had connected with it an unamiability which does not properly belong to it. Men observe these altercations, and thoughtfully conclude, that a system which is not sufficiently powerful to harmonize its more immediate followers can never avail to

produce concord throughout the world. The proper office of the Lord's people is to recommend their Master, His cause and gospel, to the world, like that primitive body mentioned in Acts ii., who, "continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people." They should be so one, that, as a beautifully polished mirror, they might present the image of their Lord distinctly reflected. Instead of this, they have been as a broken mirror, and the image has been despoiled of its attractiveness. The want of influence and power has been directly as the deficiency in love, and the momentum of the body has decreased as the parts have lost union and consistency. Thus the effectiveness of the aggregate, as a working body, has been much prejudiced. Divisions amongst Protestants have been a stumbling-block to many. Often the first question of an intelligent convert from heathenism or Mahomedanism has reference to an anomaly which he cannot understand: and the Romanist, who seeks to evade the penetrative action of the truth, finds here a plausible difficulty behind which to ensconce himself.

And yet, why should there be variance? There is no one system perfect. Each has its defects, and perhaps, also, each has its peculiar excellencies. But, unhappily, the tendency is very clearly to see the bright side of our own luminary, and the umbrosity of others; and there is nothing equitable in the comparison we institute. The man of free-church principles condemns all establishments, and pronounces it impossible that a church in such close alliance with an earthly government can be otherwise than unfaithful to the headship of Christ. The man of high-church principles considers the absence of episcopacy as a defect so vital, as to preclude a religious body from being regarded as a Christian church, be its doctrines never so pure, and the conduct of its members never so consistent. There appears to be more anxiety to injure a rival system, than to fulfil individual and collective responsibilities in the preaching of the gospel, and the salvation of souls. Not unfrequently, the advancement of the gospel kingdom is less considered than the extension of the sectional interest. It is assumed that the one must of necessity involve the other; whereas we may be advancing our own preferences at the expense of another instrumentality, which, although not precisely after our fashion, has been labouring for Christ; and in doing so we weaken the

interests of truth. It would be well if all were more candid in the estimate they form, as well of their own as other systems, and if, with less of favouritism, there might be less of prejudice. It cannot be expected that the model of arrangement which shall prevail, when Christ's kingdom shall rise out of its present depressed condition to the ascendancy marked out for it, will be identical with any existing system. Why not, then, forbear one another in love, until the time come, when, "if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you?" So should we avoid that dangerous rock which has often shipwrecked the spirituality of churches and congregations—"all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's."

We trust that the narrow prejudices of home will not be imported into our Mission churches, and that their relations towards each other will be characterized by more catholicity of spirit. Especially in the field of India is the opportunity afforded for a new and interesting development of Christian charity, as regulating, not merely the intercourse of Christian individuals, but of Christian communities and churches. In that extensive and densely-populated field are labouring Missionaries of various denominations, and groups of converts are being raised up, which will gradually advance until they attain the maturity of independent churches. These germinal groups are dispersed over the face of the peninsula, amidst the different nations by which it is peopled. There are few of its great divisions which have not amongst them some professors of Christianity, who, as they become more numerous, present it with increasing ostensibility to their countrymen. Such fruits have crowned the labours of Missionaries deputed from various sections and denominations of the Protestant churches in Europe and America—Baptist, Independent, Episcopalian, &c. They have all taught the same gospel, and gathered in disciples to the one Saviour. Shall they also introduce their ecclesiastical preferences with the same precision of outline which they bear at home? and shall the Mission churches become as rigidly separated from each other as the parent churches by whose instrumentality they have been originated? Shall there prevail the same rivalries and mutual disparagements, and each conceive that it cannot flourish except on the ruins of dissimilar systems? God forbid that the same religious feuds which mar the beauty of our home Christianity should be transferred to the pleasant places, the hills and vales which have been reclaimed from hea-

thenism! There is much to encourage happier anticipations. These churches have been planted simultaneously, and are growing up amidst the same difficulties and trials. Like the children of parents of different denominations, who have been much together in the morning of life, and have learned to regard each other with affection, they are not likely, in adult age, to perpetuate the controversialism of the previous generation. They will understand one another better, and will have learned to respect each other's preferences. Peculiarities thus softened down lose their stern, unaccommodating character, and interfere not with communion. The training and discipline through which these churches must of necessity pass, will, we trust, conduce to preserve them from the delusion that union and uniformity are convertible terms; that there can be no union where there is not uniformity; and that where there is uniformity there must be union. The experience of the home countries should suffice to repudiate this notion. At home, in two or more places of worship we often find uniformity but no union, for the doctrines enunciated from the pulpits are in opposition, not conjunction. On the other hand, we may select those in which the form of worship is very dissimilar, yet in prayer and preaching, and in the results produced, the substantials are identical.

As to ecclesiastical order and arrangement, the Mission churches in India are as yet in that elementary condition which may be called Missionary. A native pastorate is beginning to be raised up, but beyond this little has been done. As, however, they progress towards maturity, and become self-supporting churches, they will of course assume some speciality of form and organization, in their selection of which they will be influenced, to a considerable extent, by the example of the parent churches. There is a natural tendency in embryo formations, as the features develop, to revert to the parent model. We trust, however, that the likeness will be a subdued and chastened one, that thus room may be afforded for a closer approximation to each other, and the manifestation of a union before the world, so unequivocal as to convince men, that these Mission churches are one church, one body in Christ.

The transfer of the various home organizations to the colonial and Mission fields, without some modification, so as to soften down that harshness of outline, which in the parent country causes so much of separation, appears to be scarcely practicable.

Already, in the transfer of our Church-of-

England system to our colonies and dependencies, the necessity of such modification, by candid and thinking persons, is admitted, in order to render it suitable for transplantation. And as with civil, so with ecclesiastical laws and constitutions: it is felt that they can be transferred to a new country only so far as they are capable of adaptation to its peculiar necessities and requirements.

In dealing with this part of our subject we would revert briefly to the mode in which the evangelistic operations of our own Society have been conducted, and the similarity which exists between our proceedings and those which have place in the Acts of the Apostles. It is necessary to advert to this, because some object, that, to use their own phraseology, we do not initiate our Missions by sending out the church in its integrity—that is, the church official or representative. They would send out the episcopate with the first evangelists, before converts have been made or congregations gathered together. We do not coincide in this view, nor can we see any necessity for a bishop where there are no exclusively episcopal functions to be discharged, and the work which is to be done is such as the presbytery suffices to effectuate. But how were Missionary operations carried on as detailed in the Acts of the Apostles? Was it by a transfer, in the first instance, of a full ecclesiastical organization to the particular locality which was about to be occupied?

In that record the proceedings of the apostle Paul are the most detailed; and between the character of his labours and those of Missionaries at the present day there exists a strong analogy. He went forward as the providence of God directed him to do. He had in view a double object—one, to convert men to the faith of Christ, the other, to confirm and establish those who had received the faith. With respect to the first of these, he very clearly explains the principle on which he acted—"Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation: but as it is written, To whom He was not spoken of, they shall see: and they that have not heard shall understand." But in his anxiety to press forward he was not unmindful of the results he had achieved. He did not suffer the handfuls of corn which he had reaped to lie neglected on the earth, but intermitted his onward movement, that he might bind them together, and secure them: and so we read—"They returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we

must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed." So far Paul went. He raised up pastors for these infant churches; but we are not informed that he introduced any ecclesiastical organization, or advanced one step beyond the utmost simplicity of arrangement. Subsequently, indeed, when the churches became more matured, he located Timothy at Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, to "set in order the things that were wanting." They were invested with responsibilities, and received directions as to the fulfilment of them. It is indeed possible that their commission may have been only of a temporary character, for in each case Paul expresses his wish that they should rejoin him;* but even admitting this to have been the case, they indicate the development of ecclesiastical discipline and arrangement, until in the Apocalypse we arrive at a more advanced stage, and, in the Epistles to the Seven Churches, find mention made of "the angels of the Seven Churches," to whom, as overseeing elders, the Epistles were severally addressed. But in the Acts of the Apostles the infant communities had not advanced so far as to render such a provision necessary, and the arrangements were of the simple and elementary character to which we have referred.

Our mode of procedure has been analogous to this. Instead of transplanting full-grown trees, which either soon die, or retain a measure of life so feeble as to be incapable of vigorous action, we are contented to plant the seed, and suffer it to spring up with the modifications of growth which a new climate introduces. We send out the evangelists—that is our business: to send out the episcopate is not our business: but the nature of the work is such, that, if prospered, this result will in due time follow, and that which is necessary for the further development of the native church be providentially provided.

There are some of our Mission churches which assimilate, in their degree of advancement, to the more infantile formations in the Acts. Others have matured so far as to become ripe for the introduction of the episcopate; and there, as with the churches mentioned in the Apocalypse, a bishop has been placed. The native church of Sierra Leone is a case in point, as also the native church of New Zealand, although in maturation inferior to that of Sierra Leone.

But the introduction of the episcopate into

* 2 Tim. iv. 9. Titus iii. 12.

Sierra Leone has been accompanied by this feature of peculiar interest—the admission, by our highest ecclesiastical authorities, of the necessity of special arrangements, so as to adapt its action to the requirements of the native church. Articles of arrangement between the Bishop of Sierra Leone and the Church Missionary Society, in respect of the regulation of the native church in the colony of Sierra Leone, have been prepared, with a view to their eventual introduction. These arrangements will not, indeed, be legally binding, but, having been carefully considered in all their parts, they have been formally sanctioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. They provide that “the charge and superintendence of the native pastors and congregations, which have been, or may hereafter be, raised up through the instrumentality of the Society’s Mission in Sierra Leone, be placed under the Bishop of Sierra Leone, assisted by a Council and by a Church Committee.” The Council, to be elected triennially, consists at first of five members, eventually to be increased to seven, nominated in certain assigned proportions by three distinct parties—the Bishop, the Society, and the body of licenced ministers in full orders. These members are not exclusively clerical, three out of the seven being laymen. The modifying influence of the Council appears in this, that the Society, in the exercise of patronage, undertakes to follow the action of the bishop, in continuing or withdrawing his licence, only so far as his decision is approved by the major part of his Council.

It is also worthy of notice, that, in a paper presented by the Bishop of New Zealand, when he visited England in 1854, to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, containing “general principles of a constitution for the church in New Zealand,” it is admitted, that the “deliberations of such church assembly should be conducted by the clergy and laity conjointly;” a most important principle, if care be taken to secure a full and *bond fide* representation of the laity.

These facts are of importance: they are an admission to this effect—that, in order to its beneficial action, there must be an adjustment of our home system to the wants and requirements of the colonial or Mission field to which it is about to be transferred. The spirit in which such adjustment should be attempted, and the standard to which reference should be made, is thus stated—

“In all practical questions of ritual or discipline, reference should be had to the general tone and spirit of the Church of Eng-

land as a Protestant and reformed branch of the Church of Christ. There should be no going back to Popish times, or to the scanty and uncertain records of patristic precedents. The Church of the Reformation, as established, and as gradually matured in the reigns of King Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth, will afford the best precedents for an Episcopal Church, which is to win the hearts and cordial co-operation of British subjects, and to perform the great ecclesiastical duty of gathering souls into the fold of Christ, and of building them up in their most holy faith.”*

Shall we be considered as placing ourselves in a doubtful and assailable position if we express our conviction that our Church-of-England organization, if it is to be made available for beneficial service in a foreign land, must be divested, on its transfer there, of the narrowness which the Acts of Uniformity have attached to it, and brought back to the more comprehensive action which might have had place at the period of the Savoy Conference, had there only existed more of moderation and Christian charity on both sides. “It is impossible not to wish that several concessions had been made, on points which, while they affect not the doctrine or discipline of the church, have been, and are, offensive to many who conscientiously adhere to what is ordered; and which, had they been granted at the period of which we are speaking, might probably have tended to conciliation.”† The exasperation which followed the failure of that Conference has ever since been interwoven with the framework of English society. The Act of Uniformity, intentionally so framed that a large body of ministers, in possession of benefices, must either, in complying with its requisitions, have violated their consciences, or, by refusing, subject themselves to ejection, and which was ominously inaugurated by the deprivation of 2000 such men, consummated the estrangement, which, through succeeding generations, has continued to exercise such an injurious influence on our home Christianity. That was indeed a measure of deplorable severity. “Many clergymen never saw the new Book of Common Prayer till St. Bartholomew’s Day; and of the rest, few were so familiar with the work itself that they could at once estimate the nature of the alterations. In this respect the strictness of the act became a burden even to those who did conform: indeed, some persons were ejected who

* Venn’s Colonial Church Legislation,” p. 10.

† Short’s “History of the Church of England,” §. 676.

subsequently conformed, and, among the rest, Kedder, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. St. Bartholomew's Day itself was chosen, that the ejected clergy might lose the tithes for the year; a severity which can admit of no excuse.* The point which was felt most acutely, and which, in all probability, caused the separation of so many, was, that the act excluded all persons from the ministry who had not received episcopal ordination; and those who were not so circumstanced, if they wished to retain their incumbencies, were thus required to submit themselves to re-ordination. One looks back to that period with deep regret: more of the mind that was in Christ, and of the unction of His Spirit, would have secured a different result. But a breach was made, under the effects of which both parties have continued to suffer. "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." Each, during its subsequent history, has not failed, as opportunity presented itself, to inflict injury on the other; but the reaction of the stroke has inflicted the greatest injury. The consequent loss of spirituality has been great. How could it be otherwise? Is a Christian brother no brother because his perceptions in matters of detail are different from ours? Shall we therefore consider ourselves justified in interfering with his ministry, supposing his position to be such, and in every possible way obstructing his usefulness? Shall churches and chapels be erected, not where each is most wanted, but where each may prove most effectually antagonistic to the other? Shall the object be, not conversion, but proselytism, and zeal for or against church-rates be confounded with zeal for the Lord? They who so act grieve the Holy Spirit, and the loss of spirituality is proportionate. But the nation has been the great sufferer. It is impossible to estimate the amount of injury inflicted on the national condition by religious dissension. The results may be seen in the fact that the growth of the population has exceeded the extension of the churches, and that, in localities where masses have concentrated, they have grown up in the neglect of all religion. They care nothing for that which has cared so little for them. But shall the exclusive spirit which ejected from the national church 2000 conscientious men—for conscientious they must have been when they preferred temporal loss to the violation of their consciences—go forth into our colonies and Mission fields to frame

new Acts of Uniformity, and repeat the anomaly which prevails at home, of admitting a priest of Rome without re-ordination, and refusing the same privilege to a nonconformist minister?

The opportunity presented at the Restoration was a precious one, but it was lost. Whether it shall ever occur again in the history of this country God only knows; but at least let the same mistake be avoided in those new fields, where, as the result of colonizing and Missionary operations, new communities are rising up, imbued with a filial deference to the Church of England as their parent stock. Instead of the intolerant spirit which will not yield even that which cannot be defended, let the consciences of other men be respected, even although they be weak consciences, and every thing which might unnecessarily offend be carefully removed.

We venture to introduce an extract from a recent publication as pertinent to the subject we have in hand. It expresses the convictions of an experienced Missionary—

"The church in the colonies [meaning thereby Christians generally], it must be remembered and acknowledged, does not exclusively belong to the church of England. Men of all denominations and creeds flock to those newly-formed communities: colonial society, therefore, is formed of every shade of religion.

"It becomes, then, a deeply-important inquiry, Shall all the differences of the old country be perpetuated in these new ones? Shall these rising communities be split into all those religious factions which separate the church at home? Is it desirable? Is it consonant with Christian love and unity? Is it calculated to promote the spread of our common faith, and the establishment of the church universal? It cannot be. Why, then, attempt it? In doing so we only transport to the colonies the worst part of our faith: we destroy the kernel—love and unity—which alone possesses the germ of vitality, and content ourselves with carrying off the worthless husks of our Christianity—our divisions and hatreds—to these our adopted homes. How can we expect that such will flourish?

"But is it necessary? Shall we of the church of England be satisfied with being only one of the many petty sects; and shall they of those sects be content to transport all the animosities, heartburnings, bitterness, and separations, of the old country? God forbid! It is not, cannot be, necessary: it is contrary to reason, love, and Christianity.

"But further, it is very seldom that men carry away all the bitterness and exclusive

* Short, § 708.

feelings of the fatherland: as they mix with persons of the other classes, they gradually become softened, asperities are rubbed down, and each soon begins to think more kindly of the other, however far separated at home: in fact, old ocean washes away many of the vain fancies of former days, before he lands them on the shores of their newly-adopted country. Hence, abroad, the Churchman and the Dissenter condescend to meet: the stiff Presbyterian and Episcopalian are good friends. All find the real difference between them to be much less than they once thought: their mountains turn into molehills, and it becomes evident that the difficulties in the way of union are not so many and insurmountable as they once thought them to be."*

We have spoken more particularly of the church of England, but our remarks, we conceive, are of universal application; nor is there one of the parent systems in which there is not more or less of rigid details, the expressions of that narrow and exclusive spirit which it would be in the highest degree pitiable to infuse into the native churches. All must divest themselves of their harsh outlines, and hasten to reduce themselves more to the charity and simplicity of the apostolical arrangements. Otherwise, if they transfer themselves with the rigid denominational distinctiveness which prevails at home, they will be rejected by the colonies. Facts have transpired already, indicative of the disfavour likely to be awarded to religious systems and efforts wearing a harsh, intolerant, and exclusive aspect; and which, instead of enlarging communion as wide as the exercise of faith, contract it by some peculiar doctrine or point of detail which does not belong to the integrity of truth.

"There is a great variety in respect of the influence and numbers of the members of the church [of England] in different colonies, and in the disposition manifested by the local legislatures to protect and assist the interests of the church. The advantage in these respects has been in proportion as the genuine spiritual Protestant and evangelical principles of our church are manifested in the ministrations of the bishops and clergy. In such cases there is no lack of local support or encouragement, either from the community at large, or the legislatures. But should there be presented unhappily, in any colony, the predominance of ecclesiastical assumptions above zeal for the truth of the gospel, and for the salvation of souls, there distrust ensues, the church is watched

with jealousy by the authorities, and local pecuniary support is withholden."†

The Mission churches will, we doubt not, be found equally indisposed to the harshness and inflexibility of the unmodified system, whatever it be. Take India, for instance. We entertain the hope that its rising Christianity will refuse to be inoculated with the prejudices and passions of the old churches; and we believe, strange as it may appear to say so, that its preservation from sectarian bitterness will be providentially owing to the fact, that the Missionaries who have laboured to introduce it into that peninsula are men of different denominations. Had they been of one church—of one denomination—it might have been practicable so to identify Christianity with a particular form as to induce an aversion to every other. But already these infantile churches are in a state of fusion, with a view to a more complete oneness than we have been privileged to enjoy at home. All converts in India are alike outcasts from native society; but in being so dealt with they have been thrown together into a new class. Christian profession is a new class springing up in India. It is so regarded by the natives; and all who have become Christians through the efforts of Protestant Missionaries are considered to be of that class. It has hitherto been a despised one—lower than the Pariahs; but it is rising in estimation, and commanding more attention, and some respect. It is an increasing class; for it is willing to receive from all other divisions of native society, such as, on its own terms, are willing to unite with it. But the common element in which all native converts meet and combine is Christianity in its essential truth, as distinguished from the accidentals with which it happens to be clothed. It is because they have embraced *the truth*, not because they have embraced it under this or that particular form, that they have become outcasts. But they have found others in similar circumstances with themselves, and that common Christianity, for which they are alike sufferers, becomes of necessity to them the bond of their union. To disunite them because of differences in externals will be found impossible: they are too strongly knit together in the foundation. We know of one instance in which a native catechist, a man of superior acquirements, expressed himself as indisposed to receive ordination in a particular section, because it would separate him from that large and unrestricted communion with his Christian

* Taylor's "New Zealand and its Inhabitants," pp. 306, 307.

† Venn, p. 28.

brethren which he desired to enjoy. But let the narrownesses of the different systems be put away, so as to afford room for more brotherhood and Christian intercourse, and such objections will not occur. The characteristics of our home Christianity have been, unhappily, narrowness and exclusion: of Indian Christianity we trust the characteristics will be catholicity and union.

We repeat, then, our conviction, that, if the attempt were made to transfer the divisions and separations of our home Christianity into the Mission fields, it would be found impracticable so to do. But we may also add, that the Missionaries, occupying, as they do at the present moment, the important position of *εὐαγγελιστῆς* amongst these rising churches, have no wish to do so. Quite the reverse. They have afforded a convincing proof of this. They have met to confer on that in which they agree, to the exclusion of that in which they differ. They have avowed that the latter are so much less important than the former, that they decided to forego them for a season, that they might give themselves more effectually to the consideration of that in which they are alike interested—the gospel as the instrument of individual conversion and social regeneration. They met, not to consider whether the native churches should be organized after this or that particular form, but to consider how Missionary work might be most successfully prosecuted, so that sinners might be converted, and converts built up in their most holy faith. Besides ten visitors, there were present forty-two Missionaries belonging to the following Societies—Baptist, Cathedral, Church, Free-church, Kirk of Scotland, and London; and they ini-

tiated their proceedings by the following resolution—

“THAT the Missionaries here assembled for consultation respecting the various agencies employed in their work, desire to record their thankfulness to their Lord and Redeemer for the opportunity of mutual improvement which He has thus given. They desire also to express their great pleasure at meeting each other from so many Missionary stations in Bengal, on an occasion so important and delightful. As servants of the only Redeemer of men, they avow a fervent attachment to the distinguishing doctrines of the word of God respecting the fall and salvation of mankind; and an earnest desire to fulfil to the utmost their high and solemn duties as ambassadors of Christ in a heathen land. As brethren serving the same Master, they rejoice in the practical union which has existed among them for so many years, and desire continually to maintain and increase that union, in order that everywhere they may aid each other to advance, so far as human efforts can, the kingdom of Him, whose gospel of mercy they preach to a sinful world.”*

Various subjects of great importance and interest were assigned to particular individuals to be dealt with; such as, the Progress of Missions in Bengal; the Difficulties of Missions in Bengal; Vernacular Preaching, &c. The first of these papers, prepared by the Rev. J. Mullens, to whom we are so much indebted for his valuable statistics on Indian Missions, we hope to introduce in our next Number.

* “Calcutta Christian Observer” for Oct. 1855, p. 435.

THE IJEBU COUNTRY.

Our readers will observe that Dr. Irving's narrative of his exploratory tour into the Ijebu country, in company with the Rev. D. Hinderer, bears date December 1854 and January 1855. Had the arrangements of our periodical permitted, it might have been printed some months back. Other subjects, however, crowded in, and its introduction into an earlier Number than the present has thus been prevented.

A document of this nature, referring to a country hitherto unpenetrated, from its commanding position, intermediate between the Egba province and the districts bordering on the Niger, very important to be occupied, and yet hitherto hostile to Missionary action, cannot be materially affected by a delay of this kind, nor lose its interest because it has not arrived amongst the most recent des-

patches. Its interest is permanent. We trust that its perusal may serve to quicken Christian sympathy into more energetic action on behalf of these African districts now so remarkably thrown open to us. The Ijebu country is accessible. Our advanced posts ought to be at once pushed forward, and that in sufficient force. To neglect an opportunity is to endanger its loss. So soon as a practicable breach is made in a beleaguered fortress the assailing force ought undelayingly to press forward: otherwise obstructions are accumulated, and it is rendered unapproachable. The Society earnestly desires to advance. Perishing sinners in Africa and elsewhere call for help. The cry of the man of Macedonia is heard in all directions. But we are disabled from all enlargement of effort, and that at a most interesting moment. Men and

means are both wanting. When shall they arrive? The work of death is going on, and does not pause in its consignment of unprepared souls to eternity, while professing Christians, who know of God's expenditure of love on behalf of sinful man in the gospel of His Son, deliberate whether they shall respond to the appeals made on behalf of Missions.

*Journal of the late Dr. Irving. R.N.
(written out on his return to Abbeokuta.)*

"Independently of the first and highest purpose, the spread of God's holy word amongst a people comparatively shut up, exclusive and jealous in their policy, and, as far as we could ascertain, hitherto unvisited by the white man—whom report stated to be vastly more superstitious than their neighbours, and prone to human sacrifices—it was a highly desirable object to 'open the road,' this being the first great step to future progress, and the precursor of further advances in religion, civilization, commerce, and the removal of prejudice. The mere act of passing through such a country, seeing and being seen, visiting the towns, conversing with the king and chiefs, and holding familiar and friendly intercourse with the people, and the first announcement of 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill to men,' marks an era in the history of that country never to be forgotten. A third object to be gained by thus visiting the Ijebu country was that of shortening the route into the interior, and especially to Ibadan, where the church has a Mission, still in its infancy, but doubtless designed to become of great future importance. Were the direct line established between this great city and Lagos, the distance of the communication, as it now is, would be shortened by at least two days—a matter of much importance as respects economy of both time and money. As regards mere personal feeling it is also a matter of no small interest to be the first to describe, from actual examination, a country hitherto unknown, excepting from hearsay native report. And although, in a hurried transit like ours, but little can be fixed in the way of accurate scientific observation, yet the general features of the country, its products, commercial and agricultural, the character and disposition of its people, the appearance of its towns, and more particularly, in our capacity, its capabilities for the formation of Mission Stations, are all important and full of interest. The first communications were opened by Mr. Gollmer, Church Missionary at Lagos, who sent one or more messages, with more or less success. The young King of Ode—the proper king of Ijebu—who had lately succeeded his father, subsequently sent two friendly

country letters to the Oyibo (white man) at Ibadan, to which Mr. Hinderer replied. Mr. Gollmer next, relying on the promises of the chiefs at Ikorodu, came over, with the intention of erecting a school, I believe, and placing a teacher or visitor there, and had commenced clearing the ground, when he was compelled to desist, some of the chiefs demurring; and as he and his people proceeded on a walk through the town they were shamefully set upon and beaten by the people of Kosoko—to whom Mr. Gollmer was extremely obnoxious by his indefatigable exertions to prevent his return to Lagos, which was at one time dreaded—and compelled to leave. A native visitor temporarily attached to the Mission at Lagos, and, with the consent of the King of Ofin—ruling a portion of Ijebu—accompanied by a messenger, was also sent with a letter to Ibadan. But on reaching the Ijebu gate of Ibadan, leading to the quarter of the same name, this man and his party were arrested, no previous intimation of such a messenger coming having preceded him. On their being taken to Balle, the civil governor, the latter placed them in the custody of Mr. Hinderer, as coming from the Oyibo, and thus the effectual opening of the road remained *in statu quo*. Things were in this state when Mr. Hinderer sent a message to the King of Ofin expressing his desire to visit the country; and a favourable answer being returned, a letter reached Abbeokuta informing me of the circumstance. It had been long arranged that I should accompany him on the journey. I therefore made all necessary preparations, and left for Ibadan on the 11th of December, reaching that place early in the afternoon of the succeeding day. I shall pass over the route from Abbeokuta to Ibadan, as also that of the latter city, and at once proceed to the narrative of our trip.

"Having sent the bearers with our trunks, boxes, tent, provisions, &c., as before, and wishing good-bye to our friends at the Mission house, we mounted our horses on December 15th, and, crossing a small stream, entered the Ijebu quarter of the city, a small portion of which we traversed, and made our exit by the gate of the same quarter at the south-west part of the town. I could not leave Ibadan without a feeling of regret. Circumstances had led me to pay several visits there. On my first arrival in Africa, after a short stay at Lagos and Abbeokuta, I went to visit Ibadan, and, subsequently, Ijaye; partly from curiosity to see places of which I had heard so much, and partly to pay my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer, whom I had not yet seen, and who were in an indifferent state of health. Mr. Kefer's alarming illness, from which at one

time his life was thought to be endangered, called me up a second time at a very short notice. I had hopes, too, of visiting Ijsha, in which, however, I was doomed to disappointment. My own illness here retarded my departure, till summoned to Abbeokuta to meet the Bishop of Sierra Leone, who had come to pay us a visit. After a few days' rest, I accompanied him to Ibadan and Ijaye, returning to Abbeokuta, from whence I went, for the fourth time, on hearing from Mr. Hinderer that he was about to visit Ijebu, and asking me to accompany him in fulfilment of a former promise. On all these visits I met with much kindness and hospitality; and I had therefore cause to feel regret at leaving a place where I had experienced more of the 'home feeling' than I had done since leaving England.

"The country around Ibadan is very beautiful—undulating, watered by numerous clear-running streams, marked, in their course through cultivated fields, by the more luxuriant vegetation. Everywhere graceful palms (Elais) rear their tall straight stems and crowning summits of leafy fronds in fine relief against the sky; and wherever the higher grounds command a more extended view, we behold the same lovely country reaching far in the distance, till lost in the faint blue of the horizon. The route along which we now passed, however, although of the same undulating character, and possessed of numerous streams, yet was naked, much of the ground being worn out by over cultivation; and the streams deprived of bush and trees. As we went on, the path led through deserted grass-grown farms, lying fallow; and, more in advance, cultivated fields, studding which were soon visible the melancholy evidences of the former civil wars of this unhappy land. On either hand, amongst the stalks of Indian corn, &c., were abundant ruins—ditches, gateways, walls, the foundations, doorways, and ends of houses, from mere vestiges to walls eight to ten feet high. These were Bagurah towns. An almost continuous series of small towns stretched formerly for miles in this direction; a 'street of towns,' as it was described to me by one who remembered them—Ogubonna, the Abbeokuta chief—to whom I am also indebted for the names as they occur in succession from Ibadan to the river Onna. They were, 1. Irã; 2. Ikreku iri; 3. Ilusakodi; 4. Ijaye kekere; 5. Igbegbo; 6. Orun; 7. Idomapa.

"To the north-east of and near to Ibadan are the extensive ruins of Owu. These are in the open field, and in good preservation, from the quality of the clay. To a great distance on either hand these ruins extend;

and from the time of entering one gate to our departure by another twenty-five minutes were occupied, on horseback, our direction being nearly a straight line, and the animal walking at a brisk pace. With this city originated the civil war which reduced to ruins so many towns once large and populous. For some five years did a powerful army of the people of Ife, Ijebu, and Yoruba, lay siege to this devoted town, till, worn out by famine, disease, and their numbers further diminished by the casualties of war, the inhabitants fell an easy prey to their exulting and savage conquerors. Owu is now one of the largest districts of Abbeokuta, and the chief has been lately elected, for the first time since their town was destroyed, under his old title of oluwu—oni owu, 'he has Owu,' or 'the possessor of Owu'—but without the act of coronation, in deference to the alake, their old head, represented by one better known by his former title of Sagbua, now king of all the Egbas. From this town of Owu the conquerors passed to Ikija, hereafter to be mentioned, which was accused of having assisted Owu with provisions during the siege. I mention this, to explain how these Bagurah towns—Egba-Agura—Irã, Ikreku-iri, &c., were passed over, and not at once destroyed, although lying in their route to Ikija. It is a sad and melancholy sight, these ruins. The country before us now became most picturesque and beautiful; and after passing two rounded hills in a hollow to the left, and crossing a noble stream running in the same direction, we reached, about an hour from Ibadan, the ruins of another Bagurah town—Orun—which has its representative also in Abbeokuta, whither the survivors fled, and where they reached later than many other towns whose lot it was the first to fall. In ten minutes we had traversed the town, and the second wall was surmounted; and a little further on we arrived at a halting-place for travellers, or aroye, of which there are generally several on the principal lines of route, where yams, boiled corn, bananas, palm-wine, beer, &c., are to be had, exposed for sale under or outside a shed. These have each their name, as other halting-places have, often from some tree or trees in the neighbourhood. The name of the present was Alapa or Alaka, I could not catch which, from the apa or aka tree growing there. To the left was a pond and water plants.

"Entering an arched and shady lane, with a well-worn rutted road, we soon came to a second aroye, and, crossing a stream running to the left, near to which the road leads in the same direction to Ijebu Ode, an exquisite tract of cultivated—cotton, corn, &c.—

undulating palm-covered country, extending far into the distance, opened to the view on either hand.

"We now entered tangled bush, and in a quarter of an hour another Egba town presented itself—the town of Idomapa—the outer wall of which crossed the road as it led up an ascent, and again descended to a valley, where, looking right and left, a pretty view and rounded hills appeared. On the ascent and summit of this, as well as on the preceding height, numerous and abundant ruins appeared in all directions, with their usual concomitants of broken earthenware, or the large domestic cooking-pots, of the same material, entire, and apparently resting on the same spots within the walls of the dwellings where they last were used. On the slope leading down, too, were numerous patches, or rather thick, dense masses of the pretty Indian shot (*Canna Indica*), with its rich green leaves, stalks, and crimson corols. In speaking of ruins, I should have said that the 'ino ariable,' Indian shot, may be truly called the African emblem of the desolation and decay of the dwelling-places of man. This plant is in Africa what the ivy is at home: wherever a ruined town exists, there will be found the Indian shot. I had become so fond of the *canna*, that, missing it once on a site of desolation, I carried seeds with me on my next visit, and strewed them on the ground. 'Look out, John!' said I to my servant, on first visiting another town, 'look out for the Indian shot'—not seeing my old acquaintance. 'No, Sir,' said he, with a confident shake of the head; 'he not live here. Ki! look, Sir!' he exclaimed suddenly; 'there he live!' pointing to one solitary point raising its head from behind a piece of broken pot, near what were once human dwellings.* Idomapa must have been a good-sized town, with its double walls and ditches; and, like the others, still bears its name in Abbeokuta, which city may be truly called a representative assembly for the ruined Egba towns. A quarter of an hour was occupied in traversing it; and at a short distance from the outer wall, at the foot of the slope, we crossed the Onna, a broad and moderately

quick, clear stream, running to the left with a south-easterly direction. At this season of the year it is only two or three feet deep in the centre, and twelve or fourteen feet in breadth. I have passed it at three places, viz. on the road to Ijaye, to Abbeokuta, now to Ijebu, with Ibadan for the starting-point of these routes. At an open space beyond this we rested, and had breakfast, and in half an hour again started.

"The path became wider, mostly level, shaded overhead from the hot rays of the sun; a really beautiful, partly avenue and partly lane, leading through bush. After we had passed across a circular open space, overgrown with long grass (formerly, in the days of prosperity of the Egba towns, an arroyo for travellers; and where we saw some tall trees—*esò*—completely covered with crimson blossom without a leaf) the wood became more lofty, more decided, and several light wicker frameworks were seen here and there, to shelter travellers at night when covered by mats or branches. The road, as heretofore, led to the southward and westward; and after we had crossed a rocky height with a rather steep descent, at the foot of which was a dry watercourse, and ascended the succeeding undulation, the outer wall and ditch of the ruined town of Ikija, and on the summit of the height the inner wall and a very deep ditch, presented themselves. Ruins and broken pottery now showed themselves in the intervals of the lofty trees. Patches of Indian shot looked fresh and green; and had one of our most popular of the serial writers of the day been here he would doubtless have furnished them with words, and made them say, 'Here we are again, you see; at our post as usual, trying to make desolation smile. We knew you were on the look-out for us.' Patches of the agiddi leaf—*iran*—also appeared. A rather steep descent, whence the view was somewhat picturesque, led to a deep valley or hollow amphitheatre overgrown with long reedy grass, pink and yellow convolvuli twining round their stalks. Through the centre ran a scanty stream, and at the other side the path led steeply up the oppo-

* "Its presence is thus accounted for. In different parts of the Yoruba country various leaves are used for tying up kola nuts: of these the Indian shot is often employed. Its seeds, from whence it derives its English name, are also extensively used in play at a game called 'tadò.' A piece of bambu, a foot or more long, is taken; and at about an inch from the end a square hole or well is cut. Along the convex side of the bambu is cut a longitudinal groove, the breadth of a goose-quill, leading into the well. A slight inclination is given to the apparatus 'opadò'—*opa*, 'a stick,' *idò*,

'seeds of canna.' Into the well are placed three or four of the seeds *idò*. One is now inserted into the far end of the groove, and allowed to roll down. If it lands above the others, and does not touch the sides of the apparatus, the player wins: if it falls in the bottom at the sides of the rest, or even above them, but touching the sides of the apparatus, he loses. Game called 'tadò'—*ta*, 'to play,' and *idò*, 'seeds of canna'—and apparatus 'opadò.' The seeds used in this game falling about will in great part account for the patches described.

site hill, between ruined walls. On the summit was the inner or proper town wall and ditch—fragments of walls more or less entire. Pots of earthenware abounded, and were seen on either side amongst the trunks of the trees which have grown up since the town was destroyed.* Passing the outer wall, and a very deep ditch, we left Ikija at two P.M., having occupied twenty minutes in passing through it.

"Ikija was the town of Ogubonna, now chief of Ikija at Abbeokuta. The Egbas who inhabited it were of the Egba-lake tribe. It was built partly upon the two heights, partly in the intervening hollow already described, as you come from Ibadan, and enter the town by the gates in the outer and inner walls. The portion of the town built on the first height was called Ikólo; on the right of the gate was the quarter of Elisa; on the left, that of Igbesse. The middle town was situated in the hollow, and named, from the stream, Odomu. "The opposite height and town were named Ejiwa. It had six gates: 1st. one to the east, to Ijebu Ode; 2d. one to the south, to Ikreku; 3d. one to the north, to Ibadan; 4th. the Elisa gate, to Ilawo and Abbeokuta; 5th. Onna-egau—road to the bush or forest; 6th. Bode-obba—king's-gate or custom-house.

"After the fall of Owu, already described, Ikija was the next attacked, the reason alleged being, as I have already stated, the latter having assisted the former during the siege. But when an army has been for years in the field, without moral check, ill fitted for peace, and for so long inured to plunder and a lawless life, but little excuse is necessary to cover a deed of violence. For four months the city, unassisted by the other Egba towns, was besieged, and at last stormed and taken by the Ijebu and Ife army at the Ikreku gate. It is in fulfilment of a promise to our friend Ogubonna, who would only tell me about Ikija on condition that 'I put it into a book,' that I give these details; not that I think Ikija is as worthy of commemoration as the Egyptian hundred-gated Thebes. I would also observe that a book means, not alone what issues from the printer's press, but any thing written, as a letter, &c. 'Have you brought a book?' 'Wait, and I'll send a book,' meaning a letter.

"After leaving Ikija the road became troublesome, from many fallen trunks of trees, the course still leading to the south-westward; and after passing for nearly an hour and a half through a long stretch of wood, we reached, at twenty minutes past three P.M.,

the deep-worn, rocky bed of Odd-omi, or the brook Omi. Descending one bank, we crossed the dry course, and, ascending the other, dismounted in an open space on the south bank, well strewn with agiddi leaves, the accumulated evidences of the multitudinous suppers of preceding travellers. Here we found a few travellers already seated and resting; and here, as we had no reason for hurrying on, we agreed to remain for the night. Having seen the tent in progress of erection, wood collected, a fire lighted, the tea-kettle put on, and the steam getting up, we proceeded in different directions along the sandy path of the Odd, from which, here and there, the rocks peeped out. We performed our ablutions at some stagnant pools of not over-clean water; and, after this apology for a bath, returned to dinner, and were soon deeply engaged in the mysteries of an Irish stew of fowl and yam.

"As evening came on we sauntered up and down, and talked *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. The stars began to peep out, and the moon arose. Our bearers, sensitive to cold, lit their fires, and sat or lay stretched out with their cloths drawn close around them: a few discontented monkeys were heard barking from the neighbouring trees, and most of our party were soon fast asleep.

"During the night parties of Ijebus continued to arrive, preceded and followed by a country lamp, formed of a square, flat piece of iron, with raised edges to contain the oil, and the angles pinched into channels for wicks: to the angles were attached four wires, the whole suspended by a chain. Some of these people went on; others again, after expressing their surprise to see a tent and white people, hung their lamps on branches of the trees around, lit their fires, ate their agiddi, and went to sleep; and except a few deep-drawn respirations, the champing of the horses eating, the aforesaid discontented monkeys, or the barking of the awawa in the depths of the forest, all was soon in stillness.

"As I have several times alluded to the food called agiddi, and the present is an excellent opportunity, and I feel but little inclination to sleep, I may as well take this opportunity of saying what agiddi is. Agiddi is a word from the Popo language, and adopted from the liberated Popos, who first manufactured it at Sierra Leone. This is not the Yoruba term: the latter is eko. Agiddi, or eko, then, closely resembles in nature, consistence, taste, and mode of preparation, what in Scotland we call sowens, which is prepared by fermenting in water the farinaceous particles and husks, to which they are attached, of the oat—*avena*—after the grain has been extracted by drying preliminary to grinding into meal. The fluid

* "Several wild fig or banian trees, once, no doubt, shading open squares or market-places, were also seen, looking strangely out of place."

is strained, and boiled to the proper consistence. Of this dish many people are very fond. Now the agiddi or eko is in every way superior. It is prepared in the following manner. The maize, or Indian corn, is steeped in water placed in a large country earthen pot, and allowed to stand for four or five days, till it becomes quite soft, and slight fermentation takes place, rendering it a little sour. This is then taken out and beaten in a wooden mortar with a large wooden pestle, till it forms a soft pulpy mass, which is then ground between smooth stones, and next taken and agitated with water till all the husks are detached, and the farinaceous particles are suspended in the mixture, which is then strained.* The refuse is given to feed goats, sheep, &c., and the remaining milky fluid set aside to settle, the clear water mostly poured off, and the residue boiled. When of a proper consistence, portions are poured into the fresh green leaves of a plant called *iràn* or *eràn*, and the edge folded over it, and it is then ready for food. It is solid, tremulous, gelatinous, half transparent at the edges, pure white, smooth, with a slightly sour but not disagreeable taste, and is altogether an elegant-looking and nutritious article of food. It forms, like yams, one of the staple foods of the country; and hence, at all the resting-places, old agiddi leaves abound. Hence, in towns, a great part of the rubbish and waste are agiddi leaves. These are the leaves of a scitamineous plant called *iràn*, oval or heart-shaped at the base, growing at the end of a long smooth petiole the size of a goose-quill. The plants rise from the ground several feet high, and abound in patches in the woods, sides of open paths, &c., and are also extensively used for thatching, as at Ibadan, and some other Yoruba towns, so much so, as almost to be characteristic. In Abbeokuta, houses are generally grass-covered.

"Dec. 16—I awoke this morning when the light still struggled with the darkness. The early mist was clearing off. It was nearly eight o'clock before we were all ready to start. Observing a low-growing plant with bright red berry or fruit, bordering the edge of the bush, I inquired its name—"arunkono," "we chew but cannot grind"—so named from the roughness of its leaves. These Africans have most striking names for all their plants. *Dáguro*, 'to make war difficult,' is the name of

another insignificant spreading weed, with sharp points to its seeds and capsules painful to the feet. *Amoye*—mo, 'to drink,' eye, 'blood'—is applied to a plant whose crimson or purple leaves contrast strangely with the surrounding green; and so forth—elephant's fluke, squirrel's ladder, farmer's needle, 'I die on the fence,' applied to a convolvulus whose dead stems remain. 'That it may burst—po!' to the *cardios permum*, whose inflated capsules children burst; 'I will rather split than break,' the name of a tree with tough branches, &c.

"We now proceeded along a very picturesque and lovely footpath in a W. S. W. direction. Numerous *Napoleonas*, with their dark green leaves and curious flowers, some proceeding at once from the trunk or branches, others strewing the ground, bordered the road on either side. Solitary, gigantic, and picturesque cotton-trees reared their buttressed bases and lofty stems, but not in undisputed pre-eminence. Palm-trees—*elais*—abounded: in fact, along our whole route, the eye, glancing around, was never without this tree to rest upon; and it was remarked, that, were all the other trees cut down, the country would still present the look of a forest from these alone. The abundance of this tree far exceeded any thing I had seen yet, excepting in the neighbourhood of Ibadan. The path continued wide, picturesque, arched and shaded over head, with an occasional flickering of the sunbeams at our feet. After crossing some four dry beds of water-courses, with a direction, as in every instance yet, towards the left hand, or towards the south-east, and passing some wicker sheds, we rode up a gradual ascent, and, by a very steep descent, reached a valley or amphitheatre, closely resembling that of *Ikija*, with the same long, reedy grass, twining convolvuli, patches of 'iran,' &c. Through the centre too ran a stream to the left. Ascending on the opposite side, between walls on either hand, and reaching the summit, we crossed a ruined wall and deep ditch, and stood within an open space, with fragments of walls and broken earthenware on every side. This was once the town of *Ikreku*—*Ikreku ula*, 'Ikreku the big.' As usual, the Indian shot was here to greet us. From Mr. Barber, native catechist at Ibadan, who accompanied us, we derived much information. A native of *Ijemo*, he was taken captive at the destruction of that place, and followed his new master into the Ijebu country. He was with the army which besieged *Ikreku*. The town, he states, was destroyed in 1826, as it was the year previously to his being liberated at Sierra Leone, which he knows to have been 1827. It has been already said that *Owu* was the first town de-

* "Best agiddi: five days soaking and fermenting, one day bruising and grinding, seventh day sale. The water in which it is steeped is kept, and the ground or bruised corn afterwards boiled in it after it has settled. If fresh water, the agiddi is quite hard."

stroyed. After this fell Ikija, whose ruins we have described. From thence the conquering army of Ifes, Ijebus, Yorubas, proceeded against other towns of the Egbas. Kesin and Emere soon fell. They then settled in the Egba towns of Erunwon and Ijemo, and a part pitched on the road to Itoko. Here they found cause of quarrel with Ijemo, and destroyed it. Itoko next fell. Returning through the ruins of Ijemo they passed through Oba and Itoku to Ijeun*—towns also of the Egbas—where they settled. The Ijebus, wishing, on account of the slave-trade, to have the army nearer them, invited them to come to their country. A quarrel at the same time fell out between the two chief leaders of the army, Laboshide and Maye. Hence a division took place in the army. Laboshide, heading his party, went with the Ijebus, and the king gave them the town of Ipara—of which I shall speak by and bye—to pitch in, the people of Ipara removing to a neighbouring town, Ishara. Maye went and settled at Iporó. From these separate places the two divisions of the army went out daily, kidnapping and destroying the smaller Egba towns, the Ijebu slave-traders always offering a ready market for their captives. The Egba towns of Igboire, Imó, Igbein, &c., joined their strength together in the attempt to destroy the camp at Ipara. Marching all night, they arrived before daylight—a favourite time of attack in Africa. Entering the town, they began to kill; but the enemy, rallying, defeated them with much slaughter; and, as a consequence, Igboire, Imó, Igbein, &c., fell in turn. About a twelvemonth after this, or less, a quarrel was sought with Ikrekú, and easily effected, as follows. A party of Maye's army at Iporo went, *more solito*, to buy provisions at Ikrekú. After purchasing certain articles they refused to pay, and beat the woman who attempted to prevent their leaving without doing so. Her husband's relations set upon Maye's men in turn, and at last the chiefs drove them from the town. This was quite sufficient. Messengers were sent to Laboshide, at Ipara, for aid. He besieged Ikrekú from the south, Maye from the north, and both were defeated. A reconciliation now took place between the two chiefs. Maye left Iporo, where he was in too close neighbourhood to Ikrekú after his defeat, and joined Laboshide at Ipara. From this quarter—south—they besieged Ikrekú the second time; and although the town was assisted by the Egba towns of Itoku, Oba, and Erunwon—but their aid proved vain—Ikrekú, after a few months'

siege, fell; and, as a matter of course, Itoku, Oba, and Erunwon, shared its fate, the three latter being stormed and taken in one day. It was after this the army removed to Ibadan, destroying all the Bagura towns mentioned in an early part of the journal, and the others which were left, till not one remained.

"There are several things which strike in the preceding account or outline of the civil war in Yoruba. 1st. The Egba country must have been much more populous, the towns and villages more numerous and more widely scattered, and the cultivation greater. 2dly, Although nominally rendering obedience to one head, the chief of Ake, yet they were virtually independent of each other; and although of one great family, yet they were all mutually jealous and frequently at war; and, as will be seen hereafter, often gloried in and assisted at the destruction of each other. This will explain the army sitting down and mingling with the people of certain Egba towns—although this might be also partly a result of fear—and going, without fear, to others—as Maye's people to Ikrekú—to purchase provisions, and returning without danger. 3dly, It will be seen what a prevailing element the slave-trade has been throughout, in perpetuating this war, as it was present at the commencement. 4th. That on many occasions these towns fell unaided and unassisted by their own country-people. Driven from their towns, their country laid waste, their crops plundered and destroyed, hunted for their lives or the purposes of the slave-dealer, the inhabitants often sought refuge in the ranks of the enemy's army, and, smarting under the loss of their own homes, they too often turned their arms against the other Egba towns, in retaliation for their not having aided in their defence. A little episode will illustrate this.

"Whilst writing these sheets, Ogubonna, the well-known Egba chief, paid me a visit, and, after admiring nearly every article of furniture in the room, of which he much wanted me to get him duplicates from England, he inquired what 'book' it was I was writing? I said I was writing a book to England about his town of Ikija, and the civil war. After he had given me the details already furnished, I said, 'How was it you made such a poor fight of it, and were so soon taken?' He said that they fought well, but none of the other Egba towns came to help them, and their enemies were too many. The chief himself, then a young man, was taken prisoner to Ode—Ijebu—where he was for some months in chains. Ogubonna's father, he told me, was Ijebu. He was soon liberated. 'Where did you get these wounds in your neck and arm,' pointing to some old gun-shot cicatrices in these loca-

* "Ijeun, Shokenu's town."

lities. Touching them with his finger, and his face brightening up, he told me they were got in the attack upon Ikreku. 'Ikreku,' said I, 'what were you doing at Ikreku? Ikreku was Egba, was it not?' 'True; but it was the people of Ikreku that called the Yoruba army and helped them to break Ikija.' He then told me, with great pride, that it was he who, after aiding Maye to break Ikreku without success, succeeded at length in effecting a reconciliation between him and Laboshide, and thus completing its destruction. He admired Maye, he said, because he was a 'fine man,' and helped him to break some of the other Egba towns which had been enemies of Ikija. He was present at the capture of Itoku, Oba, and Erunwon.

"On the return of the victorious army to Ibadan, he accompanied it: by this time there was a regular Egba portion of it. After a time, as was to be expected amidst so many conflicting elements, civil war arose. Lamode, the Egba chief, was killed, and Shodeke, who became their head, was advised by Maye, I believe, to withdraw with his people to where Abbeekuta now stands, as they were not strong enough to hold their own against the rest. This Shodeke did. Ogubonna still remained with his friend Maye, till the latter was killed by the Ijebus and Ifes, when he came and joined his friends at Understone. So much for Ogubonna's story—a good illustration of the feeling of the times.

"At the risk of being prolix, and spinning out my narrative to too great a length, I will give one more instance of what I have already spoken. A day or two previously to the chief's visit I was seated on the withered sward of the Mission enclosure at Ake, holding converse with my landlord Abraham, an Egba farmer, a member of the church—I have a small piece of ground in his farm for a little experimental cotton-planting. He was telling me of the capture of his town of Toko by the Yoruba army, and also that the very ground where we were then sitting was at that time 'farm for Toko,' and that a number of Toko people had run here for shelter, after their town was destroyed. 'As soon,' said he, 'as they heard that Ikreku was going to be attacked, they all ran away to help against it, carrying corn and yams to make the hearts and the arms of the warriors strong.' 'How came this?' said I: 'fight against your own people!' 'Epà! òpo-ju!'^{*} said Abraham: 'did not Ikreku bring the Yoruba army against Toko? Did not Itàm-

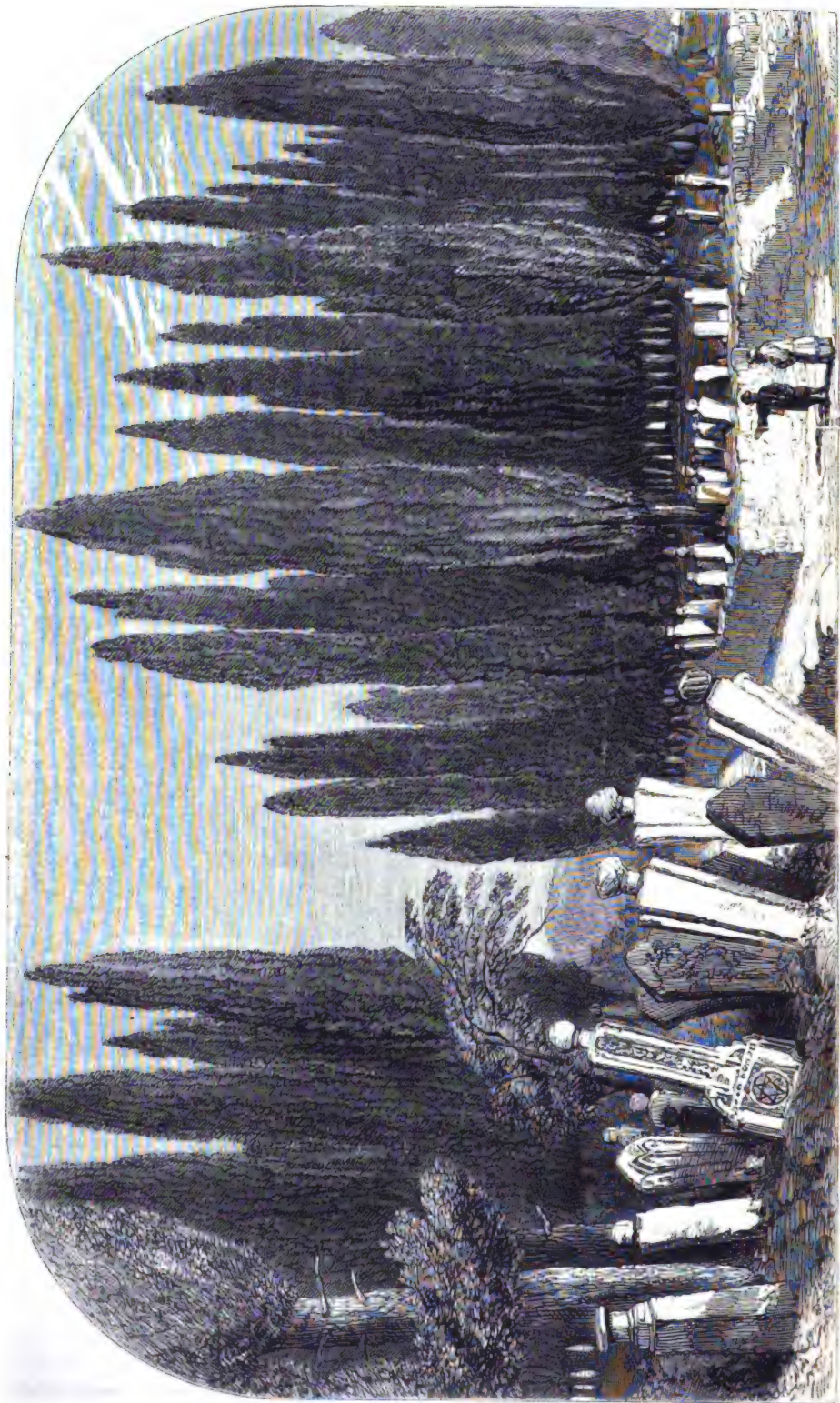
balla, chief of Ikreku, begin by burning a farm town near Toko? San panná-o!'[†]

"I am afraid I have loitered too long amongst the ruins of Ikreku. In ten minutes we reached the wall and ditch. The town was built on a height, with a descent on both sides. Not far from it was a beautiful grove of palm-trees, 'okpeh ara Ikreku.' The road was not quite so good as before; and after about half an hour's travelling we reached the Osa, and, crossing its deep-worn bed, in which were seen a few rocks and some muddy pools of water, we dismounted for a few minutes at an open space on the opposite side. Here we found an Ijebu man with his wife and child, and to him Mr. Hinderer entrusted a line or two in pencil to his friends at Ibadan, giving a few cowries as an earnest of more, on the execution of his commission. The letter, we found afterwards, reached safely. A now broken-down, rude suspension bridge had once crossed the bed of the river. It was ten o'clock before we left Osa. Here there were some fine palms, and several detached, very lofty trees. In about ten minutes after leaving, we came to a road, which led off at an acute angle to the left, to the town of Ishara, hereafter to be mentioned, an Ijebu town beyond Ipara. At forty minutes past ten we passed an extensive palm-oil-tree grove; and further on, at fifty minutes past ten, we crossed the deep bed of a stream with a pool or puddle of water. For the next two hours the road continued, as it had ever done, with trifling exceptions, since we left the second Aroye, near to where the path leads off to Odé, or about four or five miles from Ibadan, viz. bush and forest, now ascending, now descending, now leading across deep, dry watercourses. Palm-trees—elaís—everywhere abounded. Hearing a good deal of talking behind, and occasionally loud laughter, I halted for a moment to inquire the cause, and found it proceeded from our people, to whom my horse-boy was relating some marvellous stories about certain Yoruba men who could change themselves to animals, and from animals to men and women, through powerful charms which they possessed. Of these stories the Egbas, in common with the rest of the Yoruba nation, are very fond; and frequently of a moonlight night our bearers would listen delighted, and with loud laughter, to some tale of the kind, while at intervals the whole company joined in full chorus, singing some verse apparently often repeated.

(To be continued.)

* "Common exclamations of the Egbas—the first letter being a deep and slow, surprised inspiration; the rest slowly and deliberately expired. Epà, 'no meaning;'; o-po-ju, 'much and more.'"

† "San panná-o, 'small pox,' which disease has worked great ravages amongst the Yorubas, and hence a bitter expression. Its manner of being uttered reminds me much of a Spanish curse."



CEMETERY, CARAVAN BRIDGE, SMYRNA.—*Vide* p. 83.

TURKEY AND ITS REFORMS.

TURKEY, and the reforms which are in progress there, command, at the present moment, especial interest. And well may they do so. A nation is struggling to break forth from that ancient faith, under the powerful impulse of whose fanaticism it prevailed and conquered, but which it now finds to be a hindrance and obstruction. Mahommedanism is dying, and the Turk appears to be convinced that he must either break loose from its grasp, or go down with it into the grave; and hence the effort which has commenced, and the throes of which we must be prepared to witness, for the disruption is one which cannot be accomplished with facility.

Mahommedanism arose on the decline of the Christian churches. "I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed: how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me?" If of the Jewish church this complaint were true, how much more of those who had fallen from higher privileges! "Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger." With similar *empressment* had superstitions been devised, and idolatries multiplied, amongst those who bore the Christian name, until His anger was moved, and from amidst the smoke of the bottomless pit arose the predicted scourge of the Apocalyptic vision. The dire host of fierce invaders—numerous as locusts, so rapid in their movements that they seemed as if winged for action, and "the sound of whose wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle;" their false faith as the scorpion's sting—rushed forth from the recesses of Arabia, and, with a continued stroke, smote the nations. Syria was first invaded, and luxurious Damascus yielded to the power of the Moslem. Emerging from the boundless tracts of arid sand, to which, from their infancy, they had been accustomed, these wild sons of the desert found themselves on the horizon of a new world. The riches and cultivation of glorious lands lay before them, and their arms became nerved, and their hearts made strong, for the fulfilment of Mahommed's injunction to "urge forward at the sword's point their faith and power, until the whole world should be subservient to the crescent's rule."* Around doomed Jerusa-

lem were assembled the hosts of these terrible invaders, with one mighty voice, as they rushed to the assault, giving utterance to these words from the Koran—"Enter ye, oh people, into the land which God hath destined for you!" Nor did they slack their hands until Jerusalem el Shereef—the holy—was constrained to bend her haughty neck to the Moslem yoke, and enter into that state of serfdom which has now been perpetuated for twelve hundred years. The meanly-clad caliph, advancing into the church of the resurrection, and standing forward as the mighty conqueror, on whom every eye was riveted, and before whom every heart quailed, presented a verification of prophecy so remarkable, that Semphronius the patriarch involuntarily exclaimed, "Of a verity, I with mine own eyes behold the fulfilment of the prophecy by Daniel, the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place." Seventeen years after the commencement of the Mahommedan imposture, in the 637th year of the Christian æra, the foundations of the mosque of Omar were laid on the site of the ancient temple, and there it remains to this day, standing where it ought not. Jerusalem became, in the estimation of Mahommedans, a holy city, its mosque in sanctity inferior only to the Kaaba at Mecca; and thither, year after year, have resorted on pilgrimage, not only the corrupt Christian and the Jew, but the Moslem pilgrim. In the estimation of each, this remarkable place is invested with a communicative sanctity, to participate in which they are contented to travel far: but there the Moslem is the lord. Mahommedan soldiers guard the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the motley pilgrims who prostrate themselves on the marble floor find entrance there at his permission; while on all around the Jew reads Ichabod, and wails over the vestiges of departed glory.

It is unnecessary to trace the details of Moslem conquest. "In the space of thirty years that wretched little territory, in an arid and inhospitable soil, where the prophet had first preached his new faith, had gone on rapidly subjugating all things to its power, and shifting its boundaries wheresoever his standards waved—from the confines of Beluchistan, Cabul, and Tartary, on the one side—through Irak, all Syria, and Palestine, to the countries bordering on the Arabian Sea; while even at that early period, if conquest had not extended so far, the immense number of traders, annually plying to and fro between the countries of Islam and the continent of Hin-

* Neale's "Islamism," vol. i. p. 19.

dostan, had among them zealous Missionaries of the newly-propounded faith, setting forth to heathen nations, as proofs of its infallibility, the astounding fact that the soldiers of Islam carried with them victory whithersoever they went, even as a magical spell which no power had been found able to break; while fair cities were springing up on the borders of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and while the palms were now overtopped by lofty minarets, from whose balconies sounded the startling muezzin call—There is no God but God, and Mahommed is His prophet.* The vigorous impulse of the new-born fanaticism continued to be sustained, until Northern Africa was subjugated, the islands of the Mediterranean—Cyprus, Malta, Crete, and Rhodes—occupied, Spain invaded and its southern portion permanently subdued, while as far as the Rhone the desolating stroke of Moslem war was felt.

When the Saracenic power became enfeebled by luxury, and unequal to support the weight of Mahommedan ascendancy, a new pillar was provided to sustain the fabric. The Turks, loosed from the Euphrates, advanced to complete the overthrow of the Byzantine empire. The first irruption of Mahommedan invasion had been from the south. This new one came from the east. Advancing through the passes of Olympus, which Greek carelessness had left open, the Euphratean horsemen possessed themselves of Nicomedia and Nice, and, after a lengthened conflict of twenty-seven years, conquering Brusa, and constituted it their capital and centre of their power, from whence they might prepare themselves for further conquests. Nor was the holy war against the infidels intermitted. Crossing the Hellespont, and subduing Rumania, they hemmed in Constantinople on the right hand and left. Earnestly did they covet to appropriate its wealth and grandeur. There lay before their eyes the ancient Byzantium, admirable in situation, commanding the shores of Europe and Asia, the chosen *entre-pôt* where the merchants of the cold north and warm south might meet, and exchange the productions of their respective climates. Yet it was not until nearly 130 years had elapsed from the conquest of Broosa that the hosts of Mahommed II. advanced to the siege of the doomed city. Eight hundred years had elapsed since the fall of Jerusalem: so long had Constantinople been warned, but in vain. Its Christian population "repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood:

which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk." The day had come when Constantinople was to be crushed beneath the stroke which had been so long uplifted, yet delayed. On the 29th of May 1453 the last Greek emperor fell, by an unknown hand, in the breach he was defending, and the furious tide of Mahommedan victory rushed in. That which the Saracens had vainly attempted nearly 800 years before, when they were repulsed by the Greek fire, the Turks had now accomplished. As the Caliph Omar entered Jerusalem, so Mahmoud entered the St. Romanus gate of the subjugated city, but far more proudly. The caliph was the representative of the hardy sons of the desert, as yet unaccustomed to the refinement and pomp of more civilized lands; but Mahmoud, as the representative of a race which had now spoiled the choice things of Oriental Christianity, was attended by his bashaws, viziers, and guards. At the principal door of St. Sophia he alighted, and entered the dome; and his first act was to execute judgment on the image of jealousy, which had provoked the anger of God, the instrument of whose displeasure on an apostate people he was suffered to be. He commanded it to be cleansed of the monuments of superstition, the crosses to be thrown down, the walls to be denuded of the images and mosaics which covered them, and, when its naked simplicity had been restored, then to be changed into a Mahommedan mosque.

The Saracenic power, in the possession of the south of Spain, had a European *status*, but the new Mahommedan organization was still more formidable. Eastward and westward its limits were extended. The Asiatic platform of the first Moslem conquerors was occupied so far as the frontiers of Persia, and the subjugation of the Byzantine empire gave the Turks access to the very heart of Europe. It is well to consider the position the Ottoman power was permitted to occupy on the world's map, that we may understand some of the providential purposes for which this scourge was permitted for a season to prevail. It was thrown in as a wall of separation between corrupt Christianity and heathenism. Between these two elements there had been too much of unhappy admixture. By that admixture Christianity had been deteriorated, while heathenism had undergone no improvement. The further continuance of that process of alloy would have been productive of disastrous consequences to the future prospects of our world. This new imposture—anti-Christian in its rejection of Christ as the true Prophet and alone Mediator, yet also antagonistic, in its anti-idolatrous and

* Neale, vol. i. p. 109.

iconoclastic tendencies, to the worship of images and idols, wherever to be found, proudly reserved and exclusive in its character—despised both corrupt Christianity and heathenism, and sternly refused all compromise with either. On corrupt Christianity it was a heavy judgment, bowing it low by a continued pressure, and diminishing its power of doing mischief. The obstructions which corrupt Christianity has offered to the revival and advancement of pure gospel truth, have proved to be sufficiently formidable. How much more so would they not have been, had not its political power been weakened. And so we find, in our own day, that Mahommedanism is more tolerant than corrupt Christianity, and that, in Turkey, the Scriptures, and the teachers of scriptural truth, are permitted a freedom of action, which, in countries like Austria and Italy, where Rome has political ascendancy, or Russia, where the Greek Church dominates, is sternly refused. Moreover, without this humiliation, the corruption which had already introduced itself would have increased in virulence, until these fallen systems had become incurably leprous.

It is remarkable, therefore, the position which Mahommedanism was permitted to occupy. Interposing between deteriorated Christianity and the vast regions of heathenism further to the east, it severed them from each other, and reserved the great mass of the heathen nations for better influences at a future day. The Nestorian branch of the Eastern Church appears to have been longest retentive of Christian life and energy; and just about the time when it lost all further capability of wholesome influence and action, it became surrounded and shut up by the inundation of Mahommedanism. That false system was a calamity which the Oriental Churches, by their unfaithfulness, prepared for themselves. Had they remained true to their Lord, and His testimony, Arabia would have been evangelized: there would have been no cockatrice-egg deposited in its hot sands, from whence came forth, in due time, the fiery, flying serpent. When visiting Syria, in his five and twentieth year, as Khadjia's agent and merchant, had he met, not with ignorant and superstitious monks, but with faithful evangelists, who would have told him, not of Mary, but of Jesus, of different might have been the development of Mahommed's character, and the part that he enacted amongst men! Left without truth to guide him, his pride rendered him peculiarly susceptible of delusive influences; and he who once, dissatisfied with the dark and gross idolatry of Mecca, desired a purer faith,

became as a star that falls from heaven to earth, and "opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit." Still, great as the evil was, and terrible as the infliction proved to be, it was overruled, as we have seen, to the prevention of other and more formidable evils.

It might be expected, if this view be correct, that as Christianity, recovering its purity, rose to renewed life and vigour, the necessity for this exceptional system would cease, and that from thence, as a fixed point, we should be enabled to trace the decline of Mahommedanism. The reign of the great Solyman extended from A.D. 1520 to 1566, and during its earlier years unceasing and successful wars were carried on with the surrounding nations. Belgrade, Rhodes, Schirvan, Georgia, were subdued, Pesth and other fortified cities of Hungary captured, and the borders of the Turkish empire continued to be extended. The mighty conflagration which had been kindled raged with undiminished power, and the nations trembled at its progress. But the Reformation had commenced, and, in despite of the anathemas of Rome, and the antagonism of Charles V., was gathering strength. On September 27th, 1529, Solyman appeared before Vienna, and commenced the siege. It was precisely the moment of a great religious crisis in Germany. The decision of the Diet of Spire (March 1529) had been so unsatisfactory to the leaders of the Reformation, that several of the princes had protested against it, and had received from thence the name of Protestants. Charles, however, resolved on restoring religious unity to Germany, convened the Diet of Augsbourg (May 1530), and, having condemned the confession of faith presented to him by the reformers, decreed a limited time, before the expiration of which they were to conform to the doctrines of the Papal See. The Protestant leaders, urged to extremities, formed themselves, therefore, into a defensive league at Smalcalde, and civil war was imminent, when the threatening aspect of affairs in Hungary and Austria, in consequence of the irruption of the Turks, compelled the Emperor to conclude the truce of Nuremberg, which was renewed from time to time until the year 1544, a pause of first importance to the cause of the Reformation. Turkish aggression began now to lose that character of irresistible impetuosity before which every thing had yielded. On October 15th, 1532, Solyman was compelled to raise the siege of Vienna. "From this date his usual fortune seemed to have deserted

him, for he was unsuccessful in his war against Persia, and an attack on Malta, in 1565, ended with a great loss on his part. In order to recover his *prestige*, Soliman placed himself at the head of the army still engaged in Hungary. He found, however, such determined resistance from Count Zriny that he died through vexation, on the 30th of August 1566.* The naval conflict of Lepanto took place on October 7th, 1571, in which the Turks lost 224 ships and 30,000 men. Meanwhile, the Reformation was proportionably advancing. In England, the short-lived fury of Mary's reign had expended itself, and England's profession of Protestant Christianity, by Elizabeth's accession, was confirmed and established. In Germany, by the treaty of Passau (1552), the liberty of Protestant worship was sanctioned, and a definitive peace concluded on the subject of religion.

Turkey, from the time of Murad III.—1574 to 1695—gradually sank. "Sultans, educated in the seraglio, mounted the throne to become the instruments of their courtiers, and tried to secure themselves by the murder of their relatives; internally the people sank deeper and deeper into the slough of ignorance and despotism; the pashas ruled in the provinces even more despotically than the sultans, and the janissaries were at perfect liberty to do as they pleased. They deposed and strangled sultans, and raised others to the throne after the most arbitrary fashion."† The Euphratean horsemen had been loosed for "an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year;" and now this period of 391 years, or thereabouts, becomes, in a remarkable manner, the measurement between the leading features of their progress, and the leading features of their decline. The first conquest of the Turks over the Christians took place A.D. 1281, and in the year 1672 the Turkish power appears to have reached its zenith. Candia was taken A.D. 1669. This was followed by some victories over Poland, the last that increased the Ottoman limits. Shortly after, circumstances brought the Turks and the Russians into collision for the first time. The campaign was of so severe a character as to be productive of much discontent among the Ottoman soldiers, and of sincere regret on the part of the grand vizier that he had not advocated a more pacific policy. In July 1683 they were defeated under the walls of Vienna by Sobieski, a discomfiture which has never been retrieved, and from thence their decline may be dated.

In A.D. 1300, the Emir Osman, from whom the Turks received their dynastic name, commenced to reign; and in 1691 the energetic Vizier Kiuprili fell in battle against the Imperialists, and Solymán II. died. In 1327, Brusa was taken, and constituted the capital of the rising Turkish power; and in 1718 the treaty of Passarowitz was signed, which deprived the Turks of Temesvar and Belgrade, and a portion of Servia and Wallachia. The reign of Murad I. extended from 1359 to 1389. During this period the whole country was conquered, from the Hellespont to the Balkan, and Adrianople made the seat of empire. The corresponding period, to which we are advanced by the addition of 391 years, from 1750 to 1780, was a disastrous period to the Ottoman empire. War with Russia ensued, in which the Turkish arms suffered continued reverses, until, by the treaty of Kadjuk-Kainardji, signed July 17th, 1774, the Porte gave up to Russia the fortresses of Kinburn, Kertsch, and Yenikale; yielded its sway over the Tartars in the Crimea, Bessarabia, and Kuban; permitted the Russians to navigate all the Turkish seas; and conceded to the Tsar the protectorate over all the Turkish subjects who belonged to the Greek profession. From 1389 to 1402, Bajazet I., called Ilderim—lightning—from the rapidity of his conquests, subjugated Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, invaded Greece, overran the greater part of Asia Minor, conquered Wallachia, and advanced into Bosnia and Hungary. From 1780 to 1793 was as remarkable for the decadence, as the previous period had been for the accelerated progress, of the Turkish empire. In 1783, the Tartar Khan gave up the Crimea and Kuban to the Russians for a yearly pension. A war with Russia, commenced in 1787, terminated as adversely as its predecessors, and, by the treaty of Jassy—January 1792—the left bank of the Dneister was ceded to Russia. The reign of Mahommed II. extended from 1451 to 1481. Turkish history distinguishes him from other sultans by the name of conqueror. Within this period Constantinople fell; and the augmentation of the empire may be estimated from the fact, that no less than two empires, fourteen kingdoms, and two hundred cities, were subjected by him. The corresponding period to which the addition of 391 years would introduce us, presents a very different aspect: it is that of our own day, in which the decay of the Ottoman empire became so alarming, that, to save it from extinction, its rulers have been necessitated to commence that series of remarkable reforms which we now proceed to review.

* "Turkey: its History and Progress." Larpent. Vol. i. p. 183.

† Ibid. Vol. i. p. 184.

The reverses to which the empire had been subjected, had forced upon the minds of intelligent Turks the conviction, that their institutions, incompatible with existing circumstances, required alteration and amendment. In Selim III., whose reign extended from 1789 to 1807, this tendency had very distinctly manifested itself. While yet confined in the seraglio by his uncle, Abd ul Hamid, he evidenced his desire to make himself acquainted with the mode of administration pursued in professedly Christian countries, by sending an intimate friend, Isaac Bey, into France, and entering into correspondence with Louis XVI. On his accession to the throne, he attempted to carry out a new military organization, after the European fashion, as well as some alterations in the governmental administration. Financial changes were also rendered necessary to provide for the increased expenditure. He set the printing-presses again in activity, which, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the ulemas and copiers of manuscripts, had been introduced by Ahmed III. (1703—1730). The ulemas and janissaries viewed these innovations with anger, and a violent insurrection ensued. Selim was first deposed and then murdered, and his successor, Mustapha IV.—removed after a similar manner, first by deposition, and then by a violent death—made way for the accession of his youngest brother, Mahmud II. He seems to have inherited the reforming tendencies of his uncle Selim, and, reviving all his measures, provoked another insurrection of the janissaries, in which his grand vizier, Baidraktar, perished, and his own life was placed in the most imminent danger. History, indeed, records that he was spared only because he was the last legitimate descendant of the race of Osman.

Although checked in the very commencement of his efforts, Mahmud did not abandon them as impracticable. In fact, it was impossible to do so, if the empire were to be preserved. Surrounding nations were progressing rapidly in understanding and intelligence, while Turkey was as rapidly declining. He, however, proceeded with more caution, introducing his improvements gradually, and endeavouring to conciliate the janissaries; until at length, wearied of their turbulent spirit, he secretly resolved on their destruction. The stroke of vengeance came upon them on June 15th, 1826. Breaking forth in one of their customary revolts, they were surrounded, and cut down to the number of 20,000, and this formidable body, so long and intimately identified with the fluctuations of the Ottoman empire, ceased to exist.

Disembarrassed of this obstruction, the sultan pushed forward his work of reformation. The sale of slaves was discountenanced by him; the troops were drilled and costumed after the European fashion; women allowed to walk in the streets; the rayahs had better protection extended to them, and the Franks, as far as possible, secured in their lives and property. Instead of the turban and flowing robes, the sultan and pashas assumed the red cap, or “fez,” of Morocco, the trousers and double-breasted surcoat of Western Europe. The first Turkish newspaper, the “*Takvimi Veekai*,” or the *Tatler of Events*, was issued on November 5th, 1831. Such as could read purchased it eagerly, and conveyed it home. Others flocked to the public cafés and khatibs, where they might hear it read. The phlegmatic Turk was aroused to interest by this pleasant innovation on the dull monotony of Ottoman life, and its circulation rapidly extended, even so far as Alexandretta and Antioch. Men began to have some indistinct perceptions of what was going forward in other lands, and to read of railways and steamers. The sultan’s attention was also directed to the medical science and its improvement. An anatomical treatise was printed at the Scutari press: a school for surgery opened on January 2d, 1832; vaccination encouraged; and a lunatic asylum contemplated.

One of the most remarkable acts of Mahmud, one very significant of the mitigation of Turkish intolerance, was the publication, in 1831, of an edict, which ordered the repair of every Christian church which needed it: in compliance with which, notwithstanding the embittered feeling towards the Greeks which at that time pervaded the entire Moslem population, thirty-six Armenian and twenty Greek churches were renewed. Time was, when the privilege to exist was all that Turkish bigotry would concede; but that they should be actually repaired out of the public funds, was, to Moslem prejudices, marvellous indeed.

Yet these alterations brought with them no improvement in the declining fortunes of the empire. The reign of Mahmud, one of the longest and most important in the annals of Turkey, was a time of political decadence. Wars of disastrous issue, and rebellions of vassal pashas and outlying portions of the empire, followed in quick succession. The treaty of Bucharest, in 1812, transferred the whole of Bessarabia, as far as the Pruth, to Russia. Then followed the war of Greek independence in 1821, the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino, October 1827, the renewal of hostilities with Russia, the capture of Varna, the successive defeats of the Turkish

forces, the passage of the Balkan, and the surrender of Adrianople, September 1829, about 391 years after its recovery, by Murad II., from the fictitious Mustapha, the Perkin Warbeck of Turkish history, and the reconsolidation of Rumania and Anatolia under one sceptre, as preparatory to the conquest of Constantinople. The disheartened temper of the Osmanli left the sultan no other alternative than peace, although attained by large concessions. Greece was recognised as an independent kingdom, while to Russia were ceded the islands at the mouth of the Danube, the fortresses on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, and a portion of the pashalik of Ak-halsikeh in Asia. In 1831 Mehemet Ali, the Egyptian pasha, raised the standard of rebellion, subjugated Syria, and carried the war into Asia Minor. On the plains of Nezib, near Aleppo, a battle was fought, on June 24th, 1839, and the Turkish troops entirely defeated; but before the intelligence could reach Constantinople, Mahmud had died, and his son, Abd ul Medjid, the present sultan, on being girded with the imperial sword, found himself destitute alike of navy and army, the entire Turkish fleet, a few days previously, having been given up by the Capudan Pasha to Mehemet Ali.

Mahmoud's reforms arrested not the decadence of the empire. Perhaps this may be accounted for. Turkey needs more than reform: she needs regeneration. She needs the infusion of a new principle, which, taking possession of men's hearts, shall exercise from thence a renovating influence, and gradually ameliorate the fabric and institutions of society, rather than changes *ab extra*, forced on an unprepared and unwilling people. The true instrument of regeneration—that which alone conserves while it corrects, and prepares for new institutions by the renewing of a nation's heart—had been introduced during the reign of this sultan within the limits of the empire. The Missionary action of pure Christianity had been initiated, and, amongst the Armenian subjects of the Porte, had produced results of a very decided character; so much so, as to arouse the antagonism of the Armenian hierarchy and bankers, and to attract the attention of the emperor himself. But it was with no favourable recognition that he regarded this new movement. He viewed it through the medium of misrepresentation, and permitted the persecutors to use, for their own purposes, his royal power. But the further development of this tendency was precluded by the critical position in which the empire was placed by the successful rebellion of Mehemet Ali, and by the sultan's death in July 1839.

The reign of the present sultan, Abd ul Medjid, introduces a new era to our attention, and one of deepest interest to Turkey. He inaugurated his reign by a measure of reform of the most comprehensive character, and has adhered, with remarkable perseverance and consistency, to the principles which are therein enunciated. Moreover, it is remarkable, and full of hope for Turkey, that these reforms have been such as to facilitate the introduction and rapid extension of gospel truth amongst the rayahs. Had it been otherwise—had he proved an obstructor and persecutor of God's truth and people, as his father had shown himself not indisposed to be—his attempts at improvement might have been equally unavailing. But his measures have not only been directed to the improvement of political economy, but they have conceded liberty of conscience to his Christian subjects, and have afforded opportunity to the only element which can conserve the kingdom at this crisis of its history, to enter with strength into the land, and spread abroad its wholesome influences. It will be our duty to trace these reforms, and the concurrent measures which, setting free the work of evangelization, have afforded to gospel truth the opportunity of effecting such beneficial changes amongst the nominal Christians, whose misrepresentations of Christianity had fearfully prejudiced it in the eyes of the Moslems.

Four months after the accession of Abd ul Medjid, the Tanzimat was established by the celebrated Hatti-Sheriff of Gülhanie. "On that day, so memorable in the history of Turkish regeneration, numerous tents were raised in the gardens of the imperial palace of Pop Kapu, known by the name of Gülhanie, and crowds of high dignitaries were assembled, including the representatives of the foreign courts, while troops were drawn up in the neighbouring streets and squares. On the arrival of the youthful sultan, the patriarchs of the Greek and Armenian church, the chief Rabbi of the Jews, and deputations of the different corporations, together with the members of the government, followed by their *employés*, were admitted to his presence. The chief of the ulema*, and the chief general officers of the empire, took their places. The

* The ulema, or learned, to distinguish them from the ignorant masses, are divided into judicial—composed of the interpreters of the law, and the judges—and the religious, to which the ministers of public worship belong. Originally, both functions were confounded in the ulema, just as the sultan unites in his person the offices of sovereign legislator, and supreme chief of religion. At present the ulema contains three classes of functionaries—the cadis, or administrators of justice, the muftis,

grand vizier* presented the Hatti-Sheriff to Reschid Pasha, who read with a loud voice the important document which had emanated from the imperial will, and laid the foundation of the new constitution of Turkey."

As the basis of all the emendations which have taken place during the last sixteen years, this document possesses sufficient interest, if our limits permitted, to be introduced in *extenso*. But as this cannot be, we must confine ourselves to an outline of its provisions. It refers to the ancient prosperity of the empire, and its confessed decline; attributing the bygone prosperity to the reverence with which the precepts of the Korán had been regarded, and the subsequent deterioration to a diminution of that regard. It proposes the amelioration of the national condition; and, with a view to the attainment of this object, the formation of such new institutions as should secure to all, life, honour, and fortune.

Amongst other points, in which amelioration was to take place, may be mentioned a just taxation; a mode of recruiting on fixed principles, and for a period of limited service; and an extension of all that the Tanzimat conceded to all subjects of the empire, irrespectively of the religion or sect to which they might belong. It undertakes, also, that, amidst these improvements, nothing should be done which might be opposed to the religion and government of the nation, for whose regeneration the new institutions were intended; and ordains that these enactments, being a complete renovation and alteration of ancient usages, should be published at Constantinople, and in all towns of the empire.

In this document some singular inconsistencies are apparent. If the Korán be so promotive of the national welfare, whence the need of new institutions? It might be sufficient to revive the old. The fact that such alterations have been found necessary, proves not only that the old institutions, which had emanated from the Korán, had not conduced to the common weal, but that men to a certain extent had awakened to a consciousness of this. What could be expected from a book of imposture, which is well described as "a discordant, incoherent jumble of sentences,

doctors or interpreters of law, and the imams, or religious ministers.

* The office of grand vizier was instituted in the year 132 of the Hegira (750 A.D.). The word, borrowed from the Arabic, signifies "porter," to indicate that he sustains the chief burden of state affairs. He is the chief administrator. The sultan's decrees are called hatti-sheriffs, or hatti-humaoun, or simply, hat.

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gleaned from fugitive Jews and Christian sectaries, Nestorians, Monothelites, and Euty-chians, strangely huddled together by the false prophet, and imposed on an ignorant, enthusiastic people, who could not give a stronger mark of their barbarism than believing it to be the word of God?" What is there of regenerating, corrective power in Mahommedanism? what of adjustment to the necessities of our fallen nature? It is a cold and meagre system. Its deism is a mere abstraction, carrying with it no vitality, and leaving the soul without Him whom it professes to recognise, but who is unknown, except as seen in Christ. What a substitute the false prophet, the slave of sin, and, like other men, subjected to death, when compared with Him who did no sin, and over whom death had no power! How can he help, who could not help himself? or what provision has he made for the redemption of sinners? The influence of his system on the mind is for evil, not good. It stimulates to pride, ambition, cruelty, and guides to sensuality and slothfulness. War with the infidel is the direction of the Korán—"Fight them until there is no unbelief left, and the true religion alone survives." Mahommed's paradise is a dream of sensuality. Can we wonder if men anticipated the enjoyment of it by the indulgence, as opportunity presented itself, of cognate vices? Under the influence of the sterner passions, we can conceive the Moslem nations going forth like the devouring fire to waste and to destroy, and then, as they became enriched by the spoils of war, settling down into a self-indulgent inactivity. This we believe to be the adult aspect of Mahommedanism. Its youth is fiery and grasping: its mature age an intense selfishness. Individuals are regardless of the rights of others, because they are so absorbed in themselves; and hence the venality and injustice which, superabounding in Turkey, have rendered it so difficult to promote the beneficent intentions of those in authority to real practical results.

Thus, under the pressure of an unhappy and demoralizing system, the nation had become paralyzed. Under occasional excitements, resuscitations of the energy of former days may have occurred, but they soon subsided into habitual lassitude and disinclination to exertion. And thus the remarkable spectacle has been presented, of upwards of 30,000,000 of people, one half of them, probably, of the Moslem faith, located in a most commanding position, with capabilities for the attainment of commercial greatness of a superior character—a sea surrounded with land, the Asiatic and European provinces in-

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vited to an exchange of their respective commodities, and both furnished with numerous harbours within which to welcome the merchandise of the world—a delicious climate, the various provinces of the empire so situated as to blend the products of the tropics with the staples of Europe—yet with all these natural resources undeveloped, and the entire commerce in the hands of strangers. Compare England and Turkey as to the element of industrial activity, and how great the difference! How many natural gifts and sources of national wealth, in the latter kingdom, are left unemployed! “How many brooks flow idly past, which would drive mills and works! What immeasurable forests remain uncleared through the want of roads! How much building material lies uselessly strewn about! What mineral treasures do the mountains contain—how much of them is visible on the surface, and only requires working! Whole square miles of country are covered with mulberry-trees, without an okka of silk being manufactured. But what capitalists would enter into speculations of this nature?”*

But there is another point worthy of remark, as significant of the tendencies of the Mahomedan system—the non-increase of population, and its thinness compared with the extent of territory. Sir James Porter, our ambassador at the Porte some one hundred years back, assigns to European Turkey, including the Danubian principalities and Servia, a population of 15,500,000. In a review of the condition of Turkey, based on the statements of various recent publications, we find the same numerical statistics. We have said there has been no increase: we apprehend that with truth we might speak of a decrease of population. Various authors have referred to it as a noticeable fact. But we content ourselves with the more moderate position, that the population, as to numbers, has remained, on the whole, stationary. Compare with this the increase of our English population. In half a century it has more than doubled itself. The comparison stands thus—

England and Wales.

Census of 1801. . . . 8,892,536

Census of 1851. . . . 17,927,609

The contrast of population in these two countries, when viewed with reference to ex-

tent of territory, is equally remarkable. The whole superficial area of the Osmanli empire embraces some 600,000 square geographical miles, with a population, at the highest estimate, of 85,000,000. The superficial contents of England and Wales are computed at 58,535 square miles, or not one-tenth of the area of Turkey; yet the population of the smaller territory is more than half the population of the larger. England, with its 58,000 square miles, contains a larger population than Turkey in Europe, with its 200,000.

How is this to be accounted for? There is undoubtedly some injurious element in the system, which interferes with the natural increase of man. Various causes have been assigned, but we confine ourselves to two—first, the practice of polygamy. The result is, throughout the Turkish dominions, a disproportion of the sexes, and that notwithstanding the continued importation of female slaves. To this must be added the fatalism of the Moslems, which interferes with the use of means, because, whether employed or otherwise, the irreversible decree must take effect. This dogma occurred to Mahommed immediately after the battle of Ohod, when his followers were disheartened. In the third chapter of the Korán he supposes them saying, “If any thing of the matter had happened unto us we had not been here;” i.e. “If we had kept within the town of Medina we should have been safe;” and then his answer is, “If ye had been in your houses, verily they would have gone forth to fight, whose slaughter was decreed, to the places where they died. . . . What befel them was so ordained of God.” There are many other passages of a similar character, but these are sufficient for our purpose. The practical influence of the *kesmet* among the Turks is great. “If a Mussulman suffer a severe loss, if a fire destroy his house, or a fraudulent banker carry off a part of his fortune, he says tranquilly, ‘It was written,’ and with this consolation he passes from opulence to misery without a murmur.” The God of Scripture works through means, and the conviction of this makes the rightly-informed Christian diligent and pains-taking, as well in temporal as in spiritual things. The Korán describes God as working irrespectively of means, and under the influence of such a dogma man becomes apathetic and inactive.

From the admixture of population in Turkey, we are not in a position to discern, to their full extent, the depopulating tendencies of the Mahomedan system; yet that such is the injurious effect that it produces we doubt not. The extent of burial-grounds in Turkey appears as if significant of the fact that the land

* “Present State of Turkey.” Calcutta Review, No. XXXVIII. June 1853. Works reviewed—Skene’s “Three Æras of the Ottoman Empire.” “Lettres sur la Turquie, par M. Ubicini.” Urquhart’s “Turkey and its resources.” Macfarlane’s last work on Turkey.

is under the spell of "the abomination that maketh desolate." "It has been said that nowhere is the *memento mori* so often before the eye as in Turkey, and we are inclined to believe the assertion; for in that country, go where you will, the tombstone will be found staring you in the face. It matters not whether the walk be through the crowded street or the lonely wilderness; whether on the top of the hill or the depth of the valley; in the precincts of the palace or the hovel; among the confused mass of stones, lime, and wood, gathered together to build a new house; or amidst the ruins of a former age: all places seem to have been the resting-places of the dead; and Constantinople, with its suburbs, seems to be built on a large burial-ground, which, from time to time, has been invaded to erect houses for the living."* The largest of the Mussulman places of sepulture at Constantinople is on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, covering several square miles of ground. To this burial-ground are transferred the remains of many who have died on the European side, in consequence of a widespread persuasion amongst the Ottomans that Europe is only their camping-ground, and that eventually they will be compelled to retire into Asia. There is a peculiar impressiveness about these resting-places of poor mortality, with their dark cypresses massed together, and singular-looking tomb-stones standing erect from the ground, and varying in height from two feet to ten, and, in some cases, from twelve to fourteen. "The stone over a male has always a turban of particular kind peculiar to the deceased: if he was a hadji, then a hadji's turban cut out of the marble surmounts the stone; if an emir, an emir's turban; if a dervish, a dervish's turban; and of late years even the fez of Sultan Mahmoud is beginning to appear on the top of the tomb-stone. If the tenant of the grave be a female, the top is bevelled on both sides to a point.† Some of these stones are free of any paint or gilding, while others are covered with one or both; but all of them contain the name, &c., of the deceased, with some extract from the Korán carved out in the Arabic character. The Turks never knowingly open the same grave twice: hence the extended nature of their burial-grounds."‡

We attribute, then, to the precepts of the Korán, and the laws which they suggested, not Turkey's former prosperity, if such indeed it

can be called, when, possessed by a fanatical furor, it ravaged the nations, but its present decadence. As a nation, the Turks must either perish, or else be disentangled from this deteriorating system. The reforming efforts of its rulers is the expression of their conviction that great alterations had become necessary; nor would they ever have persevered in them, amidst so much difficulty and personal danger, had not the sense of self-preservation necessitated them to do so. The Tanzimat promises that the new institutions should not be opposed to the religion of the empire. It is only as they break forth from the narrow and exclusive temper of Islamism that they can be productive of good. So far from conceding that "the Hatti-Sheriff of Gulhanie was merely a return to the ancient legal order of administration, by the extirpation of all the irregularities and abuses of power, which two centuries of anarchy and disorder had substituted in place of the legitimate order of government, founded by Mussulman law, and by the original institutions of the empire," we are satisfied that, if the Jariat § is to decide, all these various improvements are inadmissible. Mahommed, rejecting alike the distinctive truths of Christianity, as well as the corrupt additions which had supervened on its original simplicity, so far as doctrine was concerned left himself but narrow limits; and, leaving a subject on which he felt himself so impoverished, expanded his system into the threefold aspect of politics, morality, and religious forms, affixing to each the imprint of divinity and eternity; so that to improve or innovate is adverse to the very nature of Mahommedanism. Just as, in India, the correction of various absurd notions on natural and scientific subjects is an aggression on the religious system which has affixed to such puerilities the stamp of its pretended divinity, so precisely is it with respect to political institutions and national usages in Turkey. It is to pronounce that faulty which Islamism has pronounced to be of God; and in so doing, the religious principle from whence these institutions derived their authority is of necessity disparaged.

We shall proceed to trace the development of the reforming principle as embodied in the Tanzimat, and the divergence of the new mea-

§ The Jariat is the theocratical law derived from four sources—the Korán; the Sunnah, or traditional summary of the words, precepts, and oral laws of the prophet; the Idjima-y-ummet which contains the explanations, glossaries, and legal decisions of the four first khalifas; and the Kyas, or juridical decisions of the four great imams in the first three centuries of the Hegira.

* Reid's "Turkey and the Turks," p. 181.

† These features will be observed in the Cemetery represented in our Frontispiece. It is from a sketch by the Rev. W. Knight.

‡ Reid, p. 186.

sures from the spirit and usage of Mahomedanism.

And first as to the educational department. The Korán is confessedly the work of an illiterate person: Mahommed has so described himself in its pages. The metrical orations in which the Arabs exercised themselves enabled him to use the pure and elegant Arabic of the tribe of Koreish, but the language expresses little more than a tissue of incoherent rhapsodies. There is nothing in the Korán to raise the intellect of man, or call forth its energies. At Bagdad and Cordova attempts were made by the caliphs to graft the cultivation of literature and science on the Mahomedan system; but the result produced was characterized by no healthful development, and degenerated, after a time, into that vain pomp and expensive pageantry which are indicative of a feeble-minded and decaying people. With the overthrow of the Abbassides and the Andalusian caliphs all progress in literature ceased among the Moslems. The Turks have never been otherwise than an illiterate people, and have exhibited in this respect the true tendencies of the Korán. Scientific studies and inquiries were generally condemned amongst them, and the study of philosophy was viewed as the sure way to scepticism and infidelity. As might be expected from the prevalence of such opinions, public instruction was entirely in the hands of the ulema. The schools were of two classes—the mektebs, or elementary schools, and the medresses, or seminaries of Islamism, attached to the great mosques, and designed for higher instruction. In the mektebs, beyond the reading of the Korán little was done for the youth who attended them. In the medresses, the same book still continued to be the pandect of information. The pupils were carefully instructed in the mystical traditions, the acts of Mahommed, the duties of fasting, prayer, corporal purification, and the pilgrimage to Mecca; but of geography, history, chronology, in their simplest forms, they knew nothing. Carefully excluding the discoveries of modern science, and proscribing mathematical and physical instruments as puerilities, these seminaries were admirably fitted to keep the Turks in isolation from other races, and to stereotype them in ignorance while surrounding nations made progress. It is scarcely a matter of surprise, and assuredly not one of regret, that so few of the pupils, on leaving the mektebs, entered the medresses. There was nothing attractive in the tedious and formal routine which awaited them, and ninety-five per cent. contented themselves with such fragments of

knowledge as the mektebs had doled out to them. The few who entered the medresses did so with the intention of being enrolled amongst the ulema. "Behind the medresse there is a huge building, composed of small cells, exposed to the rays of the sun, and all the furniture consisting of a mat and straw divan." There, in attendance on lectures, ten or twelve years are expended, the mosque to which the medresse is attached affording the student maintenance. He then receives the first degree of ulema, that of mulazim or candidate. Seven years more leads to that of muderris (professor): thus, gradually ascending, if life last so long, he reaches at length the first rank of ulema—that of Suleimanyé, from which the Sheik-ul-Islam, also called the mufti, is chosen.

A firman of the government in 1845 declared the re-organization of the entire educational system. It removed its direction from the hands of the ulema to a council of public instruction. After providing for the improvement of the mektebs, it instituted a new class of schools, intermediate between them and the medresses, called mektebi rudchié, or adolescent schools. Here, "in addition to the Korán, arithmetic, geography, geometry, history, the natural sciences, astronomy and astrology, eloquence, poetry, jurisprudence, metaphysics, and philosophy," are made subjects of instruction; and although the books selected to form the basis of instruction were far from being the most desirable, yet an attempt was thus made to remove the old restrictions upon the pursuit of knowledge. Steps were also taken for the improvement of the special schools, of which there were several, and, amongst others, the imperial school of medicine, founded by the late sultan at Galati Serai. "A clinical ward for sixty patients of all creeds" was established. A female professor from Vienna gives lectures and instructions to such of the Turkish ebeh radmin—midwives—as are disposed to profit by her lessons. There is also a vaccinating department. "The Ottomans have also overcome their prejudices in other matters connected with the therapeutic and pathological science. Subjects are now freely furnished to the school of anatomy. . . . It was decided that the bodies of all convicts dying in the bagnio should be sent to Galata Serai for the purpose of dissection, and that without distinction of creeds;"* and it happened, singularly enough, that the first body introduced was that of a Moslem convict, which, after some murmurs, was freely used.

* Larpent, vol. ii. p. 157.

These educational changes materially aggress upon the stronghold of Mahomedan fanaticism, and are destructive of the isolation it prescribed.

The alterations in the laws of slavery present another remarkable interference with the laws of the Korán. That book divides the earth into two great parts—the country or abode of Islamism, and that which is inhabited by infidels, the country or abode of war. Hence, between the Moslems and Giaours there ought to be, if the Korán and its requisitions were strictly carried out, perpetual war. Slaves constituted a portion of the legal booty obtained through the *djihad*, or holy war. If, on the subjugation of a district, the inhabitants refused the conditions proffered them, conversion to Islamism, or the *kharadj* or poll-tax, they were accounted *ganimét*, or booty. To these were eventually added imported slaves, whose sale was considered perfectly legal, the principle of slaveholding having been unequivocally sanctioned by the Korán. An imperial decree of 1847 closed the slave-market, and compelled those who still desired to buy and sell their fellow-men to clandestine operations. This decided measure has been truly interpreted by many as a direct infringement of the Korán, and the enforcement of it has caused *emeutes* in remote portions of the empire. We refer to the news brought by a late overland mail of insurrections at Massowah and Juddah—

“From time immemorial a flourishing trade in slaves has prevailed betwixt the chief places on the Arabian and African shores. Massowah, a town of between 3000 and 4000 population, is the chief point of export. Sometimes as many as 1000 slaves are to be found here together, ready for shipment, in vessels of some twenty-five tons, for Juddah, on the opposite coast. About a fourth part of them are believed to die of sickness, or perish by their own hands, on the way. They consist chiefly of Gallas, who are smart, clever, and faithful. Men at the age of twenty-five fetch from thirty to forty dollars; a good-looking girl for the hareem fetching about double this. Next to these are the Abyssinians, for the most part Christians after a sort, entrapped into slavery by the Mahomedans, who inhabit the borders of Abyssinia between the mountains and the sea. They are sold by auction, the auctioneer receiving a dollar per head, the government raising a tax of about as much more. There used to be about 2000 slaves sold annually at Massowah, of whom one-half were Christians. Some months since, the Sultan, formerly the great protector of the slave-trade, issued orders to the Turkish authorities at Juddah and Mecca for its

suppression. The order was sent by the pasha of Juddah to the *kahmukun* of Mecca, who, having referred the matter to the *cadi*, it was proclaimed as imperial, and to be implicitly obeyed. The *ulemas* and inhabitants on this proceeded to the Court of Justice, to demand on what authority the abolition of slavery had been ordered. On the *firmán* of the Sultan being quoted, it was denounced by them as opposed to the Korán, and the *cadi*, being attacked, escaped with his life, and with difficulty found refuge in the sanctuary. The *kahmukun* having come to his rescue, the order was read a second time, but treated with such scorn, that violence immediately ensued, and numbers were wounded on both sides. The troops having fired at the *muezzin*, and shot the priest as he went up to prayer, a battle followed betwixt them and the townspeople, in which about a hundred of the latter fell, when a general rising all around immediately ensued. The troops were compelled to retreat, and were beleaguered in the fort. Abd-el-Montalib, a malcontent at Taif, once in high authority, at this time arrived at Mecca, and almost immediately after Reschid Pasha reached from Constantinople, with instructions from the Porte to seize him and send him to the capital. Sherif Nazir was appointed to act in his stead, until the nomination of his successor Mahommed-bin-Awn. A similar amount of excitement, and from the same cause, had arisen at Juddah, and both places are now in a state of siege. Meanwhile the people told the authorities, that, as the laws relating to slavery were founded on the Korán, they must remain unaltered; and that as the Sultan, who had been always hitherto the most strenuous defender and vigorous promoter of slavery in these parts, must, doubtless, on the present occasion, have been moved by his allies, the French and English, the flags of these nations must be pulled down, and their representatives expelled. The pasha of Juddah, taking the consul under his protection, proposed referring the question to the Porte; when the multitude declared, that, unless their wishes were complied with instantly, they would take the matter into their own hands. The insurrection threatens to extinguish the power of Turkey in Arabia altogether: the Sultan can only look to Egypt for aid, and Egypt is itself almost powerless.”

We pass on to that in which we perceive the most marked contrariety to the requisitions of the Korán, the elevation of the non-Musulman and hitherto depressed portion of the Sultan's subjects, to an equality with the more favoured Moslems. The *djihad* is the true

expression of Islamism towards those who are without its pale, and the sword has been the great instrument of proselytism. If Christians were not exterminated, it was only on condition of receiving the brand of servitude, and the kharadj was imposed as the "pecuniary penalty substituted in lieu of captivity, or even of the death they had incurred, in the sight of Islamism, either by refuting its doctrines or resisting it." The terms which the Caliph Omar imposed at the surrender of Jerusalem, are those which have been perseveringly acted upon from generation to generation, thus rendering the Christian the slave of his Moslem master. "By the treaty of Elia, the Christian was compelled to rise on the entrance of a Moslem, and to remain standing while his guest was seated: they could only ride on saddleless horses, never bear arms, sell no wines, entertain Islam strangers three days gratis, bear no Arabic inscription on their signets, and never salute after the Moslem manner. But, above all, no more Christian churches were to be erected, and the church doors were at all hours to be left open. Christian children were not to be taught the Korán, nor were Christians to attempt proselytism: bells only to be used in tolling, and no crosses to be carried through the streets or erected in churches. There were some stipulations of minor importance, relative to the dress of the Christians, which distinctions, with very little variation, have been, until recently, enforced. These conditions, severe and degrading in tenor and spirit, were at once accepted; and the caliph, under his own hand and seal, gave them an assurance of the protection of their lives and property, and the free use of their churches, and the exercise of their religion."* Long did the Mussulman, under the influence of the Korán, continue to exhibit the same exclusive, proud, and supercilious spirit. He might strike a Christian, but the Christian that retaliated was doomed to death. There was no justice for a Christian when a Moslem was his antagonist. "In general," writes Sir James Porter, "let the cause be right or wrong, Christians or Jews have no chance against Turks, except by dint of money, happy if even that can save them. Neither Christians nor Jews are admitted as evidence against a Turk Turks, unless your dependants, will not appear in favour of a Christian or Jew: the mere force of money must bring them into court. If it be for a Christian against a Turk, it is hardly possible to engage them at any rate."

The contempt to which the Christians were

subjected is the genuine result of the light in which Mahommed, in the Korán, presented them to his followers: in passages, for example, such as these—"They are infidels who say, Verily God is Christ, the Son of Mary. They are surely infidels who say, Verily God is Christ, the Son of Mary."† And how are infidels to be dealt with? "War is enjoined you against the infidels; but this is hateful unto you, and perchance ye hate a thing that is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing that is worse for you." "When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them, and bind them in bonds, and either give them a free dismissal afterwards, or exact a ransom, until the war shall have laid down its arms. This shall ye do. Verily if God pleased He could take vengeance on them without your assistance; but He commandeth you to fight His battles, that He may prove the one of you by the others. And as to those who fight in defence of God's true religion, God will not suffer their works to perish: He will guide them, and will dispose their heart aright, and He will lead them into paradise, of which He hath told them. O true believers, if you assist God by fighting for His religion, He will assist you against your enemies, and will set your feet fast; but as for the infidels, let them perish, and their works shall God render vain."‡ "Mahommed is the apostle of God, and those who are with him are fierce against the unbeliever, but compassionate towards one another."

We have seen that the late Sultan was disposed to lighten the burdens of his Christian subjects; and, as an instance of this, we have referred to his edict of 1831, ordering the repair of Christian churches; one which, notwithstanding its unusual character, and its offensiveness to the more prejudiced portion of the Mussulmans, was, without opposition, and to the letter, obeyed. The liberal character of this measure will be more perceptible by a reference to a previous reign—that of Mustapha III. (1757—1774)—when, in consequence of the stringency of Mahomedan law, which not only prohibited the erection of new churches, but any extensive reparation of the existing ones, the Greek churches were in a ruinous condition. One church at Constantinople had been recently ruined by a fire. The Sultan, on the birth of his first child, was pleased to confer favours on his subjects, and the indulgence granted to the Greeks was ten days for the rebuilding of this church; and, as the shortness of time could only be rendered available for the object

† Korán, chap. 5.

‡ Ibid. chap. 47.

* Neale's "Islamism," vol. i. pp 34, 35.

by a multiplicity of labourers, two or three thousand men were soon at work. Towards the close of his reign Mahmoud's leniency to his Christian subjects was such as to offend the fanatical Moslems. It was probably this disposition that, in his ignorance of the true character of the religious reformation which, in his reign, commenced among the Armenians, induced him to lend his imperial authority to the side of persecution.

On the accession of Abd ul Medjid, the Tanzimat granted equal protection to all classes of his subjects. It was forthwith followed—November 6th, 1840—by a *firmán* in favour of the Jews, so often the miserable victims of popular prejudices, especially at Damascus and Rhodes. It adverts to the prevailing notion, that, at their passover, they were in the habit of sacrificing a human being; and states expressly that their religious books, having been examined by learned men, were found to contain the strongest prohibitions against the use of blood, whether of men or animals. The edict then ordains that they should enjoy the same perfect protection as had been decreed at Gulhanie to the other subjects of the Sublime Porte, and that none should disturb them in the free exercise of their religion, or in aught that concerned their tranquillity and safety. How contrary this was to the genuine temper of Islamism a reference to the Korán will at once evince, in the pages of which Mahommed's triumphs over the Arabian Jews are exultingly narrated. But this vindictiveness of Islamism against the Jews was limited to the Arabian peninsula, and under the caliphs, and within the Ottoman empire, they had more rest than in professedly Christian lands. In Turkey, while the Greeks are called *yesirs*, or slaves, the Jews are *musaphirs*, or visitors.

The principles of the Tanzimat continued to be perseveringly developed, and the course of events has been such, as in a remarkable manner to expedite that procedure. The aggression of Russia, by bringing in to the aid of Turkey the armies and navies of Western Europe, has conduced to a result which was most remote from its intention. Had there been less of the elements of improvement in Turkey, Russia could have waited, as she had done before, until, at some opportune moment, she might have acted the part of the nurse, who takes advantage of the patient's prostration to smother him, and then grasps his property. But the ameliorations which were in progress alarmed her, lest, perchance, a salutary change was taking place in the sick man's constitution, and she

broke forth into violence. Since then the Ottomans have known more of Western habits than ever before, and the inferiority and unsuitableness of their own institutions must have become strikingly apparent. Moslems and Christians have sat side by side at the same conferences, interested themselves in the same arrangements, fought together on the same battle-fields. European life and treasure have been freely expended in defending Turkey, and hurling back on Russia the wrong she had inflicted. Under Western influences of various kinds, Turkish prejudices have been amazingly diminished; and that which some years ago would have been considered the dream of an enthusiast, has become a *fait accompli*. Monday, the 18th of February last, was a remarkable day at Constantinople—a day characterised by the full development of those new principles which were initiated in the Tanzimat. As early as 11 A.M., ulemas and softas, Greek and Armenian priests, and numbers from amongst the motley assemblage of men to be found in Turkey's capital at the present day, might be seen hurrying towards the Porte, while Turkish dignitaries, in a long file of carriages, continued to arrive. There, in the great council-hall, were assembled the grand vizier and ministers of state, and other high functionaries, members of the council of state and of the Tanzimat; the Sheik-ul-Islam, "clad in the green robes of his office, the impersonation of that conquering and ruling faith which, even to the days of our own William III., threatened Europe and Christianity;" the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops of the various Christian communities, the representatives of those fallen churches which, under Ottoman oppression, have so long suffered the penalties of their own departure from the simplicity of faith, and many of the most prominent persons from amongst the Mussulman and non-Mussulman population of Constantinople. The mektubji, or chief of the chancellerie of the grand vizier, proceeded to read the *firmán*, signed by the Sultan's own hand, which decreed equal rights to all his subjects, of whatever creed. "The *firmán* is long, but every sentence is a revolution. The document seems not so much a law, as a series of declarations on which laws will be founded."* It confirms the privileges of the Tanzimat, and provides for their improvement, "according to the spirit of the age and the actual state of society." Directing its attention, in the first instance, to the Christian ecclesiastics, it undertakes that the

* "Times," Tuesday, March 4th.

mode of election of the patriarch shall be ameliorated, and that then he shall be named by diploma for life, so as no longer to be removable by the arbitrary dictum of the sovereign. It prohibits the levying of all contributions by the clergy, and, in lieu of them, proposes to substitute fixed salaries. Councils, chosen by the clergy and laity, are to be entrusted with the direction of affairs in each community. All hindrances to the reparation of churches are removed, and provision made, on proper application, for the erection of new ones. All invidious epithets, calculated to perpetuate a spirit of estrangement between Moslem and Christian, are banished from the public documents, and the use of such in private is forbidden. "As all religions can be exercised freely, no one will be molested on account of his religion, and no one forced to change his religion." So far as religion is concerned, the eligibility to civil and military offices is alike to all. Schools may be erected by each community for the arts and sciences, a mixed council to determine the studies. Courts similarly constituted shall decide all causes, whether civil or criminal, between members of two different religious communities, and their sittings shall be public. Equality of taxation being introduced, the non-Mussulman sections of the population, as well as the Moslems, shall furnish their contingent of troops. Mixed courts will be established for the adjudication of causes between persons of different religion. "The accuser and the accused will be confronted, and the witnesses will take the oath, according to their religion, to tell the truth." Municipal councils will be reformed, so as to ensure the free expression of opinion; and energetic measures will be taken that the Sublime Porte may know the result of these opinions, &c.

Mahommedanism has descended from its pedestal of religious superiority, and has placed itself on an equality with other creeds. But that superiority was arrogated on the ground that it was alone and exclusively the truth of God. It considered itself, therefore, divinely authorised to hold all other creeds in vassalage. Had that conviction still continued, these alterations would never have been conceded. The Moslem, as he once was, would have esteemed death far preferable. But Islamism is no longer what it was. It has grown old and decrepit, and its hold on men's hearts has become enfeebled, and therefore its congenial institutions have been swept away, to make room for others, with which it has no congeniality. We behold, in our day, the drying-up of the Euphrates: the rapid decline of that false system which—as the literal Euphrates long confined their an-

cestors, and obstructed their encroachments on more western lands—has for a lengthened period prevented the Ottoman from fraternizing with his brethren of Europe. Like many of its own Sultans, Islamism has come down from the throne which it so proudly occupied, and has lived long enough to sign its own abdication. Whatever be the future history of the Turks, it has ceased to be the national bond. Mahommed wisely invested his system with an exclusive character, because it is only as an exclusive system that its existence could be perpetuated. We have traced the course of Islamism through its changing history. We have looked into the dark defiles from whence it issued—a small, yet turbulent and impetuous torrent. We have seen it expanded in its prosperity, flowing like a mighty river through subject plains, which it often covered with its inundations; but now it has debouched into the ocean, and there, amidst superior influences, it must soon lose its distinctive character. Mahommedanism in Europe, without political superiority and exclusiveness, will not be like Mahommedanism in India when divested of the same. There it has only partially fused itself with the surrounding elements, because of weaker character than its own. In the surrender of its exclusiveness it blends in Europe with influences stronger than its own. It may linger on for a time, and endeavour to maintain its distinctive action as a religious system, but it must come to its end, and there shall be none to help it.

Shall the remarkable changes, which have been so recently enunciated, be permitted to be carried out into practical detail without disturbance and opposition? That is doubtful. There is a section, not an inconsiderable one, who view these changes with disgust; and, on one occasion, the remarkable epithet "Giaour Padishah!" was applied to the Sultan, by a dervish, in the streets of Constantinople. But the presence of the allied forces, so far at least as the seat of government is concerned, ensures the failure of any attempt at revolution.

But shall these changes, if permitted to be peacefully prosecuted, regenerate Turkey? Not by themselves. There is a vast difference between the disinterment of a dead man from the grave where he has been lying, and the resurrection of one who rises because of the restoration of vitality, and from an inherent effort. If Turkey is to rise as a nation, it must be by the infusion of a new and wholesome element. What that element is, and the hopes connected with it, are deeply interesting subjects, the consideration of which must be deferred to our next Number.

ABYSSINIA.

Continuation of Dr. Krapf's journal—Inter-view with the King and Abuna, &c.

"April 16--19—We started from Gondar about eight o'clock A.M. Having left the outskirts of the capital, we travelled on level ground, in a south-eastern direction, towards the lake of Dembea. In the evening of the 16th we lodged at the house of the governor of Górába, who received us kindly. There were about four or five likaunt, i.e. ministers of the state, who were summoned to join the royal army. Under the former royal dynasty there were only twelve likaunt of the Abyssinian empire; but the present king has increased the number by four additional likaunt. Their duty is to give advice to his majesty, to explain the written laws or traditionary customs, &c.

"On the 17th we continued our march. On the road we met with a Prussian gentleman, named Sander, who has been in Abyssinia seven years for scientific purposes. He had served Oubie in the capacity of an artilleryman; but in the last battle, in which Oubie lost his country and liberty, Mr. Sander was captured, together with the two pieces of cannon which Oubie had formerly received as a present from Louis Philippe, the king of the French. Mr. Sander, however, was soon pardoned, and employed by King Theodoros. In the evening we encamped in a large village named Efak. A royal soldier led us into the house of a priest, where we should pass the night. When we were under the gate which led to the house yard the females raised a tremendous outcry, saying, 'Ba Negus Amlak,' i.e. 'By the king's god do not come to us.' Immediately a great number of people assembled, to call the soldier to account. When I saw this uproar I called the priest privately, and begged him to keep silence, as we would pay for all that he should like to give us, and that we would not take or accept any thing gratis or by force, as the king's people use to do. This promise tranquillized him immediately. He assigned us a place for sleeping, and provided us with twelve pieces of bread and a jar of mead, for which we gave him two pieces of salt, one pair of scissors, and some needles, with which he was so content that he begged us to lodge with him on our return from the king's camp.

"On the 18th we travelled over the fertile valley of Foggera, which might maintain thousands and thousands of inhabitants. To our left was the village Woina Daga, where a good deal of wine is cultivated, which is used by the king, and by the priests in administering the Lord's supper. In the vicinity of Woina Daga is a

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great town, called Terita, which is chiefly inhabited by Mahomedans, who have also at Gondar a quarter of their own. About nine o'clock A.M. we passed over a stone bridge, which the abovementioned King Fasil constructed over the river Erep, which runs into the Tzana lake. About three o'clock P.M. we passed by Amora Gadel, an isolated and high rock, which stands erect like a tower. As there are constantly hundreds of vultures of all kinds on and near this rock, it has been termed the Vulture's Rock (Amora Gadel). You might kill there as many as you like. As the king's camp had been there a few days ago, and as many mules, donkeys, and horses lie there unburied, the vultures will have food for some time, and they will render the country a great service by removing the carcasses, which produced such a disagreeable smell that we were compelled to cover our noses.

"In the evening we took up our lodging in a village called Tekur. A long talk was requisite before the villagers were ready to receive our party.

"April 19—About ten o'clock A.M. we reached Debra Tabor, the capital of Ras Ali, who had been formerly the lord of Amhara and master of Cassai, now called Theodoros, king of kings. The capital is situated on a hill, at the foot of which there are meadows, so much required by Abyssinian rulers for their numerous horse. About noon we reached the king's camp, in the plain of Djan Meda. We first went to the tent of the abuna, who, on seeing me, rose and shook hands with me. Having complimented him, and delivered our letters from Bishop Gobat and the Coptic patriarch Kirillos at Cairo, we were requested to seat ourselves on a skin, and take some refreshment of well-baked bread and grape-wine, whilst the abuna was perusing his letters. The portrait of the patriarch we had left at Gondar. Our luncheon and the abuna's letter-reading being over, he entered into conversation, in which he was as cordial and familiar as if I were his equal. He remembered having seen me in Mr. Krusé's school in 1837, when I went to Abyssinia the first time. We spoke in Arabic, and also in Amharic, when I thought that he might not have understood me correctly. His first endeavour was to give me a full and correct knowledge of the present state of things, and of the changes taking place in Abyssinia. He mentioned that King Theodoros was of one heart and soul with himself; that his majesty assisted the church in every way, which neither Oubie nor Ras Ali had done previously; that the king's mind

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was bent upon conquering the Mahommedan as well as the pagan Galla, and also Shoa, and all the countries situated in the south of Abyssinia; that he wished to constitute one large empire, as in times of old, and to render the Christian religion predominant in all his dominions; that the king goes frequently to church and takes the Lord's supper; that he reads the Bible in Amharic, whereas the Ittege or queen, who is a daughter of Ras Ali, reads it in Ethiopic; that he has strictly forbidden polygamy and the slave-trade, and has ordered the Mahommedans to turn Christians or leave the country within a fixed period. When I objected to the application of force in religious matters, as being in opposition to the gospel, and rather an imitation of Mahommedan practice, the abuna replied that the king meant first to take their country, and then send Christian priests, build churches, and erect schools for the Mahommedans and pagans.

"When I came to speak about Bishop Gobat's plan, the abuna said that the king would readily accept it, as he was very fond of obtaining mechanics and artists to civilize the country, and that his majesty intended to write to England, France, and Germany, to invite artists to Abyssinia. He said that he would introduce us to the king, and lay the letter of Bishop Gobat before him, and recommend it to the royal consideration. He then spoke about the Romanists, saying, 'I will not suffer them to stay in Abyssinia as long as I live, because they have intrigued and conspired against me to drive me away from Gondar, and they have interfered in the government of my church by re-baptizing and re-ordaining Abyssinians who adopted their doctrines. I would have suffered them if they had only given themselves up to teaching; nor would I have prevented them from converting the Galla, as I would like them to be baptized Christians. The Romish Missionaries cannot be offended at my expelling them from Abyssinia, as the Pope of Rome immediately sends away every priest or teacher who is of another religion. This was different with the Protestants, who did not persecute those who differ from them. The Protestant Missionaries would do no harm to the Abyssinian church, which would only receive the Bible from them. If the Protestant Missionaries were men like Lieder and Krusé at Cairo, he would gladly receive them, but he would never allow the Romanists to labour in Abyssinia.'

"As there was the monthly festival of St. Michael, when the king uses to distribute alms, the abuna could not introduce us immediately to the king. I afterwards learned

that his majesty distributed 3000 German crowns, and many mules, horses, clothes, &c., to the poor, sick, lame, and to the priests, monks, &c. Lastly, the abuna mentioned that he wished to obtain a letter—a kind of firman—from the Queen of England, to the effect that the English consul should protect his people against the Romanists in the Red Sea, as these had threatened to take revenge on the Abyssinians, on account of the expulsion of the Romish priests from Abyssinia. Mr. Rochet, the French consul at Jidda, had actually seized some property which the abuna had sent to Cairo by way of Jidda. As this is a matter with which I could not interfere, I begged the abuna to mention it to Mr. Plowden, who has already received the orders of the British Government to protect the Abyssinians.

"On leaving the abuna's tent, he ordered his steward—who had formerly been Mr. Isenberg's servant—to provide us with a bullock and some mead for the evening, and for our return to Gondar.

"In the evening we were called upon by Mr. Bell, an Englishman, who has been in Abyssinia many years, and has become a perfect Abyssinian in language and manners, &c. The king has made him his aide-de-camp and lika mankuas, i. e. a bearer of the king's own robe worn in battle. It is the duty of these officers, four in number, to dress themselves exactly like the king, so that the enemy can never distinguish who the real king is. It is a dangerous but honourable post. Mr. Bell has obtained considerable estates for his services. The abuna had charged Mr. Bell to speak with us fully on Bishop Gobat's plan before he introduces us to-morrow to his majesty. He told us that we should not speak to the king about the priestly character and object of the men whom Gobat wished to send, but only that we should mention the secular part of their mission, as religious matters and objects were decided upon by the abuna, who was our friend, and would assist and protect Bishop Gobat's men as far as it was in his power. I told Mr. Bell distinctly and positively, that Bishop Gobat had in view, not only the temporal good of Abyssinia by civilization, but, above all and principally, the spiritual improvement of the country, by establishing schools, distributing the Bible, and teaching the pure doctrine of the gospel. Mr. Bell replied, 'This is all right and good, and the abuna knows it, and he will protect Gobat's people; but he requested me to tell you that you will only speak with the king about the external and secular point, leaving the rest with the abuna himself.'

"April 20—About eight o'clock in the morning we were introduced to the king, who, seeing the abuna, came forth to meet and convey him to a kind of bedstead covered with a beautiful carpet, on which he requested him to take his seat, whilst we were placed on a carpet spread beneath the royal feet. His majesty wore a crown on his head, and a splendid gown over his body. After salutation, the abuna read the letters of Bishop Gobat and of the Coptic patriarch. The king immediately asked, 'Is Gobat well? I am pleased with his letter, and I wish that he may send me beforehand only three mechanics, viz. a gunmaker, an architect, and a printer. I will pay them well. If they are content with my pay, and if they please me, I will ask Gobat for an increased number of workmen.' After the king had given this answer, the abuna said to him, 'But you will not touch their religion, and you will allow them to live according to their own persuasion.' To this the king replied, 'In matters of faith I shall not interfere, as this is your business. Whatever you tell me in this respect, I will do.' After this I asked the king about my journey to Shoa and Caffa, which I had previously mentioned to the abuna. His majesty replied, that he was at present engaged in a war with the Galla, but that he would open a road for me if I could wait till after the rain; but if we wished to return to Egypt, he would give us a safeguard as far as to the frontier at Matamma. We answered, that, as fevers were prevalent during the rain in the lower countries, we wished to return before the rainy season sets in: besides, we wished to return with all speed, and that by way of Sennaar, in order to inform Bishop Gobat of his majesty's answer regarding the mechanics. On taking leave of the king, he ordered an officer to provide us with two good mules, with a soldier, and with food for our journey, viz. two bullocks, fifty pieces of bread, three jars of wine, &c.

"The rainy season being at hand, and Mr. Flad frequently falling sick, and, besides, himself not knowing the Arabic nor Amharic correctly, I considered it a duty to accompany him to Cairo, and not to proceed to Aden, as otherwise the instructions given by the Committee would have required.

"After our interview with the king was over, his tent was struck, the camp was breaking off, and the army began to prosecute its march against the hostile country. The army was then about 40,000 strong, and was, as we afterwards learned, increased to 60,000 or 70,000, by the strong detachments which came from Godjam and Tigré, under their respective leaders.

"The king is about 35 years of age, has a black-brown complexion, and is of middle-sized stature. He is friendly and condescending towards those who are around him, but never loses sight of his dignity. He is particularly fond of white people, and listens to their advice. When he heard of our intention of returning to Egypt, he said, 'Why not stay with me for some time?' He would have liked us to accompany him on his war expedition against the Wollo Galla. He is very liberal to the poor, to priests, monks, and churches. His judgment is quick, his answers are short, but to the point. When we presented him, among our presents, a handkerchief bearing the various flags of European, Asiatic, and American empires, he took it into his hand and looked over the different colours. When he saw the flag of Jerusalem at the end, he asked immediately why it was not placed in the middle, and why the English was on the top. In matters of the law and justice he is very exact, and gives his decisions frequently in opposition to his likants, or doctors of the law; wherefore he is constantly surrounded by people from all quarters of Abyssinia, who bring their grievances before him. When passing the night in the camp under the abuna's tent, we heard, about two o'clock after midnight, the cry 'Jan hoi! Jan hoi!' 'O majesty! O majesty!' This cry was raised by people who followed the camp, in order to find admittance to the king, to lay their grievances before him. His majesty immediately gave answer through the kal hatzie, i.e. the mouth of the king, who is the herald of state. From two o'clock till eight o'clock one party came after the other, and the king listened and replied to all. In like manner he directs all operations of war, so that we only wondered how he can endure all these troubles affecting him by day and by night. When his courtiers endeavour to check his unceasing labours, he uses to say, 'If I do not help the poor, they will complain of me with God. I have been poor myself.' The king originates from an obscure family in the province of Kuara, situated on the Abyssinian Nile. His mother is said to have been a seller of kosso, the well-known specific remedy used by the Abyssinians against the tape-worm, so general in Abyssinia. But his father seems to have been a relation of Dedjadj Comfu, the former governor of Dembea, who has several times beaten the Egyptian troops which came from Sennaar to attack Abyssinia. Cassai, as the king was originally called, learned reading and writing in one of the schools of Gondar. After schooling he became a soldier in the army of Comfu, who, in course of time, recommended

him to his lord, Ras Ali, who then ruled all Western Abyssinia. Cassai, distinguishing himself by prudence and bravery, was soon entrusted by the Ras with a governmental post under the direction of the celebrated Woisoro Mennen, the mother of Ras Ali. But Cassai fell out with that great lady. He beat her troops, took her country, and strengthened himself by the assistance of his countrymen in Kuara. When Goshu, the governor of Godjam, came to the assistance of the defeated lady, Cassai beat him also; and at last he routed the army of Ras Ali himself, and thus he made himself the undisputed master of all Amhara. Having so far accomplished his great schemes, he sent for the abuna, who was then at Adoa in Tigré. Cassai's intention was to make, first, a covenant with the head of the church before he should attack Oubie, the ruler of Tigré. The abuna sent word to Cassai that he would not come to Gondar as long as the Romish Missionaries were allowed to stay in the country. Cassai immediately expelled the Missionaries from Gondar, whereupon the abuna made his appearance, and leagued with Cassai for the establishing of a great Ethiopic empire, and for the propagation of the Christian religion throughout it, which empire is to extend from the Red Sea to the Abyssinian Nile, and from Egypt to Caffa, near the equator.

"The league between the heads of church and state being formed, Cassai's first step was to summon Oubie to submit himself to the ruler of Amhara and to pay him tribute, but Oubie preferred having recourse to the decision of a battle, in which he was beaten, and lost his liberty, as well as his country, as has been mentioned above. After the defeat of Oubie, Cassai was crowned king of kings—of Ethiopia—under the new name of 'Theodoros,' which he adopted probably with reference to an ancient tradition of the Abyssinians, which says, in a book written, that a king named Theodoros will rise, who shall make Abyssinia great and happy, and who shall destroy Mecca and Medina, the head-quarters of Mahommedanism.

"Having settled our business with the king and abuna, we set out to return to Gondar. Before we left, the abuna gave us fifty German crowns to buy for him a portable musical organ and two pairs of green spectacles. The letter of the king for Bishop Gobat, and his own letters to Messrs. Krusé and Lieder, as well as to Bishop Gobat, would, he said, be sent, after our departure, to Gondar. Finally, he requested me to communicate to him any thing of importance that might occur to my mind. He also charged me to give his regards to my Society, and to all my friends at

Cairo. He also mentioned expressly, that he was very sorry for our leaving Adoa too hastily in 1843; that he had written to the priests at Adoa not to molest Messrs. Isenberg and Mühleisen, or myself, but that we were gone before his letter had reached Adoa. He had also written to Oubie to protect us, but that prince had never properly obeyed him, as he was bribed by the Romanists, and prejudiced against us; but this was different now Theodoros was a ruler, who had laid great power into his—the abuna's—hands. From all that I saw and heard from the abuna, I can fully draw the conclusion, that he would like the return of the Protestant Missionaries, but he does not encourage them expressly to come, though if they come he will protect them against his clergy, provided that they act with Christian prudence, and abstain from all interference with church government. He fully knows the object of Protestant Missionaries, and he approves of it with regard to Abyssinia: if the Missionaries will tread in the footsteps of Messrs. Krusé and Lieder, the like he wishes to have in Abyssinia.

"On our return to Gondar we met with an endless train of soldiers, who went to join the king's locust-like army. There was a party of soldiers who had taken an ass from a merchant on the road in a forced manner. As soon as they saw our royal janissary they returned the ass to its owner, fearing our man might inform against them with the king. The oppression of the soldiers and governors is very great in Habesh, notwithstanding the king's severity in punishing the offenders. We passed by the borders of the lake of Dembea, tasting its sweet water. The lake is rich in fish, and its surrounding country is as lovely as any in the world. On our arrival at Gondar the governor of the town lodged us in a comfortable house near the market-place, and, besides, he sent, by order of the king, a daily allowance of beer, mead, and bread, up to the date of our departure.

"April 24—I was sick to-day. In the afternoon the governor of Dembea arrived, giving us a bullock by the king's orders. He is to accompany us to Wechne.

"April 25—I felt again feverish this morning. Also Mr. Flad was not quite well. We began to prepare ourselves for our journey to Sennaar. We found great difficulty in obtaining servants, as the Abyssinians born and living on the elevated countries dislike very much a descent and journey to the valleys, where the heat and fevers trouble them. However, finally we succeeded in engaging two servants, who, for the sum of four

German crowns per month, were ready to accompany and serve us to Cairo.

"An Abyssinian brought us a specimen of gold-dust. He desired that we should show him the process of clearing the gold from the dust.

"April 28—Mr. Plowden arrived at Gondar. He intends to accompany the king in the expedition against the Galla, and, if possible, to give him good advice in the prosecution of his great political plans, and schemes of improving the country.

"May 3—We departed from Gondar. During our stay at Gondar I was often surprised to find that so few people, especially priests, called upon us for religious conversation; but it may be accounted for from various reasons. Many were prevented by the people of our house; others were afraid of seeing us, as they considered us to be Franks—i. e. Romanists, as the Romish Missionaries and Roman Catholics are called in Abyssinia—and, consequently, excommunicated and outlawed people, whom no Abyssinian can visit. Some time would have been requisite until the natives would become acquainted with our religious views, and with our position to the abuna and to the king.

"On the road from Gondar we met with a Mahommedan who had been in Caffa. He said, that beyond Caffa there is a country called Worata, beyond which there is a great lake called Tzamburie, which might be the lake Tzámბურu, of which the Wakamba in the south of the equator frequently made mention. The King of Caffa has organized a kind of telegraphic message, conveyed in the following curious manner—Drummers living on trees are placed at a certain distance from each other. As soon as an enemy invades the country, the news is conveyed by the drummer of the nearest station to that

which is next to it, and thus it reaches station after station, so that within a short time every important intelligence is carried throughout the country. The drummers must always be near the trees, so as to climb up in an instant, as is the case with the officers of a telegraphic bureau in Europe.

"About four o'clock P.M. we passed through a village of Falásha—Abyssinian Jews—who were all weavers of Abyssinian cotton-cloths. The priest of the villagers came along, and conversed with me a few minutes. By comparing some specimens of the language of the Falásha with that of Kuara, and of the pagan Kamants who reside near Gondar, and near the mount Wahu, in the province of Tshelge, I found that the language of these three tribes is one and the same, with little dialectical difference. This language is not related to the Ethiopic, but belongs to another idiom, which may yet be discovered on the banks of the Abyssinian Nile, or beyond that river. The Falásha have hitherto enjoyed religious liberty; but whether the present king will take it from them I cannot say. I believe that a Missionary might be acceptable among them. He would have plenty of work with these Jewish Falásha, and with the Kamants and some other pagan remnants called Salan, who are nomadic shepherds. I believe the abuna would favour such a Mission.

"Late in the evening we reached the village Botch, where Ayto Engeda, the governor of Dembea, waited for us. He received us in a most friendly manner, and provided us with food and a good lodging for the night in the stable of his horses. Some priests, who shared in our supper, raised questions about religious matters, to which I replied on scriptural ground.

(To be continued.)

THE IJEBU COUNTRY.

Continuation of Dr. Irving's Journal—Visit to the first Ijebu town, Ipara.

"THE road now presented a series of steep ascents and descents. Numerous fragments of quartz rock projected from the path, and angular pebbles of the same nature were found on it. Trunks of fallen trees, projecting roots, ruts, &c., rendered travelling not so pleasant, but still scarcely deserving of serious notice: rock, too, showed itself in the beds of the dry watercourses. Numerous Napoleonas, &c., bordered our route, which lay still S.W. At length, after a long descent, and passing several neat farm roads to the right and left, we reached, at half-past twelve, a beautiful avenue, picturesque, and bordered by lofty trees, which led to a clear, quiet

stream, with a direction, like all the others, to the left. The aneroid stood at 29° 94', thermometer 83°. Here we halted for luncheon, and at a quarter past one again started. The country now became open, and fields of Indian corn showed themselves. The path was a lane through open country, first ascending, then by a descent; on the bank large scales of mica in layers were exposed to view: to either side farm roads led off. On a low level were patches of the iran and agiddi leaf, bananas, kolas, palm trees, &c. We now ascended along a beautiful lane, winding, and bordered by numerous white-trunked, white-branched kola-trees in flower, with their dark green leaves. Corn-fields were on either hand. Many ro-

mantic-looking bush paths diverged to the right and left, leading to farms. To the right was a beautiful glimpse of land, open hill with palm-trees, a valley intervening. Turning an angle we found ourselves at the end of a wide and straight avenue, with high bush at the sides, from which some tall, white, mast-like oro-trees arose, which had been stripped of their branches. Projecting from the red, firm path, here and there, was a rough, red, porous, ferruginous stone—full of cavities filled with earth and friable matter—in which small crystals of quartz were seen, and similar to and identical with, I believe, the yangi, or building-stone of Sierra Leone. This stone is found pretty generally in the country; sometimes in the lower grounds, at other times, as at Ibadan, seeming to form the highest part of the heights on which the town is built, or perhaps the body of the hill. Mutterings of thunder were heard, and a few drops of rain fell, as we proceeded along this lane or avenue, at the end of which we could see the thatched gateway and wall of the town of Ipara, the first Ijebu town we had yet reached. As we proceeded, the wooden gate, previously open, was shut, and numerous faces were seen peeping over the walls, and at loopholes and crevices. The gate was again opened, and a few men advanced for parley. They said we had not given them due notice of our coming, and that they did not know whether we came for evil or good. We replied that we came by the acaibo's—King of Ofin's—invitation; that we could not mean evil when we came unarmed; that our object was peace; and that we came from Ibadan and Abbeokuta on a mission of peace. After a few words, our bearers—who had been seated, during the colloquy, at a little distance—resumed their loads, the gate was opened, and we rode into the first Ijebu town I had yet seen, and the majority of them saw the white man for the first time in their lives perhaps. The agbowade—tax-gatherer at the gate—who was sitting at the receipt of custom, told us he was hungry, and wanted to eat. This expression of being 'hungry and wanting to eat' is a common one among the Popos, and now we heard it here again. It has a disagreeable effect, coming from chiefs especially. We accordingly gave our friend some cowries 'to eat,' although, when the country is fully open, we knew they must follow the general law: by that, white men and their bearers' loads pass free. Passing through some neat open spaces, and by some well-built, neatly-thatched houses, we reached the market-place, where we found a semicircle of elders seated. Taking up our position in front,

under a fig-tree, a second palaver ensued. We repeated what we had already said regarding the objects of our visit; and, on being asked where our presents were, told them that we did not intend to delay at present; but as we should return through their town again, we should then do what was customary on this head; at which they expressed themselves satisfied. Shaking hands with our friends, who all did so readily with the exception of two—who, however, being laughed into it, ultimately consented—we left the town at a quarter past three p.m., by another gate, similar to the first. As I shall have to speak of Ipara again, I shall not say more of it at present.

"Immediately outside the gate, to the right and left, were orisha groves. The former presented some fine and lofty trees; that on the left hand exhibited several tall, mast-like, white-trunked, branchless trees, which had been spoiled on several of Oro's midnight excursions. As in the other approach, a beautiful avenue led from this side of the town, wide, shady, with lofty trees on either hand. The whole road from Ipara to Ode is a mixture of shady lane and avenue, wide, bordered with numerous clumps of iran or agiddi leaf, leading at first through deserted fallow farms, then through numerous cultivated fields of Indian corn. As the road skirted along an elevated height, or table-land, a most pleasing landscape opened to the left. Glancing over an extensive intervening valley, the eye rested delighted upon a long series of gently undulating wooded heights beyond, running parallel with that along which we were moving. Picturesquely seated on the crest of one of these was the town of Ishara, embosomed in wood; while far in the distance a very lovely undulating country, of similar character, lay stretched, till lost in the faint blue of the horizon. In my notes I have called this road the most beautiful in Africa. It is evident I must have been much struck with it at the time. The country was now fairly open; the view not shut in by forest: numerous cultivated grounds were seen everywhere, and farm lanes leading to them. In about three quarters of an hour, or at nearly four p.m., we arrived at another avenue, like those already described. To the right led a road to Ogiri, where the Egbas traded some six years since. On our approach the gate was shut. Some of the town's people advanced, and entered into conversation: the same plea was made, that we had not given proper notice of our coming, and they did not know whether we came for good or evil. We replied as before, that we came by the king's invitation; but, thinking it useless to persist,

we resolved upon going back to Ipara, and sending on to Acaibo at Ofin, telling him of the opposition offered to us. Our bearers had shouldered their loads, and we were mounting our horses, when they begged us to stop till they had again spoken to the balogun. This we consented to do, and meanwhile at least 400 men, women, and children surrounded us, keeping up a perfect Babel of sounds, with an almost deafening noise, and making comments upon the oibos. Whilst waiting for the answer, I mounted towards the gate, and, as it was opened for some of the people, I walked quietly in, and began to talk with those inside, telling them how foolish they were to dread a party of unarmed men who came for their good; to all which they listened, but at last begged me to go outside, or they, the people at the gate, would otherwise get into trouble with the balogun, which of course we at once did. A great stir amongst the crowd announced the arrival of some important person, and we were presently joined by a fat, well-fed, well-dressed, clean, very sensual-looking man, whom the town's people told us was Kosoko's brother. We immediately shook hands, exchanged salutations, and, after a few words, he asked us if we could speak Portuguese, as, in that case, he could tell us a good word. Now, while serving in one of Her Majesty's steamers on the west coast of Africa, I had taught myself Portuguese that I might read the 'Lusiad' in the original, but not four words of common conversation could I ever put in practice, and Camoens I found of no use to me in the present emergency; so, after a few more words, and after again shaking hands, Kosoko's brother retired, and all our 400 friends, old, middle-aged, young, male and female, went with him. The gate was again shut, and from it, just as we were about to start, soon issued a group of noisy people, some of whom evidently were intoxicated. Hearing some rather high words passing between them and several of our people, who were all at one time, as usual, endeavouring to explain away an unfortunate remark that had been made, and seeing plainly that an attempt was being tried to get up a scuffle, we proceeded, *vi et armis*, to get our people away, and, wishing a laughing good-bye to our kind friends of Ode, returned to Ipara.

"I have been thus minute in the description of our first check, to show the mischief that bold, bad man, Kosoko, is doing wherever his power or his emissaries can reach. It will be afterwards seen the steps he took to prevent our reaching the Ijebu capital. But why speak of him? Every unprejudiced man must know

that his hatred to the English is almost a proverb; that he is treacherous, deceitful, cruel; and that no hope of peace or security can be felt as long as he has the power to do mischief.

"On our arrival at Ipara we alighted at the entrance to the balogun's compound, and were soon surrounded by a little crowd. The balogun shortly came out, and, after the usual salutation, expressed himself much annoyed at our treatment at Ode, and offered us the use of his house for ourselves and bearers, which we readily accepted, and soon established our beds under an open piazza at one side of the square. The balogun then set off at once to Ode, to make inquiries. On his return he told us that the brother of Kosoko had not much power, but 'stirred the people up to mischief.' He asked for one of our people to accompany his messenger to Acaibo, at Ofin, to relate the circumstance, which was accordingly done. In our intercourse with the natives, especially in new countries hitherto unvisited by the white man, much caution is necessary not to precipitate matters, or force one's way. This not only generally fails in its object, but gives rise to an angry feeling, which renders it a much more difficult task for the next adventurer to succeed. The best plan to adopt is to tell them that we have no object but their good; that we come for peace; that we are not traders; that we do not come with arms in our hands; but that if they will not receive us we can only go back, and at least part friends. An unpleasant feeling once excited it is difficult to allay. There is no doubt that it was attempted to get up a disturbance at Ode, and had a blow once been struck, blood would assuredly have followed, and we might then have wished good-bye for a long period to any pacific occupation of the territory of Ijebu.

"Dec. 17: *Lord's-day*—We had morning prayers, as usual, with our bearers; and in the afternoon, the balogun being asked if he would wish to hear the word of God, readily assented; and having assembled a number of the headmen and elders in an inner part of his compound, open to the sky, with piazzas around, Mr. Hinderer read several prayers selected for the occasion; amongst others, the confession of sin, prayer for the kings and governors, introducing the names of the kings of Ofin, Ode—Acaibo and Awojalle—and the balogun of Ipara, and other baloguns and elders of the Ijebu. He then selected as the portion of Scripture the 'Sermon on the mount,' and afterwards addressed them upon the motives of our visit, and the objects of Christianity. He was listened to with

much attention, and various expressions of approval were given, not only by word, but by a peculiar clucking noise which is universal, expressive partly of surprise and partly of assent. The balogun expressed himself very anxious to have his children taught.

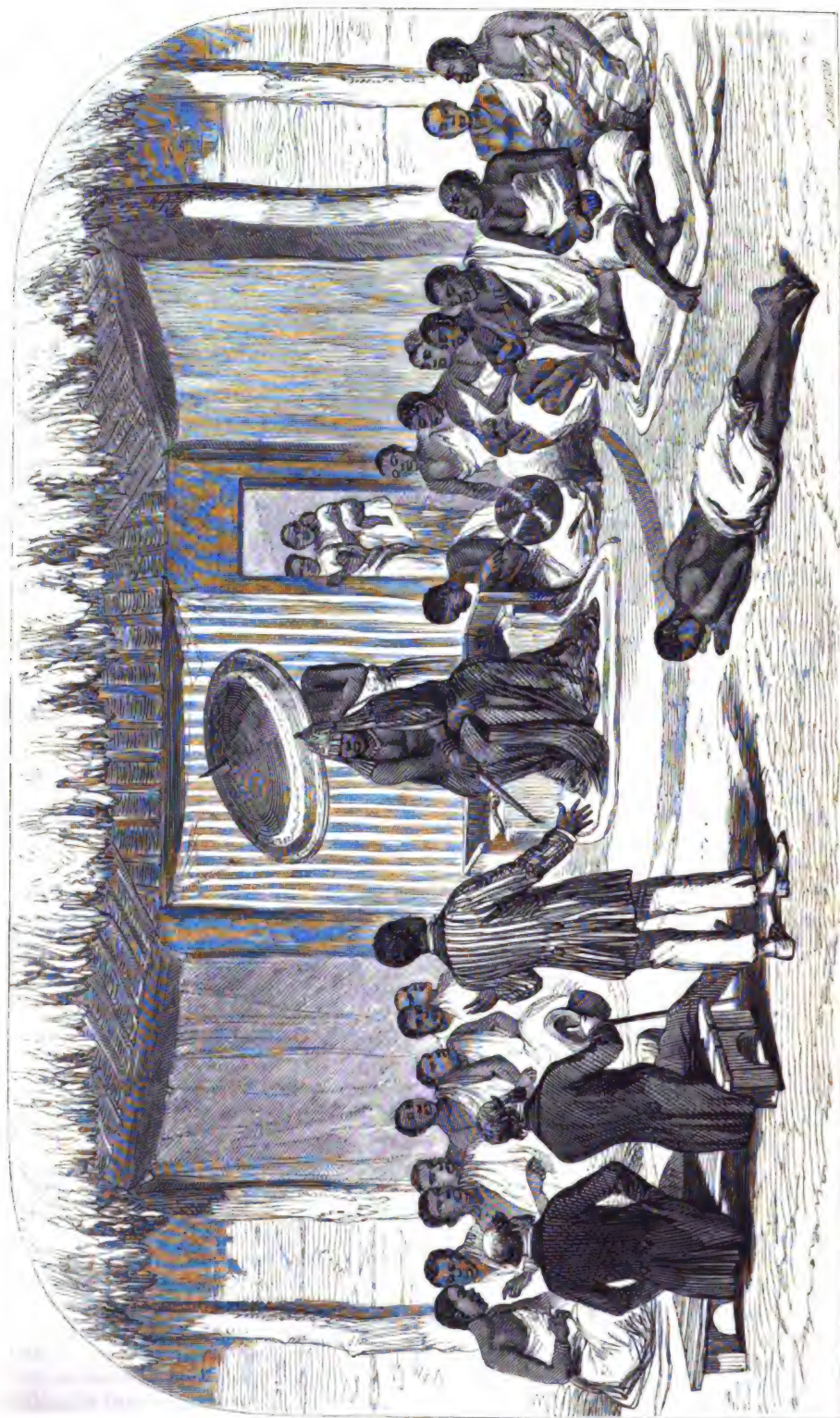
"Late in the evening Mr. Hinderer walked outside the compound, and, leaning against a broken-down fig-tree, with gnarled, bent branches, was soon surrounded by a crowd of curious visitants. It is not difficult to get a congregation in this part of Africa: the oibo has only to make his appearance, and the congregation is in a few seconds around him. He commenced by asking what they most wished for. One answered 'Alafis,'—a peace. 'Whence comes peace?' 'From the oibo' 'No, it is from God!' &c. Here there was the same attention as before, and Mr. Hinderer expressed himself to me, afterwards, pleased with the way in which they closely followed and comprehended what he said, as ascertained by subsequent questioning, frequently at the time repeating what was said, with great seriousness.

"Ipara is the first Ijebu town coming from Ibadan. It is a small town of about 900 or 1000 inhabitants. It is seated on a height, in the midst of a beautiful, undulating country, and surrounded by sheltering bush. The houses are in general neatly built and thatched. There is a good deal of open ground, with patches of a kind of fig-nut—obotujè oibo—a few feet high, with white stems, and purplish palmated leaves. The Ijebu towns are a good deal spoiled, also, by the prevalence of pigs, which detract much from the general neatness which would otherwise prevail. There were numerous remains of ruined houses throughout, the handiwork of the Egbas, of whose visits to Ijebu, and of whose retaliating blows, we shall have to afford numerous illustrations. The market-place is a wide open space, pretty, and shaded by several wild fig-trees. These wild fig-trees or banians, with their shining, cool, green leaves, and spreading branches, seem to be an especial gift of God to countries like these, rooted in the hard, dry, sandy, clayey soil, which is burnt up and baked till it becomes almost rock, and from which the rays of the sun are reflected with dazzling effect. The wild fig-tree roots itself, drawing its nourishment, its milky juices, in abundance where no nourishment would, at first glance, seem to be: and under the sheltering shade of its almost umbelled branches, spreading suddenly from the summit of its short trunk, are seated numerous groups, some conversing, others eagerly engaged in the game of ayo, or awo—the warry of the Sierra-

Leone people—or the simpler but more gambling game of tete—or tossing with cowries—or the neater, but still gambling one of tadd, already described. Here also are seated the market-women, &c. Of these wild fig-trees and banians I know of six, if not seven, distinct species: one with large, broadly cordate acuminate leaves—ibo, breadth or width—a fruit of the size of a boy's marble covering the branches: this is very common. There is another—odáu—with smaller ovate leaves, and very small fruit: of this there are two varieties—odauko, or wild, and odaurea, or spreading: these are commonly planted in the street for shade. The opotto has a large eatable fruit, but not over good, and toothed leaves. The aba, with dark green elliptical leaves, and small russet fruit. The ipin, or sand-paper fig, with rough, entire, and sinuated leaves, and stalked fruit, used for scrubbing calabashes, tables, &c. All of these are eagerly eaten by goats, sheep, &c. A small, very pretty fig-tree is generally found growing parasitically on the trunks of the palm—elais—with very entire, smooth, deltoid, and obtusate leaves, with revolute edges. Besides these there is also a rough-leaved, stalked-fruited, virgate-branched bush, a fig which borders streams generally, and largely the Ogun. I regret much that there is no proper botanical work of easy reference relating to the botany of this part of Africa—I mean a work easily understood by botanists who are not profoundly versed in natural classification, where the genera and species can be easily made out. The 'Niger Flora,' although a most able production, is nearly a dead letter to the class of people who come out here. I had hopes of assisting towards this end by making a collection of plants, obtaining their native names, habitats, uses, economical, medical, &c., and in this way, when their scientific names were procured, enabling any resident in the country, whether Missionary or not, to be able to ascertain the plants they might meet with, and thus constantly add to the number; but, alas! alas! all my collection, that I had prepared at infinite pains—specimens, drawings, reports, and all—went down in the ill-fated 'Forerunner,' and my labour was lost—but only, I hope, to be begun again.

"Near the market-place were some lofty trees; and one, a very tall Adansonia, or baobab, Mr. Barber—already spoken of—recognised as being a small tree when he was here before. He pointed out the place where so many of the Igbore, Imo, and Igbein Egbas were killed in their unsuccessful attack on the camp of the hostile army here.

(To be concluded in our next.)



INTERVIEW OF DR. IRVING AND MR. HINDERER WITH THE KING OF OFIN.—*Vide* p. 119.

THE HOPE OF TURKEY.

In our last Number our attention was directed to the revolution now going forward in the Ottoman empire, subversive not only of its ancient institutions, but of Islamism itself, whose principles are thus alighted and virtually repudiated. Such changes must necessarily interfere with the authority of a system which is politico-religious in its character. The Korán is supposed to contain germinally all that refers to the religious and social life of the Mahomedan, and the various authoritative addenda which have been accumulated are considered as the developments of that which the Korán inculcates. Three collections, with the Korán, make up the *Jariát*, already* referred to; and besides this there exists a "second compilation, which, since the time of Suleiman, possesses entire authority through the empire, under the emphatic title of the *Multequa-ul-Ubhur* (the junction of the two seas)." This "is the work of the sage Ibrahim Halebi, a native of Aleppo, who died at Constantinople in 1549. The author collected in it all the decrees, since the foundation of Mahomedanism, on the different branches of jurisprudence and theology, emanating from the doctors of the law his predecessors. Dogma, morality, civil and political law, were all regulated in an unchangeable manner, so as to render any future glossary or interpretation unnecessary. The *Multequa* was originally written in Arabic, afterwards translated into Turkish in the reigns of Ibrahim I. and Muhammad IV., and was remodelled by order of the Porte in 1824, and formed an immense compilation, in two folio volumes."† In these the principles of the Korán are developed into decisions and laws, in conformity with which the national institutions of the Ottomans have been moulded—institutions now admitted to be defective, and the abandonment of which impugns the inspiration and authority of the Korán. That such innovations as are embodied in the *Hatti-Humaioun* of 1856 have been considered not only necessary, but practicable, by the Sultan and his ministers, proves the diminished power of Islamism. Time was, when the mere suspicion that such changes were contemplated would have deluged with blood the streets of Constantinople. Now the *firmán* which announces to the once-imperious Mussulman that the *rayah* is placed on an equality with himself in all respects, as regards civil rights and privileges, has been read in the presence of the chief functionaries,

the Sheikh-ul-Islam himself assisting; has been printed in the various languages of the strangely-mingled races which combine to form the population of the empire; and, whatever of discontent may be felt by some, so far at least without any decided expression of it. And yet if there were one point more than another to which the Korán strenuously addressed itself, and which it laboured to establish as the key-stone of Mahomedan organization, it was the superiority of believers over other men, their right to assume supremacy, and coerce all others to an inferior position, in which, if permitted to retain life, property, and limited freedom, they should be as the boon of the haughty Moslem. "Verily those who believe not, among those who have received the Scriptures, and among the idolaters, shall be cast into the fire of hell, to remain therein for ever. These are the worst of creatures. But they who believe, and do good works, these are the best of creatures: their reward with their Lord shall be gardens of perpetual abode," &c.‡ "Whoso taketh God and His apostle, and the believers, for his friends, they are the party of God, and they shall be victorious."§ Victory here, paradise hereafter, described in all the glowing language of orientalism, were assured by Mahomed to his followers. From the infancy of his creed, when "secretly and cautiously the new faith was promulgated, and meetings were held in recesses and caverns to initiate the new proselytes in its forms and doctrines," the idea of superiority as alone the people of God and possessors of the true religion, has been inherited by the Moslems; and, trained in the full persuasion of its truth, they have acted accordingly. Wars have been waged as by Divine command; spoils appropriated as that which God had given them; and subjugated nations, as the condition of being spared, reduced to a state of vassalage. The Mussulman has been the lord, while all besides, as immeasurably inferior to him, have been systematically depressed. But now a national renunciation of this assumption has been made in the most formal and solemn manner, and the Moslem prepares to place himself on a position of equality with those whom he had once regarded as his slaves. Where, then, is his reverence for his religion, when he thus consents to the abandonment of one of its most essential principles? How impaired the influence of Islamism? How diminished the bigotry with which he had once been accustomed to regard it? How

* P. 83. † Larpent's "Turkey," Vol. ii. p. 83.

‡ Chap. 98.

§ Chap. 5.

altered the national temper from that dread moment, when, on the capture of Constantinople, the "Turkish troops hesitated not to break open the doors of the sanctuaries with their battle-axes, and, bursting into churches, monasteries, and palaces, and houses, they stripped their captives of all their portable wealth, and then, without distinction of sex, rank, or age, bound them with cords and chains in gangs, and thus drove them to the camps and to the ships."* And now the humiliation to which this false religion has been subjected, and the formal renunciation of its distinctive principles, must still further disparage it in public estimation, and expedite its final extinction. So long as victory and Islamism advanced hand in hand, and, flushed with conquest, the Mahomedan revelled in the abundant spoils which he had accumulated, its influence was supreme, and his fanaticism intense. To the prophet, whose standard they followed, the Moslem hordes ascribed their prosperity, and honoured him accordingly. But with reverses and disappointments came doubts and distrusts, and with many it is now only a name—an exterior—which, if impunity were assured to them, they would not hesitate to cast off. We live, in this respect, in a remarkable era—one characterized by the manifest decrepitude of false religions. The various systems of imposture, which have long held in bondage the souls of men, have waxed old and feeble. Hinduism, Buddhism, the military creed of the Sikhs, all are touched with decay, and are rapidly crumbling into utter ruin. We do not except Romanism. Politically, indeed, its position has improved, and in that respect it has very remarkably recovered itself from the prostration into which it was cast by the French revolution, and the prolonged throes of that tremendous earthquake. Since then it has had conceded to it admission into the British Parliament, and there, seated at the neck of the balance, amidst the equipoise of parties exercises great influence. In France it basks in the sunshine of imperial favour. In Spain it still influences the legislature to the exclusion of the Bible. In Austria the Concordat has enthroned it as supreme in matters ecclesiastical, and the imperial authority is diminished by one-half. Nevertheless, although in its exterior aspect prosperous, internally it grows weak. Infidelity, its own unnatural progeny, is supplanting it in the influence it once exercised over the human mind. As yet, indeed, between these antagonistic elements there is no open rupture, and infidelity, for the present, places

its influence at the disposal of the Papacy; and of that system it may be affirmed, as of the king of fierce countenance mentioned by Daniel, "his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power." There is, however, a secret consciousness of increasing weakness; so much so, that, in the hope of recovering the influence over the human mind which has been lost, it has been found necessary to enunciate formally a new dogma, the immaculate conception of Mary, the mother of Jesus.

Amidst this remarkable decadence of religious deceptions, the gospel of Christ is as elastic and vigorous as when it came forth from the womb of the morning. The dew of its youth remains fresh upon it, and with undiminished energy it is prepared to go forward to new conquests, until it has attained the ascendancy marked out for it.

In none of the false systems which have so long enslaved the human mind is the progress of decay more strikingly exhibited than in Mahomedanism; and, as it gradually dies out in the Ottoman mind, what is to occupy its place? We are cognizant of many instances in India of individuals under the influence of an educational process, in which Christianity was not permitted to participate, fully convinced of the falsehood of Hinduism; but the void, thus caused in the mind, filled up by infidelity. It is quite possible that the same unhappy result might take place amongst the Turks. Western influences of every kind are at present concentrated at Constantinople, some good and ameliorative, others as evil and pernicious. There is scarcely a shade of religious opinion, to be found in western Europe, which has not there its apostles and representatives. The sceptical element is present amongst others, and is endeavouring to pervert to its own purposes the transition state of the Turkish mind. Dr. Dwight, at the Paris conference, has given us timely warning on this point. "The Mohammedans form two-thirds of the population in the Asiatic provinces; but while they outwardly profess their religion—for the penalty of death is still in force against apostates—many of them are free-thinkers, and care not a whit for the Korán. Public prayers and fasts are extensively neglected, much to the grief of the rigid Mussulman. This has been produced by the contact of the Turks with European civilization, and the propagation of French infidel books. Twenty, or even ten years ago, a Turk would never have entered into discussion with a Christian; but now such conversations take place daily in certain places."

Whose, then, shall be the spoils, for the old element of Islamism is dying out, and there is no prospect of its recovery? Shall a fusion

* Neale's "Islamism," Vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.

take place between the Deism of the East and of the West? Shall oriental Unitarianism, casting off its Mahomedan peculiarities, merge into the sceptical Rationalism of western Europe, and the Vedantism of India be invited to accede to the unholy alliance, so as to constitute one enormous and wide-spread system of modern infidelity?

How much depends on the energetic action of pure Christianity! The unclean spirit of credulity, which has long pre-occupied the human mind, is withdrawing himself. What an opportune moment for the gospel of Christ, in the plenitude of its purifying and satisfying influences, to enter in and occupy the void, before he returns under a new aspect, having associated with him seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and re-occupies that which for a season he had deserted. Evangelical Christianity can alone meet this great national emergency. "The Protestants alone are able to attack the Korán with success; and for them, I trust, Providence has reserved the glory of its overthrow." Such is the conviction which Sale expressed in his preface to the Korán. The gospel alone can preserve the nations from falling back into a deep slough, more dangerous than that from whence they seem to be emerging. It is a great crisis, requiring immediate and energetic action, resembling the moment when a drowning man rises to the surface, when, if not helped, he sinks to rise no more.

And as this divine element is needed, so we find it in a position to put forth its restorative power on behalf of the Mussulman, for, providentially, it has already acquired a *locus standi* within the limits of the Turkish empire. We have already traced out the remarkable parallelism that exists between the decline of Mahomedanism and the revival of scriptural truth at the Reformation. As the one became more and more enfeebled, the light of truth increased in brilliancy and power, illuminating not only those European kingdoms which had been gladdened with its dawn, but putting forth its beneficial action for the evangelization of distant and heathen lands. Nor were the regions of the Mediterranean overlooked. The Church Missionary Society led the way, directing its first Missionaries to Malta and Constantinople. The providence of God marvellously co-operated with the efforts of man to release the Scriptures from the obsolete languages in which they had been for centuries confined. The singular manner in which translations came to hand, from unexpected quarters, to meet the emergency, is in itself an integral, and, as yet, untouched subject of no ordinary interest. Through the instrumen-

ality of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and other kindred institutions, they were printed and put into circulation, as opportunity presented itself, in Modern Greek, Turkish, Amharic, and Armenian. The printing of the last-mentioned version excited much interest amongst that dispersed people, who gladly received the copies which were presented to them, as an invaluable treasure. The American Board of Missions had their attention directed by a variety of incidents to the Armenians, as presenting a hopeful field for Missionary operations; and an exploratory tour in 1830-31, throughout Armenia Proper, and other localities where Armenians resided, was followed up by the transfer of the Rev. W. Goodell, one of the Palestine Missionaries, to Constantinople, with a special view to the benefit of that people. The Church Missionary Society had, during the intervening period, been led into other channels of usefulness, and stations had been commenced in Abyssinia, Egypt, and at Smyrna, with a view to the improvement of the Greek community; but it is remarkable, that, in connexion with various instrumentalities, evangelical Christianity was introduced within the limits of the Ottoman dominions just at the moment when, under the rule of the Sultan Mahmoud IV., the empire approached the crisis of its fate.

To the Armenian Mission we shall, for the present, confine ourselves, because it is in connexion with this that the pure gospel was primarily and perspicuously presented to the attention of the Ottomans. A spirit of inquiry, of a deeply-interesting character, was the result of scripture reading, followed up by the faithful teaching of the Missionaries; and as it increased in depth and power, and assumed the character of a decided and scriptural reformation, the displeasure of the ecclesiastical authorities became more and more threatening, until at length the storm of persecution fell heavily on the new converts. The year 1839 was a memorable era in the history of the Mission. Persuaded by some Armenian artisans connected with the bigoted party, who, by the erection of a new palace, had obtained favour in his eyes, Mahmoud decided to assist the persecutors in the extirpation of that which they denominated heresy. That strong-minded reformer, who, in attempting to improve the condition of his people, had grappled with difficulties of the most formidable character, had no conception that in doing so he was opposing himself to the only element by which the regeneration of Turkey can be effected. The horizon was dark with the approaching thundercloud,

nor could any one predict what might be the issue; but God providentially interposed. National calamities supervened; and the energy that would have been directed against the truth was compelled to be used in conservation of the national existence. What Mahmoud might eventually have proved in relation to the progress of the gospel amongst his subjects we know not, for in the same year he was removed by death.

Under the administration of the present Sultan, the alterations which have taken place in the laws and institutions of Turkey have been such as very remarkably concurred to facilitate the prosecution of Missionary effort among the rayahs, and afford opportunity for the formation of reformed churches throughout the land. Let us consider how the truth obtained this freedom, and how, step by step, difficulties and hindrances were removed. "The first Monday in January of the year 1840 was observed as a day of special fasting, humiliation, and prayer, throughout all the Mission stations of the Board in Turkey. The events of the preceding year, and the existing state of things in the country, rendered it a season of deep interest. The subjects of prayer were many and important; such as, the removal of obstacles to the spread of the gospel; the opening of doors of access; the unbinding of the word of God, so that it might have free course and be glorified; the blessing of God upon the native brethren, enabling them to endure as good soldiers; and the general outpouring of the Holy Spirit, first on all Missionaries and native brethren, and then on the patriarchs, bishops, priests, and all the people, of whatever name or race. It was a precious day, and long to be remembered." That was the most effectual mode which could have been adopted. The work of Missions is specifically the Lord's work. We are but the instruments. It is in obedience to His command that we go forward. When the way appears obstructed, it is our privilege to defer the cause to Him who "made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over." It was thus when Peter was in prison that the infant church sought to draw back the bolts and bars, and set him free—"prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him." The same power of appeal continues with us, and can never be used ineffectually. "He heard my voice out of His temple, and my cry came before Him, even into His ears." Only to use it with prevailing power we have this need, "have faith in God;" for "who-soever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; and

shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which He saith shall come to pass; he shall have whatsoever he saith." The prayer that was offered at this crisis, when there was so much cause to fear lest the Turkish government might assume towards the gospel an intolerant and persecuting aspect, was remarkably answered.

The Tanzimat had promised perfect security to the inhabitants of the empire, with regard to their life, their honour, and their fortune. In 1843 there occurred a gross infraction of this pledge. A small body of the police guard were observed, conducting through the streets of Constantinople a young man in an European dress, his arms pinioned behind him. In a place of public concourse they halted, and, the prisoner being constrained to kneel down, with a single blow of a yatagan his head was severed from the body. The superscription of his accusation informed the bystanders of his crime—"apostacy from the true faith." This was a renegade, an Armenian by birth, who had lapsed from a profession of Mahomedanism, made in a moment of excitement. The British ambassador, aware of his apprehension, and that, under the influence of an anti-reforming ministry, he was in danger of being put to death, had remonstrated, and obtained a promise that he should be spared. In violation of that promise, capital punishment was inflicted. The breach of faith was aggravated by the fact, that while, in answer to the remonstrances addressed to him, the vizier professed himself willing to give a verbal pledge that no similar act of atrocity should be permitted, he was actually engaged in preparing the death-warrant of another renegade in the interior of Asia Minor. Indignant at such faithlessness, the British ambassador peremptorily demanded a written pledge to that effect from the Sultan himself, a requisition in which he carried with him the co-operation of the Prussian, French, and Russian ministers; and at length, after an obstinate conflict of several weeks' duration, a document was obtained, signed by the Sultan himself, that henceforth "*no person should be persecuted for his religious opinions in Turkey.*" There is much that is remarkable in this initiatory case. It had no specific reference to the results of Protestant Missionaries. Had such been its character, the British ambassador would have been backed in his remonstrance by Prussia alone. But having reference to Christians of whatever sect, and their exemption from capital punishment under similar circumstances, Russia on behalf of the Greeks, and France on behalf of the Latins, were alike interested.

Moreover, on this special case, of a so-called Christian embracing Mahommedanism and subsequently repudiating it, a general issue was obtained—that no person should be persecuted.

A few years more, and we find the work of evangelization amongst the Armenians in the furnace of a fiery persecution. On Sunday, January 25th, 1846, the patriarchal church was darkened by the extinguishing of candles, a great vail drawn in front of the main altar, and a bull of excision and anathema pronounced against the modern sectaries. Fiercely was it followed up. Numbers were deprived of their licences to trade; many more ejected from their homes, and severed, for Christ's sake, from all most dear to them. The bakers were constrained to refuse the reformed bread; the water-carriers, on whose services multitudes of families in Constantinople are, in this respect, dependent, to cut off the supply of water. The persecuted were subjected to constant insult in the streets, and sometimes to personal injury. This is an ordeal through which every Mission work must pass, the test of its genuineness, and, when patiently endured, its confirmation and establishment. It was not only at Constantinople that such scenes were enacted. At Nicomedia, Adabazar, Trebisonde, Erzerum, there raged the same pitiless fanaticism: and nobly was it borne. Like travellers through the desert, when the wildering sand-storm comes, these sufferers for Christ's sake bowed their heads low, and waited until the tempest should pass over them. Having vainly endeavoured to move to mercy the Armenian hierarchy, they presented a petition for relief to the Turkish minister for foreign affairs; but without any apparent result. They then addressed a letter to the English, Prussian, and American ministers, entreating their intervention. Already had Sir S. Canning been urging on the Turkish ministry the inconsistency of such proceedings with the pledge given, three years previously, that there should be no more persecution for religious opinion in Turkey. Now, conjointly with the American and Prussian representatives, his remonstrances were pressed more earnestly, until at length the Armenian patriarch, summoned before Reshid Pasha, was commanded to desist from his persecuting course. The principle of religious toleration was thus conceded, and from this period a recognition of Protestants, as a specific class of the Sultan's subjects, to which protection should be extended, was introduced into the official documents of the Porte. A vizirial letter, dated early in June 1846, commanded

the Pasha of Erzerum to see that the civil rights of the Protestants were not infringed, so long as they continued faithful subjects of the Porte. In 1847, through the efforts of Lord Cowley, an imperial decree was procured, recognising native Protestants as constituting a separate and independent community, and prohibiting all interference in their temporal and spiritual concerns, on the part of the patriarchs, priests, and monks of other sects. In 1850 an imperial firman ordained that they should have the privilege of selecting from amongst themselves a faithful and trustworthy person, with the title of the "agent of the Protestants," who should represent them at the Porte. This was followed by a subsequent one, bearing the Sultan's autograph, addressed to the civil agent of the Protestants, and promulgated throughout the empire, by which Protestants were placed on an equality with other Christian bodies; and now the Hatti-Humaïoun of 1856 has conceded to all Christians equalization of civil rights and privileges with their Mahommedan fellow-subjects. Justly does Dr. Dwight observe—"To those who are most conversant with Turkey, and who know what mighty influences have always been operating to prevent the spread of Protestantism in that country, and how great were the difficulties in the way of its formal recognition on the part of the Turkish government, it appears but little less than miraculous that this thing was effected in so short a time. To God be all the praise."*

Thus prayer was answered, and an open door placed before the Missionaries, and diligently and successfully have they improved it. A retrospect of the Armenian Mission in this article would be impracticable. Some years back we attempted such a review;† and the results which have accumulated since, in order to a satisfactory specification of them, would again require to be separately dealt with. On the present occasion we must content ourselves with a brief summary of results, which we extract from the pages of the report of the "American Board of Commissioners" for the year 1855. "The first evangelical church was constituted in Constantinople in July 1846. The present number of churches is twenty-three. They are in widely-distant places, and the exponent of a rapidly-spreading and irresistible movement, compared with which that of contending hosts in the Crimea and on the plains of Armenia sinks into small importance, and to which we

* "Christianity revived in the East," p. 253.

† *Vide* "C. M. Intelligencer," Sept. 1851.

may believe the latter to be subsidiary. The membership, indeed, is not large, for our brethren are strict in requiring evidence of a spiritual renovation, and in maintaining discipline." The aggregate of members is stated to be 584, but this is only the nucleus of the work. "Native Protestant communities have been regularly organized in more than forty places within the boundaries of the Armenian Mission, and there are nearly eighty towns and villages in the Ottoman empire where Protestants are found in greater or less numbers; in most, if not all, of which, Protestant services are held on every Sabbath-day."* The names of the localities, and a glance at the map, will show how widely dispersed these little specks of light are over the Turkish provinces. From north-east to south-west, they extend from Erzerum to Adana; from north-west to south-east, from Adrianople to Kharput, Diarbekir, and Mosul. Intermediate between the extreme points may be recognised Tokat, Sivas, Cesarea, Arabkir, &c. This resuscitated Christianity propagates itself. The little groups of Protestants are active and enterprising. One locality may be specified in proof of this—Aintab, a town in Northern Syria, situated three days' ride north-east from Aleppo. The movement which, commencing in this spot, has extended itself to the surrounding towns and villages, very beautifully exemplifies the reproductive character of genuine Missionary work. There was a vartabed, named Bedros, from the interior, who, having visited the Missionaries at Constantinople under deep convictions of sin, had been brought to rest upon the finished work of the Lord Jesus, and find, in doing so, peace and rest. This man, in 1844, when the patriarch had jurisdiction over all classes of the Armenians, having conscientiously declined to perform mass on a certain occasion, was sentenced to proceed to the monastery at Jerusalem. He stopped, on his way, at Aleppo, and there, and in its neighbourhood, occupied himself in seeking the spiritual welfare of his countrymen, until cut off by cholera in 1849. Among other places visited by him was Aintab, where he introduced some copies of the Scriptures and other books, by the perusal of which some few from amongst the Armenians became convinced of the corruptions of their church. Various providential circumstances contributed to fan the flame which had been thus kindled, until a letter, signed by eighty-two heads of families, was addressed to the Missionaries, requesting that one from amongst

their number might be permanently settled amongst them. This city was visited last December by Dr. Anderson of the American Board, on his return from a protracted tour in India to the United States. "Some miles before reaching Aintab he was met by thirty members of the church on horseback, who had come to welcome him, and along the road they sang the well-known hymn, 'How sweet the name of Jesus sounds,' &c. He found 700 persons in the congregation on the Lord's-day, and a church of 157 members, of whom 40 were females."† In connexion with this congregation has been erected "the first edifice for Christian worship in the Ottoman empire, on a new site, since the ascendancy of the Turks. Christians have been allowed to repair their churches, and also to rebuild on the same lot; but beyond this they could never go. Now a Protestant house of worship, substantially built of stone, stands on ground used for other purposes heretofore, in a city where Protestantism was unknown, even by name, eight years ago."‡ There is an interesting analogy between the development of this Mission, so far as we have reviewed it, and certain details of Missionary proceedings presented to us in the Acts of the Apostles. In the Acts, the germinal church was at Jerusalem; a persecution scatters abroad the members, and they reach as far as Antioch, evangelizing. Here, in this modern work, the germinal church is at Constantinople. There, also, a persecution occurs which disperses many of the members. Like the primitive Christians, they sowed, as they went forth on their exile, the seed of the kingdom, and it springs up at Aintab, in the vicinity of Antioch. The ancient Antioch became a great Missionary centre, from whence evangelists went forth on Missionary tours; and so from Aintab a native agency going forth has produced results of a very interesting and important character. In the year 1852 fourteen different persons acted as colporteurs, and proclaimed the gospel in ten different places. At Killis a congregation was collected. An Armenian, enlightened by Bedros vartabed, brought the gospel to Kessab, which lies at the base of the highest peak of Mount Cassius, about 6000 feet above the sea, mountain scenery of the boldest and grandest kind being visible in every direction from the village. There the movement increased, until the Missionaries resolved on permanent occupation. On their first visit they were surrounded by inquirers, who, day after day,

* Turkish Missions-Aid Report for 1855.

† "Evangelical Christendom," Feb. 1856, p. 65.

‡ "American Report," 1855, p. 66.

manifested the most earnest and unwearied interest after divine truth. This was the more important, as Kessab is a centre of influence to more than 7000 Greeks and 8000 Armenians in the immediate vicinity. In another direction, a native brother, visiting Adana, was favourably received by the pasha, and authorised to act as a religious teacher. Marash, in ancient Cilicia, eighteen hours from Aintab in a north-westerly direction, situated on the southern declivities of a range of mountains running east and west, and the residence of a pasha, with 10,000 Armenians in the city, and 20,000 more within the distance of a day or two, next attracted attention. Eleven times it was visited by native teachers from Aintab, and eleven times they were repulsed, beaten, and stoned. The twelfth time they succeeded, and a congregation has been collected. Berejik on the Euphrates; Oorfa, beyond that river, to the north-east of Berejik; Besne, 100 miles to the north-east of Aintab; Malatia, still further to the north-east; have been, in a similar manner, visited, all with a greater or less degree of encouragement, as well as many other villages and towns which we cannot pause to mention. The Aintab church is not exhausted by its labours. The reproductiveness of Christianity strengthens the parent stem. "During one year as many as thirty members of this little community engaged as town or rural Missionaries, leaving their families and business at a great sacrifice;"* while at the period of Dr. Anderson's visit, five of the members were about to be ordained as pastors, twenty others having been employed, during the year, at the various places already mentioned.

Of such a movement as that which is in progress amongst the Armenians the Turks could not be ignorant. Even if disposed to remain so, they are constrained to direct their attention to what is going forward, because questions connected with the persecuting tendencies of unreformed Armenians, and the vindication of the rights of Protestants, are being continually brought for adjudication before the Turkish tribunals. Thus, at Aleppo, the principal Armenian of the city, who had a seat in the council, summoned a Protestant, whose zeal had provoked him, before the council, and there accused him of sceptical opinions. The Protestant declared himself quite ready, if permitted, to show the nature of his belief, and, by a reference to the New Testament, demonstrate which were the more correct, his own principles, or those of his accuser. Being ordered by the governor to proceed, he examined three points—the wor-

ship and use of images, fasting, and the celibacy of the clergy. Such was the effect of the discussion, that even the mufti took part with the Protestant against the Armenian, who was completely defeated. So, in a letter written from Marash in December 1863, one of the Missionaries remarks—"I went to-day to visit the pasha, with one of the brethren. He received us kindly, and told me to stay in quiet as long as I pleased. He knows the difference between us and the old church, and has more than once openly rebuked the latter in full council." In the beginning of 1854, a priest at Kessab, from intercourse with the Protestant teacher, became so thoroughly convinced of the errors of his church, as openly, when officiating, to caution the people against putting their trust in fasting. Soon after, he joined the Protestants, and went with them to their place of prayer. A violent outbreak was the result, and the assailants and native helpers, whose lives had been placed in imminent peril, were summoned before the new council, which had been established at Aleppo. The American Missionary, Dr. Pratt, observes—

"The usual appliances of presents made to the members of the Court had no influence upon the decision of the case. The result was according to its simple merits, and so was a most valuable triumph to the Protestants of this region. Nor is this all. The Council, with all the officers in the palace, learned more about Protestantism than they had ever known before; and all which they learned was to its credit. Many a spectator, moreover, of different sects, and from different places, while compelled to wait his turn, heard something about this new way; so that in new and very unwonted places the gospel was freely spoken.

"I do not wish to protract my letter, but I must give you a single incident or two more. When the case was finished, the president of the council said to the governor, 'Answer me one question. You have made sweeping accusations against these Armenians. Have you none against the Protestants?' 'No, my lord.'—'None?' 'Not the least. For three years not one, from little to great, has ever been accused before me of any thing.'—'Wonderful!' said the President. This was in the presence of the Armenian bishop and several of his flock, and it was too much for him to bear. He exclaimed, therefore, 'A very likely story! The governor is prejudiced. Are they not all villagers, all Armenians, and of one family, as it were? Such a difference is not possible.' Polat answered him, 'If you want to know the difference, I can tell you. It comes from

* Report of Turkish-Aid Mission, 1855, p. 13.

the teaching which they get.' Whereupon the poor bishop, unable to restrain himself, began to abuse the Kessab Armenians, in the Armenian language, for bringing him into such trouble. The Turks in the council understood at least the object; and a laugh at the expense of the poor man finished his discomfiture."*

The Turkish officials, in numerous places throughout the empire, have been constrained to direct their attention to the discussions in progress between the old and reformed Armenians; and although at first disposed to view the latter as innovators and disturbers of the public peace, yet, on investigation, that feeling has been corrected; and not only have they, on many occasions, protected the Protestants from ill usage, but openly expressed their approval of their principles, and their sympathy with them in their arduous undertaking. At Egin, on the Euphrates, the Turkish governor, in the mejlis, or council, before many Armenians and Turks, declared his estimate of the reformed Armenians in language such as this—"This Protestant nation is the only clean nation in the Turkish empire. Every other nation is corrupt, will practise falsehood, injustice, and bribery; but this nation is pure and clean from all these things." "The Turkish authorities," observes one Missionary, whose words are introduced into the American report for 1855, "deserve unqualified praise for their defence of religious liberty. Generally speaking, the Turks are our warm and decided friends, and not unfrequently are our coadjutors in the work of evangelization. Were it expedient, we might state numerous facts relating to the Turkish population of our field—Arabkir—which would excite surprise, and show that there are many of this people not far from the kingdom of God." This is important testimony. It shows that an impression favourable to the Protestants, and the pure Christianity which they profess, has been produced, not only on the magistracy, but on the Turkish mind generally; and proofs of this occur throughout the reports of the Missionaries.

Thus, at Malatia, the Missionary, Mr. Dunmore, "speaks in strong terms of the favourable disposition of the Mahomedans in that old city, once a large and well-built Roman town, and now a city of gardens, on a rich and productive plain. 'In no place,' he says, 'have I ever found the Turks so friendly to Protestants, and so desirous to have the gospel preached. More than once, in passing through the streets, rich Moslem merchants

called us into their shops, expressed their sympathy with us, and an earnest desire that we would remain. They called the Armenians to discuss questions with us; but the latter could be induced to comply only when they felt constrained to do so by fear or shame. We were frequently followed by a crowd of respectable Moslems, as we went from shop to shop to converse with the Armenians; and one day they gathered about in such masses, that it was impossible to pass the streets without difficulty, all exclaiming, "Right! true! good!" to all we said.'"[†]

A testimony to the truth of pure Christianity, as contradistinguished from the profitless superstitions which so long usurped its name, and a living exemplification of its sanctifying influence on the life, have thus been raised up in the very midst of the Ottoman population. The Armenians, a people so dispersed as to residence, and yet so generically one, have presented suitable materials out of which the living fabric of such a testimony might be raised. There is national identification amongst them, which facilitates the progress of the work; while, in proportion as they come under gospel influence, they disperse the knowledge of the truth as widely as they are dispersed themselves. The Turks, as by-standers, have become quietly observant of all. The idolatrous practices of various Christian communities throughout the empire offended them, and they disliked the religion of which they supposed them to be the true representations. But now they find a new community springing up throughout the empire, protesting against the idolatrous usages of the old churches, as corruptions of the Christian faith; persisting in that protest in the face of very severe persecution; and, by the simplicity of their worship, and the blamelessness of their lives, presenting Christianity under a new and favourable aspect. The movement has been so new, so strange, and unexpected, as to excite in many a Turkish mind a desire to investigate, and thoroughly understand, the differences between the new and old systems; and hence the testimony borne by one Missionary, "Mahomedans are becoming interested in the great doctrines of salvation by the cross."

This is the point which is deserving of special attention, and which may well be deemed marvellous in our eyes—that, contemporaneously with the decay of Islamism, there has been awakened in the Ottoman mind a disposition favourable to the gospel. The sale of the Turkish Scriptures at Constantinople is

* "Missionary Herald" (Boston), Oct. 1854, p. 324.

† American Report, 1855. p. 65.

at once the exponent of this disposition, and as the gentle breeze to the infant spark to fan it into a flame. Interesting information has been communicated on this point by Mr. B. Barker,* who, at such a crisis for Turkey, has removed from Smyrna to Constantinople. Some years back the Bible Society possessed only an obscure dépôt at Galata, which was opened twice a week, where the Turks never presented themselves, and which the Christians entered rarely and by stealth. The principal dépôt is now localized in a most frequented street at Constantinople, leading to the principal bazaars; and there, as well as in the grand street of Pera, the reading-room at Galata, and at other points, the Society's books are exposed for sale. But what is even more strikingly significant of the change which is going forward is the fact, that the books of the Society are hawked about the streets of Constantinople by colporteurs, and freely offered for sale on the great floating bridge, amidst the motley throng of population which pass and repass from the Frank or Stamboul end. A colporteur has been placed there expressly for the sale of the Turkish Scriptures. "His success," observes Mr. Everett, of the American Board, "is beyond all our expectations. He keeps no other books but Turkish in sight; and cries out to Moslems passing by, 'Holy book! take it, take it!' They often turn round and look at the book, always with respect. I encouraged another colporteur to take along with him Turkish Testaments in the Turkish character, and he soon found that he could do better with those than with any other books: for two months past he has sold scarcely any thing else. A Moslem, moreover, came and requested that he might be allowed to open a stall, for the sale of Turkish Scriptures, in the great bazaar of the city. Leave was granted, but he has not succeeded so well. Whilst the Testament is *given* to the allied troops, the Turks support two men by their *purchases*; and a book sold is worth dozens received without compensation. Many other incidents show that there is a waking up of the Turkish mind. None can appreciate the change except those who have known Turkey for years. Even when I first came here, in 1845, nominal Christians trembled before the Moslem race, and with fear alluded to their religion: now, discussion is quite free. The other day, as a Turk asked a brother what he thought of the Korán, the latter frankly answered that it was false. This was said to a noble-looking, tall, white-turbaned, grey-

headed Turk! He first came to the magazine, and inquired for the Testament that the English priests were selling all over Constantinople. I gave him a New Testament. 'Ah!' he said, 'that is it.' He put it under the folds of his garments, saying that he should read it carefully. He then inquired for a 'philosoph,' or learned man, not taking me for such an one, owing, perhaps, to my imperfect knowledge of his language. He then took out his Testament, and read from the first chapter of Matthew, respecting the conception and birth of Christ, which he received as truth; but that the Virgin was afterwards married he could not believe, and the narrative of the facts, he thought, should be erased from the Testament. I directed him to Mr. Goodell as the 'philosoph' he wanted to see. He afterwards politely and somewhat urgently invited me to his house, giving me the direction, near such a mosque. He has called often since in my absence."

During the six months ending December 31, "the agent of the Bible Society, standing on the bridge, has sold 149 Turkish New Testaments, 12 Turkish Bibles, and 91 copies of Genesis and Psalms. This is quite irrespective of what the colporteurs have sold in itinerating." Not only do the Turks purchase from the colporteurs, but visit the depositaries for this purpose. Mr. Barker, in his correspondence, mentions instances of their doing so.

"On one occasion, some Turks calling at our dépôt for Ingils—Testaments—not only paid readily the price asked for them, but observed that those books were invaluable, and deserved a bakshish besides their cost. Another time, on the Rev. Mr. Spencer's—one of the scripture readers—presenting Testaments to two Turks, who, when they saw what books they were, kissed them, and placed them in their bosom, thanking Mr. Spencer over and over again for them. One day, when a Turk bought a Bible from our dépôt, he observed, 'This book belongs to us, for we took possession of it when we took Constantinople: we then cared nothing for it, and the English have since printed it.' This, I suppose, he intended as an excuse for purchasing a Bible in the presence of Christians."

The increasing circulation of the Turkish Scriptures is a fact of the first importance. The Reformation so happily consummated in England, and the more modern one now progressing amongst the Armenians, were initiated precisely in the same way. The translated Scriptures were eagerly sought after, and secretly read, and a wide-spread change, wrought in the opinions and sentiments of

* Agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society in the East.

men, prepared the way for that open promulgation of the truth by oral testimony, which, in the first instance, would have been impracticable. Erasmus, after great labour, introduced to the world his New Testament in the original Greek. It reached Oxford, and, with its elegant Latin translation, commended itself to the classical taste of the students. True, the confessors had prohibited its use, yet some read it, and found therein illumination. Bilney's disquieted soul was comforted as he perused — Πιστός ὁ λόγος, καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, ὅτι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοὺς σῶσαι. Tyndale, as he discovered in its pages the true revelation of God, exclaimed, *εὐρήκα*. He translated the book he so admired, into English, and the first edition crossed the seas from the Low Countries in 1526. It was followed by many others, and the translated and secretly-read Scriptures became the seed of the national reformation.

This is a seed, which, sown among a people, must in due time produce its fruits. Wisely then, according to her craft, does Rome put restrictions upon the circulation of the Scriptures, and prohibit, unless under her special favour, the use of the translated Bible. "The entrance of Thy word giveth light:" how then shall her darkness be sustained if this light be permitted to enter? or how shall the human mind be retained in ignorance, if the same word, by an unrestricted circulation, "giveth understanding to the simple?" Already in the Turkish dominions there have been cases of powerful conviction produced on the Moslem mind by the perusal of the Christian Scriptures. We refer to such instances only as have already appeared in print: otherwise, so convinced are we of the importance of caution at the present moment, we should content ourselves with the unexemplified statement, that the same encouraging results which have followed in other lands the dissemination of the sacred volume, are not wanting in Turkey. We repeat it, discretion as to the publication of facts is just now most necessary. We have no doubt that much was placed before the public mind in connexion with the Crimean campaign, which, while gratifying to the news-loving propensities of Englishmen, afforded to the enemy most valuable information. It is patriotic, under such circumstances, to be contented with such a measure of information as may be safely granted; and in Missionary proceedings the same reserve is sometimes requisite.* We shall therefore refer to one in-

stance only, which already, through other agencies, has been published.

"A Mohammedan dervish at Aintab, of superior reputation for sanctity, proclaimed openly in the bazaars, for many months past, that Mohammed was not a prophet, and that Jesus Christ was the true and spotless Prophet, and the only Mediator. This dervish is known to have been a student of the Holy Scriptures for years, and to have become familiar with their contents and the doctrines of Christianity. He is well known to the leading men amongst the Protestants, and has been in the habit of seeking their society. A large number of Turks in Aintab have been influenced by this dervish; and from eighty to one hundred have, it is said, been in the habit of assembling to receive his instructions.

"His open declarations against Mohammed and on behalf of Jesus Christ naturally excited a great commotion in Aintab; and complaints were laid against him and several of his associates before the medjlis (council). When brought before this tribunal, he did not shrink from making the very same declaration as he had made in the bazaars. At first, the members of the council, in consideration of his character and influence, tried to flatter and persuade him; but seeing his firmness, they began to threaten him. But it was all to no purpose: he remained unshaken; and, adhering inflexibly to his former declarations, his companions also were emboldened to declare that they, too, shared his sentiments, and were ready to share his fate. The governor, finding his efforts useless to persuade them to recant, said he would inform his superior, the Pasha of Aleppo, and await his orders; and so the accused were meanwhile released on bail.

"About one month after, the answer from Aleppo having, it is supposed, arrived, with instructions how to proceed in the case, the dervish was re-apprehended, and banished to Birjick with one other. Of the rest, five or six were bastinadoed until they recanted under the torture, when they were set free, on promising never again to make similar declarations in regard to Mohammed and Jesus. They each received about forty blows on their bare feet; and no doubt remains, with either the Christian or Mohammedan population of Aintab, that this punishment was for no other

ing down of prejudice on the part of the Mahomedans, and their disposition to hold intercourse with, and receive religious instruction from, the Protestant Missionaries, will be found in the pages of Recent Intelligence appended to our Number for February last.

* Some interesting facts connected with our own Missionary work at Jaffa, significant of the break-

crime than that of professing their faith in Jesus Christ and their disbelief of Mohammed. One member of the medjlis asserts that the dervish and his companion, whom there was no hope of compelling, even by torture, to recant, were banished, in order to avoid giving them an opportunity of denying Mohammed again in their hearing. Probably they did not see how, in such a case, they could avoid inflicting the death penalty of the Korán. And possibly they may have known the circumstances of the recent appeals to the Sublime Porte, and the recent assurances of Ali Pasha, that no case of death for such a 'crime' should again occur.*

The correspondent of the "Christian Times," on relating the same facts, observes—

"From all appearances, the Turkish authorities will have their hands full, presently, of this sort of work, unless it is beforehand settled that a Mahometan may, if his conscience leads him to it, embrace the religion of England, and not be treated as a malefactor. Turkish inquirers are multiplying in all directions, and some, at least, appear to be truly converted men. In one town, which I will not now name, the most wealthy and influential Mahometan inhabitant appears to be a sincere disciple of Jesus; and he is asking for admission into the Christian church. In almost every part of the land there is some movement in the same direction; and all this without any efforts on the part of any body to proselytise. The great question to be solved is this—What is to be done with a man whose mind is enlightened, and who, from conviction, has become a disciple of Christ, and, consequently, cannot conscientiously continue his observance of Mahometan forms, or his connection with the Mahometan people? Must he be beheaded? or beaten with rods? or banished?"

This question is now happily solved. Although the Hatti-Humaoun of Feb. 18th contained no formal repeal of the death-penalty attached to the renunciation, by a Mussulman, of the Mahomedan faith, it was, nevertheless, generally considered that the language used was such as to imply that this sanguinary law would not be again enforced. It was desirable, however, that on so vital a point there should exist nothing of uncertainty; and it is with great satisfaction we find that an annex to the firman of Feb. 18th, which, for prudential reasons, was not at once made public, removes all doubt on the subject. The substance of it will be found embodied in the

subjoined translation of a note delivered to the ambassadors of the allied powers early in February last.

"The communications which your Excellency has at different periods, and again very recently, made to the Sublime Porte, verbally and in writing, on the subject of religious questions, have been the object of the deepest examination on our part. His Majesty the Sultan highly and fully appreciates the signal services which the friendship of his august Ally the Queen of Great Britain, and that of his other Allies in general, have at all times, and more particularly under recent circumstances, rendered to his Government, and the Ottoman people will retain a feeling of eternal gratitude for them. The Sublime Porte cannot but be animated with a real desire to do justice, as far as possible, to all the demands which may be made by them; and as, on the other hand, it knows what is the spirit of modern times, I hasten, by order of the Sultan, to inform your Excellency of the resolution which has been come to on the subject. The Sublime Porte renews and confirms the assurances which it gave at a certain period (in 1843, at the time of the execution of the Christian ovaghim) to the Governments of France and England relative to the question of renegades. The Sublime Porte, moreover, declares that the decision come to at that period shall be henceforth applied to all renegades in general. In making known this satisfactory determination to your Excellency in the most express manner, I flatter myself with the hope that your august Court will see in it a new and striking proof that the Sublime Porte is desirous of not throwing any gratuitous difficulties in the way of any demand, the realization of which appears to it to be practicable, and that on this ground the present notification will be received with real satisfaction by your august Court."

Thus a double obstruction has been removed: the prejudice of the Turks has so far yielded that there is a willingness to hear, a disposition to inquire: and, besides this, the law which doomed a Mussulman by birth, who should renounce the religion of his fathers, to capital punishment, is repealed.

In this, then, consists the hope of Turkey—the opening of the Moslem mind to the influence of pure Christianity at the very moment when the opportunity is afforded of bringing the subject fully and fairly before it. That this favourable disposition does exist to a considerable extent, from the testimony presented to us we are justified in concluding, and we may venture prayerfully to entertain the persuasion that as yet we see its commence-

* Letter from Mr. Blackwood, in "Evangelical Christendom," Feb. 1856.

ment only. All the hope that we can discern for Turkey is concentrated in this one fact. The national organization is in imminent danger of dissolution from want of coherence among the parts. The old element of combination is decayed and gone. It was a mere impulse, an excitement, which could only survive a certain period. But what shall supply its place, so as to preserve in Turkey the form and lineaments of a national existence, and prevent the social elements from collapsing into a chaos of unutterable confusion? It must be something of a restorative character, for Islamism, in its decay, has left the Ottoman mind in a condition of utter moral prostration. "Never," writes an American Missionary from Constantinople, "were bribery, extortion, with every form of corruption, so rampant and unrebuked as now. It is, however, a very great error, though very common, to regard this as Turkish oppression of the Christian sects. On the contrary, all the influential and more wealthy part of the Christian population, as the bishops, vartabeds, bankers, merchants, landholders, are combined with the Turks to uphold the system. By it they also get their gains, and oppress the poor. Should the Turks seriously undertake to administer justice, of which there is not the slightest danger, nothing would sooner produce discontent and conspiracies among their Christian subjects. Every year's observation adds strength to my conviction, that a regenerated Christianity is the only possible reform for Turkey. It is the debased Christianity of the East which disappoints every plan for reform, and makes Mohammedanism worse than Mohammed by its unholy alliance."* Measures of administrative reform, however excellent in themselves, must have some material to work upon, else how shall a superstructure be erected, if there be no foundation on which it can be made to rest? In fact, the more excellent and amendatory the proposed changes may be, the greater the necessity that there should be in the national mind some soundness of principle which may be available as an auxiliary in such an ameliorative effort. The old principle which animated the body politic of Turkey is enfeebled, and rapidly approaching its extinction. As its action diminishes, and contracts within a narrower circle, it is of first necessity that the void be supplied by another principle, whose operation shall be as decidedly for good, as Islamism has been for evil. "We must find some creative principle which shall fill the dangerous void;" other-

wise dissolution must ensue, and Ottoman society fall to pieces for the want of some element of union. If the Turks are to retain national coherence, and become a vigorous people, capable of developing the resources of the countries which they occupy, and defending them against the attacks of the pirate and the spoiler, a new vitality must be infused. "Turkey must be Christianized." This sole hope remains for it. There is an opportunity afforded of leading the Ottoman mind to the knowledge of the true Prophet and Saviour of man.

What an opportunity for usefulness! How much shall be gained if the Turks, as a nation, be won over to the cause of scriptural Christianity! What an accession that would be! And why should it be deemed impossible? Surely, of all men, the motto of the man who is engaged in the dissemination of that which shall be the victorious element, and who depends for success, not on an arm of flesh, but on the arm of God, may well be — *Nil desperandum*. Why should we be distrustful of the power of the gospel on any portion of the mingled races which people the fair provinces of European and Asiatic Turkey? More particularly, why should we be hopeless as regards the Ottomans, who are evidently in a transition state, and whose ancient faith is depreciated in their estimation, and has lost its *prestige*? Even of the Greeks, who have hitherto been found peculiarly unimpressible, we should be more hopeful. Under the animating influence of new privileges, and the removal of old restrictions, symptoms of activity are beginning to manifest themselves in that inert mass. A letter from Smyrna, of the 27th February, describes the effect produced by the new firman on the Christians of that city. "The Greek and Armenian archbishops united their congregations, and celebrated in the Greek church a *Te Deum*, at which the Armenian archbishop was present; and then another in the Armenian church, which the Greek archbishop joined in. Within a very few days, the Greeks resident in Smyrna had formed a Committee to realize, as soon as possible, their newly-acquired rights of free education. Very speedily there are to be a boys' and a girls'-school established. Such ample funds had been subscribed for this purpose, that the Committee had been justified in selecting the largest, although the dearest, vacant site in Smyrna. Teachers of both sexes, it is decided, should be procured from Protestant Germany." True, difficulties must be expected, arising from various influences and causes; but surely God has vouchsafed results

* "Missionary Herald" (Boston), Nov. 1855, pp. 330, 331.

to modern Missionary work, sufficient to convince us that the gospel of Christ, however weak and feeble the agency through which it is put forth, is "mighty through God to the pulling-down of strongholds." With the happy transformations which have taken place in different directions where that gospel has been faithfully taught and preached, it were a reproach to us to be distrustful. Fortified by the encouragements which our God has vouchsafed to us, we ought to feel ourselves equal to any undertaking, to any duty, to which we may be summoned. "Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain: and he shall bring forth the head-stone thereof with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace unto it." Let us be prompted to diligence by the realization of the great good we may be instrumental in accomplishing, if in earnest, and the disastrous consequences if neglectful and procrastinating. Well does an able periodical observe—"It is not merely in a commercial or political point of view that Constantinople occupies an imperial position, or that the possession of the Turkish empire would afford imperial advantages. If Turkey should become a Protestant Christian country, it would be a most noble centre for Missionary operations in the East. Its frontier runs along large districts of important kingdoms, hitherto almost inaccessible to the truth. Austria, Poland, Russia, Arabia, Persia, lie close to the Turkish border. Its seas and rivers afford easy communication with India, with China, and with other great countries in Asia. The Mediterranean links it in close bonds to the west of Europe. Syria alone—Palestine alone—would be a most valuable Missionary centre."*

Truly the possession of Turkey by the gospel would constitute a most noble vantage-ground, and a basis for new and extended operations. The influence exercised for good would be of the most extensive character. Mahomedanism, wounded unto death in its political heart and centre, would feel the paralysing effect in the remote extremities of its rule, and, with the fall of its ascendancy at Constantinople, the shrine of Mecca would soon become deserted; for how could individuals do otherwise than distrust a faith which fails to make good to its followers its pledge and promise of high pre-eminence and political supremacy?

Evangelization would then accomplish what statesmen desiderate but in vain. Christianity, the true regenerator of individuals and

nations, would raise up true patriots. Men's motives would become pure, because corrected by higher aims. Latent energy would be developed. Men would combine for a common object. An industrious effort would increase throughout the land, and a glorious national resuscitation be accomplished, which might well excite the wonder of Europe. Then, indeed, a barrier would be presented to future outbreaks of Russian ambition more formidable than the Balkan, and more permanent than the intervention of foreign states. But if Protestantism be negligent, then let the consequences be clearly foreseen. Other influences will rush in. Infidelity will lay hold on the Mahomedan element; Romanism with its wiles beset the oriental Christians. Already is that insatiable influence at work. The Jesuits are watching the course of events, and they are making efforts, "through the French government, to damage the evangelical movement in the East."† These sinister influences will be no improvement on Islamism, nor can they repair the desolations which have been brought on individual character, and on society, by that imposture. They can only serve to complete the disorder which has commenced; and, Turkey falling into utter confusion, a pretext will not be wanting for a new political interference, when England must either permit the spoiler to have his way, or else interpose alone. That such designs, although laid prostrate for the present, will be resuscitated, we doubt not; and hopes, perchance, are even now indulged, that, with the withdrawal of the allied forces, Turkey will become all that her worst enemies could wish. There is at present a pause in the hurricane. The winds are being held back for a brief period. Let England do her duty, and she shall reap the fruits; or let her be faithless or dilatory, and that remissness shall also be productive of its consequences, but they shall be of the reverse description.

And yet, while we depict the value of the present opportunity, we mean not to counsel any but well-considered action. That which is done must be done prayerfully and wisely. We would deprecate all merely impulsive efforts, which mar opportunities, and injure the cause which they desire to aid. We do not invite an influx of inexperienced men, hastily collected and precipitately urged forward, unacquainted with the language and temperament of the Ottomans. We need experienced men, who will be satisfied to act as the skilful physician towards the patient in whose case hopeful symptoms have appeared.

* "News of the Churches," April, p. 85.

† "Ibid. p. 86.

To cherish these will be his solicitude. He will be careful so to adjust his treatment as to aid, and not interfere with, the development of such indications. He gently fans the feeble spark, and forbears lest, if too urgent, he extinguish it. The primary and safest means to be employed is the increased circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the various languages of the Ottoman empire. Measures ought to be taken on an extensive scale, and every facility ought to be afforded to Ottomans and Christians to purchase them, if such be their desire. Colporteurs, so useful at Constantinople, ought to be put into action wherever practicable, who, by their unobtrusive agency, might bring the sacred volume within the reach of all. We wish that, as much as possible, the Turk should feel that the movement is not one forced upon him, but one that has originated within his own mind, and to which he yields himself spontaneously. The great fear is, lest such a pressure should be brought to bear upon him as should offend him, and produce a reaction. We need discreet Missionaries, conversant with the Turkish language, who will be contented to work unobtrusively, and seek out opportunities of intercourse with inquiring and intelligent Turks. We would deprecate the forcing forward of a few converts. The religious as well as political public is often impatient of results. But we must be careful how we forestal them in this or in any other Mission-field. In hurrying on a few, we retard the many. Better to feed the movement, until it becomes so powerful that it can no longer be restrained, but break forth spontaneously.

At such an interesting crisis our readers will not be surprised to hear that the Church Missionary Society has decided on sending a Missionary to Constantinople, one with qualifications such as we have mentioned—of long experience in oriental Missionary work, and acquaintance with the Turkish language, whose zeal, while unabated, is tempered with the wisdom of years. To him, others, we trust, will be added, as suitable men present themselves, so as to constitute an effective Mission; for, as it is now admitted that for a great country, like Great Britain, to carry on little wars is most expensive and unsatisfactory, so we may conclude, that, for a largely-organized and comprehensive Missionary Society, feebly commenced and inadequately sustained Missions are in all respects unsuit-

able. When work is attempted, it ought to be done energetically, or not done at all.

But here we look to our friends and supporters, and appeal to them for aid. Our income for the year just terminated has not proved sufficient to meet the expenditure connected with the existing Missions. It has proved to be 1800*l.* less than the actual expenditure. How, then, shall we commence new work? and yet how shall we refrain? The Church Missionary Society is under a pledge to Turkey. In the Instructions addressed to the late Rev. W. Jowett, on his departure for Malta, August 14th, 1815, the following passage occurs—"Mahommedans will form a second head of your notices. . . . The Society has long directed its attention towards Mahommedans, and it is devising means of presenting to them the Scriptures, the liturgy, and tracts, in those languages which they understand. The times, also, are pregnant with indications of peculiar interest respecting the Mahommedans." The opportunity, then, is now presented of helping those whose case, some forty years ago, was under the special consideration of the Committee: and if there were indications of peculiar interest in connexion with that people then, how much more now?

A peace has been inaugurated. May it prove to be a lengthened one! But be it long or short, may it prove a time of active effort on the Lord's behalf! Let us work as diligently and self-denyingly as if we knew of a certainty that it would be of brief duration. For us, individually, the time is short. Let us, then, work while it be called to-day. Let this period of peace, from its very commencement, be consecrated to the Lord, and thanksgiving-offerings be sent in, that we may not go forward empty-handed to our work in Turkey. It is a cause of thankfulness that the scourge of war has been arrested, and that the mind will have respite from the pain inflicted by details of battles, in which the victors are almost equal sufferers with the vanquished; so much so, that the announcement of a great victory brings desolation to many a home and heart, and wives are left widows, and children orphans, and national sorrow strangely and unnaturally mingles with national rejoicing. But let us remember that permanized peace must be brought about, not by the pressure of defeat, or diplomatic arrangements, but by an Universalized Gospel.

ABYSSINIA.

(Continuation of Dr. Krapf's journal.)

The alaca Selat, an interesting priest at the village of Botch. The western provinces of Abyssinia more hopeful than the eastern. Desirableness of colportage in these regions for the distribution of the Scriptures. The route from Gondar to Sennar, previously unexplored by Protestant Missionaries, selected because affording an opportunity of examining these countries with a view to future Missionary effort. Restrictions on the movements of travellers in Abyssinia removed by the present king. Descent from the high to lower regions. The pagan Kamánts. Wechne, a frontier mart at the foot of a range of mountains. The lowland plain. Various rivers. Arrival at Matamma, a central point of commerce. Arabic the prominent language.

"May 4—Before we departed the governor made us acquainted with the alaca Selat, who, knowing personally Bishop Gobat, anxiously inquired after him. I was much pleased with this man, on account of his humility, and superior knowledge in many things. Some priests and deacons, as well as laymen, were about him, and showed him great respect. They asserted that in Christ there was only one *bachri*, i. e. one nature, and not two, as the Franks—Romanists—maintain, because there was only one Christ. Consequently, if we believe and confess that Christ died on the cross, we could and must as well say, God died on the cross, for Christ was God. Furthermore, if we did say the Word became flesh, we could and must also say, the flesh became the Word, or God, for the Word was God. I replied, that we Protestants did never use such unscriptural expressions, and that we do distinguish, but not separate, both human and divine nature in Christ, and, on the other hand, that we do not intermingle them. From this and other conversations I found that the Dembea people are exceedingly attached to the monophysitic doctrines, to which the Coptic church adhered from the beginning of this controversy.

"Furthermore, the priests said that Christ was anointed with the Holy Ghost in His mother's womb, in order to become our prophet, priest, and king, but that this dignity was afterwards only manifested in His baptism. I replied, 'Your doctrine is not scriptural, because Christ is not said in scripture to have received the Holy Ghost, but to have been conceived in His mother's womb by the Holy Ghost, for the purpose of being free from hereditary sin, and separate from sinners, whom He would not have been able to redeem if He had been born in the same way as ourselves. But regarding the receipt of the Holy Ghost in baptism, it was necessary, for His human nature, to be publicly, as it were, declared by His heavenly Father that He should now enter upon His mission as a prophet, priest, and king, and that He should be furnished with supernatural powers for this holy mis-

sion. True, Christ was designed to be prophet, priest, and king, already in the Old Testament—yea, from eternity; but a public testimony was requisite when the Father introduced Him as such to fallen mankind. Besides, it was necessary for Himself that He should know the exact moment when it pleased the Father that the Son should enter upon His great work, after He had waited patiently for the manifestation of the Father's will during a period of thirty years at Nazareth.

"Lastly we spoke about fasting, and that it was not recommended in scripture as the means of our justification before God.

"The old alaca was not quarrelsome nor angry at all when he saw my great difference from his views. He always observed, 'Though we differ from each other, let us love each other, for love is the greatest virtue.' I confess I seldom met in Abyssinia with a more amiable and tolerant priest than this old man, who, besides, showed great power of reasoning, and acquaintance with the scriptures. He charged us to give his best regards to Bishop Gobat at Jerusalem.

"About five o'clock P.M. we reached the village Gunter, near the river Cuang, which separates the province of Dembea from that of Tshelga. As Gunter was exclusively inhabited by priests, monks, and deacons, the people at first would not receive us, until they learned that I was a priest myself, when they yielded, and a deacon and scribe of the king received us into his cottage. The priests asked some religious questions, which I answered from my Amharic Bible, which pleased them greatly. We were sorry at having only one copy left for ourselves. I believe a colporteur of Bibles could be of great use in these distant provinces, which few copies of our formerly-disseminated Bibles have reached. The people of these western, and hitherto more secluded provinces, appear to be more awakened to religious matters than the people of Tigré, where political quarrels, and the bad conduct of white people, as well as the commercial intercourse with

the coast, has thrown religion into the background. In general I would wish that a Bible or Missionary Society should send an agent to Abyssinia for the express purpose of distributing scriptures and able tracts, especially in those countries which have hitherto been more secluded, but which are now thrown open by King Theodoros, who, in connexion with the abuna, would undoubtedly favour such a design. We cannot know what may be the future course and development of Abyssinia, and we should therefore use the present time to supply that country with as many Bibles as we can. The provinces of Dembea, Tshelga, Cuara, Godjam, Begemeder, Damot, &c., should be visited by Bible agents, sent for the purpose. Our constant impression was, that a future Mission should be located in the west, rather than in the east, of Abyssinia, and this was one of the chief reasons which induced us to make our journey from Gondar to Sennar, viz. to examine the state of things in that quarter; and I humbly beg that the Committee will not consider it an unnecessary undertaking to which we submitted ourselves without their special orders. No Protestant Missionary has ever reached those regions; and the only sorrow I have now is, that the rainy season, which was already on the approach, did not allow us to proceed to Godjam and Damot, as the abuna suggested. His suggestion was, that we should not leave Abyssinia without having seen the sources of the Abyssinian Nile in the Agau country; that in twelve days from Gondar we could reach the place; and that he would assist us if we liked to go. On that opportunity we might have examined the religious state, also, of those more distant provinces. I have forgotten to mention, that the present king has abolished all restrictions which former rulers have imposed upon the free movements of travellers in Abyssinia: they may now go wherever they like, if they have their own means. Of course it is appropriate to pay first one's respects to the king, as this will secure more protection for the traveller. I have also forgotten to mention that some Galla tribes, on the way to Caffa, use to detain a white traveller if he is provided with fire-arms. He must become their chief, and assist them in fighting their battles with neighbouring tribes, wherefore they honour him to the utmost. But it is to be hoped that the conquests of Theodoros will remove these obstacles in the Galla countries situated on the way to Caffa, where a most corrupted form of Christianity is still in existence. The Romanists have succeeded in sending a few Missionaries to that distant country, whose king received them with the utmost favour.

The abuna, however, has sent a few Abyssinian priests, to counteract the Romish influence; but the Abyssinian priests, instead of opposing the Romanists, embraced their doctrines, and stayed with them; wherefore the abuna will send other persons to induce the king to banish the enemies of the Abyssinian church.

"May 5—About eight o'clock in the morning we crossed the river Cuang, after we had made a steep descent from Gunter into the river's channel, which has no water at the dry season of the year. The natives told us that the river joins the Atbara—to be mentioned afterwards—which runs into the Taccassie, which empties itself into the Nile near the village Damir, as I shall mention afterwards.

"On the western bank of the Cuang we discovered an extensive mine of coals, interspersed with slates. At present the Abyssinians are unacquainted with the use of coals; but these may become useful if the king executes his design of having a steamer on the lake of Dembea. The whole country, from the Cuang to the lake of Dembea, is tolerably level, so that the coal might be conveyed on camels to the lake; and as the Cuang is only two days' journey from the low country at Wechne, where a beautiful camel-road begins, and reaches as far as to the Blue River at Sennar and Chartum, the coal might be carried down, and be useful for the steam navigation on the Blue and White rivers.

"In the evening we lodged in the village Ammanuel, where the people received us with some reluctance, as they pretended great poverty, and inability of providing us with the amount of food which the governor of Dembea had requested from them through an express messenger whom he had sent with us.

"May 6—The messenger of the governor of Dembea returned, having delivered us to the guidance of the governor of Tshelga, who refused it. However, the headman of Ammanuel sent his son with us as far as to the river Lagnat. Having left the district of Ammanuel, we had to descend from the high country to the lower regions. Our descent, which was very steep, and required nearly two hours, took place near mount Entshiet Amba, which is inhabited—at least the foot of it—by the pagan Kamánts, who occupy all the mountainous country from Entshiet Amba as far as to mount Waha, which is an impregnable natural fortress near Wechne. It is the duty of the Kamánts to guard the avenues from the low countries to Abyssinia Proper. On this account the Kamánts are much valued by the Abyssinian rulers, to whom they can

render great service, but also great harm, if they choose, as the mountain-passes are in their hands like a key, and nobody could go down to the low country, and, *vice versa*, nobody could ascend the high lands, without their consent. Now and then we met with a family of Salans, a set of pagan nomades, who migrate from place to place, leading a pastoral life. Their main tribe is said to reside in the west of Cuara, on the banks of the Abyssinian Nile. They have to pay a kind of tribute in bullocks to the Abyssinian rulers, who allow them, on this condition, to wander about in western Abyssinia. They appear to be a harmless people, who speak Amharic, but have a language of their own among themselves. The Abyssinians do not eat the meat slaughtered by the Kamánts, though these wear a mateb, or silken cord, around their neck, in sign of Christianity, which they outwardly pretend to profess to a certain extent. The Kamánts do not eat the meat which the Abyssinians slaughter on a Saturday, which shows that the Kamánts bear some affinity to the Falásha, or Jews, whose language, as mentioned above, is identical with that of the Kamánts.

"We travelled mostly along the serpentine river Lagnat, which has but little water at this dry season of the year. Late in the evening we arrived in the village Sebasiek, where the people refused to receive us, on the plea of their being too poor to treat us respectably. But we declared that we wanted nothing but a lodging for the night, and a morsel of bread for our servants, and that we would reward them according to their gifts. This declaration produced an instant and good effect with the people, who have been so frequently handled roughly by the Abyssinian soldiery, who never pay the country people.

"May 7—From the mountain on which Sebasiek is situated we descended, after day-break, again into the serpentine and romantic ravine of the river Lagnat, which meanders between steep mountains to the north and south. At noon we reached the river Sénkoa, which has more water than the Lagnat. On the road we met a great number of merchants, who carried, on asses, cotton from Wechne to Gondar, Godjam, and other Abyssinian places. The cotton is chiefly cultivated in the district of Matamma, which forms the Abyssinian frontier towards Sennar. About five o'clock we reached the river Belúha, which has plenty of good water. From Belúha we turned south-west, ascending a very steep mountain, on which there is a large village called Engidibba, which commands a majestic view to the lower country. The chief of the village, taking us for Turks, was at

first not willing to receive us; but finding that we were Christians, and came from the abuna and king, he offered us a spacious room, and slaughtered a goat for our entertainment.

"May 8—Having descended the mountain of Engidibba, we were for ever—i. e. from this point till Sennar—on level ground. After a long roundabout way, leading us through a wild tract of country, we reached the village Wechne, where we began to feel the heat very oppressive—the great drawback and trouble of travellers in low regions. The village of Wechne consists of a considerable number of straw huts, which the natives, who are partly Christians and partly Mahommedans, burn in June or July, when they leave the place, and retreat to the higher regions of Tshelga and Dembea, on account of the fevers prevailing during, and especially after, the rainy season. In October and November they return, and construct their huts again, whereupon they resume their trading business upon which they live. All the exports from Abyssinia, as well as the imports from Sennar and Chartum, must pass through Wechne, there being the only suitable road to Gondar. Cotton, coffee, skins, ivory—slaves are now forbidden, but are still exported in secret—beads, coloured cloths, and other Egyptian and European articles, are passing through Wechne, and enrich the inhabitants of the village, which is situated on the foot of a range of mountains, of which seven points stand out like so many batteries commanding the plain country beneath. The soil about Wechne is good, but it appears the natives do not cultivate any thing beyond Turkish corn, hirse, and cotton.

"May 9—As we needed rest, and had to prepare fresh provisions for our journey, we stayed at Wechne. During our stay several Abyssinians approached us with the petition to take them along with us to Jerusalem, as it was highly meritorious to abandon wife and children, and go to the holy city to get righteousness and holiness in the Abyssinian convent, and by visiting the holy places of Jerusalem. Having shown them their error, and directed their minds to Christ crucified as the only source of righteousness and holiness, I warned them against the wiles of the devil, who, through the wickedness of their own hearts, had brought them to a resolution which is contrary to God's will, and which assuredly would destroy the welfare of their families. Not only at Wechne, but at many other places, Abyssinians troubled us with the petition of taking them to Jerusalem, whither Mr. Flad was going. The great man—see April 15—who guided us to the king's camp

at Jan Meda would absolutely accompany us to Jerusalem, and he wept bitterly when we refused him on our departure from Gondar. Had he possessed the means requisite for the journey we would not have objected so much to his desire; but as he wished to proceed at our expense, and as payment of the wages which he claimed for having accompanied us to the king—for which we recompensed him handsomely—we did not think it our duty to spend our money in his behalf. Oh, how deeply is the Abyssinian church fallen, and how blind are her priests, who constantly recommend a pilgrimage to Jerusalem as the sure way to heaven, and as an excellent means to tranquillize a disturbed mind and conscience!

“*May 10*—On our departure from Wechne the governor refused us a guide, on the plea that he had not received a special command from the king; but as one of my servants knew the road, we departed without one. The road was open, level, and ran along the foot of a mountain for some distance. After we had left the mountain range, which is the last sprout of the Abyssinian highlands, we were in an immense undulating plain, of which we could see no end. In the process of our march we travelled over a tract of country where we observed a great deal of bamboo, which we had also seen in the vicinity of the river Tacassie, of which undoubtedly the ancient light boats were constructed (Isaiah xviii. 2), and which perhaps carried these materials down the Tacassie to the celebrated city of Meroë, the central point of the Ethiopic kings and commerce in ancient times.

“The first river which we passed after having left Wechne is called Abai, which must be distinguished from the great river Abai—Abyssinian Nile, or Blue River—as it is called by the Abyssinians. Afterwards we came to the river Gendoa, where we cooked our dinner at noon. This river had plenty of water, but we saw neither village nor inhabitants along its banks. It comes from the Abyssinian mountains of Tshelga, and falls into the Atbara. How many beasts, birds, and plants, of perhaps not yet known kinds, may exist in the grassy and wooded wilderness which lay before us. About five o'clock p.m. we met with a caravan of about 300 camels and 100 donkeys, which carried heavy loads of cotton from Matamma for the market at Wechne, which is held on Friday every week, whereas at Matamma it is held on Tuesday. In the evening we reached again the river Géndoa, which has a meandering course. We encamped on its banks for the ensuing night.

“*May 11*—Last night we were overtaken by a thunder-storm and some rain, which

shows that the rainy season is at hand, wherefore we must hasten our journey to Sennar.

“To-day we passed several rivers, of which the largest is called Kóki. Our road was level, and romantic from the variety of the scenery of this wooded wilderness. We saw antelopes, chamois, and multitudes of guinea-fowl, of which we shot some. About four o'clock we had some rain. In the evening we reached a Mahomedan hamlet, but the people would not receive us into their houses, but assigned to us a stable, the walls of which were open, and admitted the wind freely. We were content with our lodging in absence of a better one which could protect us against rain, wind, and coldness. A pilgrim who stays only one night at a place must not care too much about comfort. Thus a Christian has no abiding city here below: why should he be anxious about so many things of his body, if but his soul has the one thing needful, the better part, which shall never be taken from him?

“*May 12*—We arrived at Matamma about ten o'clock a.m. Before we entered the village we had to cross a river, which carries a great volume of water to the Atbara in the rainy season. On our arrival in the village we went directly to Sheikh Ibrahim, the chief of the district of Matamma, appointed by King Theodoros. He is a Mahomedan, as most of his people are. He was very friendly, and assigned us a tolerably good cottage during our stay at Matamma, where we met with people of all nations of Abyssinia, Matamma being a central point of commerce, like Wechne, and even more than Wechne. The prominent language spoken in this quarter is Arabic, but of an Arabic idiom which I, in the beginning, could hardly understand. I learned that this dialect is spoken as far as Sennar and Chartum in the west, and to the Red Sea in the east; but in the north of Chartum, on the confluence of the Blue and White Rivers, the Berber language begins, and is understood as far as Assuan, the southern frontier of Egypt.

“We found the heat at Matamma as oppressive as at Wechne, and we now missed very much and reluctantly the cool air of the high land of Abyssinia.

“As the expression ‘Makáda and Djebberti’ struck my mind, I made inquiry about it, and learned that the Mahomedans in the west of Abyssinia call the Christians ‘Makáda,’ whereas they call the Mahomedans ‘Djebberti.’ At Massoa the Christians are called Kostān—corrupted from Christian; at Tadjourra they call them Ambára, whereas the Galla call them Sidáma.

“*May 13*—We stayed at Matamma, partly

because we wished to have a quiet Sunday, partly because the chief has not yet furnished us with camels and provisions. A soldier, who is an Abyssinian Christian, came to ask me many questions; for instance, 1. Whether we do fast; 2. Whether we eat the meat slaughtered by the Mahomedans; 3. Whether pilgrimage to Jerusalem does not justify man before God; 4. Whether we have *tescar*, i. e. funeral banquets, and priestly intercession for the souls of the departed; 5. Whether we smoke tobacco; 6. Whether our priests marry a second wife; 7. What kind of punishment was imposed by our priests upon a man who had illicit intercourse with a

Mahommedan woman. When I had replied to all these questions, which he had asked one after the other, the man was highly pleased, and said that nobody had ever given him such an answer. I conceived a good affection toward that man on account of his upright, inquisitive, and intelligent conduct. He came afterwards a second time, and asked some questions about the present king, whom he dislikes and calls the Antichrist, as, in his opinion, the real Theodoros must come from the east, and not from the west, Theodoros the present having been born in Kuara, the most western province of Abyssinia.

(To be continued.)

THE IJEBU COUNTRY.

(Conclusion of Dr. Irving's journal.)

Departure from Ipara. Road to Ode. Magnificent avenue from Ode to Iperu. Arrival at the latter town: its gateway, and character of the houses and streets. Hearty reception by the people. Departure from Iperu and approach to Ofin: its gate, &c. Interruption of Dr. Irving's journal. Visit of Rev. S. Crowther from Lagos to Ikoredu, Ofin, Iperu, and Makun, in December last.

"Dec. 18.—This morning rose early: there was a thick mist around. Late last night, it appeared, our messengers had arrived from Ofin, with a favourable answer and safe conduct. It was late before we started. The balogun had gone, we were told, to the oboni-house, to make country-fashion, and seek advice as to their future proceedings. It is not often that we need be much alarmed about the elders and obonis: they are generally inclined for peace, and consequently favourable to the white man. At Ibadan, on one occasion, the expulsion or non-expulsion, or rather the reception or otherwise, actually depended upon the priests of Ifa, and yet the answer was favourable. We sauntered towards the oboni-house, which was ornamented on the street wall of the compound by rows of skulls and jawbones, &c., of animals, let into the mud of the wall; a very common thing with these buildings. On the balogun's return we sent him a few presents, and thanked him for his kindness. He came soon after, to return his acknowledgments. I ought to have said he had sent us several presents before. I cannot here leave Ipara without speaking of the balogun, who was a very superior person. He was short, his carriage erect and firm, with a severe dignity of expression, tempered by much real mildness, and occasionally breaking into a pleasant smile, with an utter absence of all affectation, bravado, or meanness, rendering him one of the most intelligent-looking chiefs I had yet seen. After giving something to the Ofin messengers to eat and drink, who, as usual,

said they were 'hungry,' we mounted our steeds, and, at half-past ten, we left the gate. Near this we saw some very nice and clean, but small-looking bullocks, generally of a black colour, such as are met with on the coast. I believe they came from Lagos.

"I will not delay on the road to Ode, as this I have already described. We soon reached the gate, which was again closed, but opened almost immediately. To the right of the gate, and at some little distance behind, arose a two-storied, square, vermilion-coloured tower, thatched, and loopholed for musketry. Within the first gate was a second, passing through which we skirted the town. Every house seemed to have its banana enclosure or grove. The houses were much better built than those of either Abbeokuta or Ibadan; the walls higher, supported outside by buttresses, the material seeming to be a tenacious red clay. But few people seemed to be moving about, and it appeared to us as if they purposely kept out of the way: only a few women and children ran to look at us. We did not remain here, but passed on. A magnificent avenue led from the town, bordered by fine lofty trees; and so tempting did the road appear, that we could not resist putting spurs to our horses and having a good canter to the end. Here we halted till our bearers came up, as we had the choice of two roads, and did not know which to take. That continuing the avenue, leading to the eastward, we found was the road to Ode—Ijebu; that to the southward led to Iperu and Ofin. The road between Ode and the

next Ijebu town of Iperu is about a distance of four or five miles. The whole line may be characterized as almost without break, one beautiful avenue or lane, shaded and bordered by lofty trees, with extensive corn-fields on either hand, from which arose a few palms, and solitary, detached, lofty trees. There was little change the whole way, excepting where one part was more beautiful than another. We now reached a long straight avenue, with some magnificent trees at the side, and here we seated ourselves for refreshment, where were some native venders of bananas, palm-wine, beer, &c. Our bearers now came up and rested for a minute. My horse-boy—Ainò—seated on a tree-trunk, sung an Egba strain—

“ ‘ Agboyi kò le ràu mi

Mo nowò ewe

Agboyi kò le,’ &c.

“ ‘ No jack-knife can cut me.

I have spent cowries to buy charms :

No jack-knife can,’ &c.

“Then our friend Mr. Barber came out with one of the reminiscences of his captivity. His master, Fafoye, he said, a balogun in the great Yoruba army, when he used to visit his friends at Iperu, by way of varying his amusements, and combining profit with pleasure, was wont to ensconce himself in this same avenue, and, posting one boy at one end and another at the other, and placing two in the bush amidstships, any unfortunate wretch, man, woman, or child, who passed, was seized as soon as the look-outs signaled that there was no danger, and kept concealed till an opportunity offered for carrying them off—a pleasant state of society truly; yet such things are done to this day.

“Stretching across the end of an avenue was a wall and thatched gate, with neat door, and on either hand a high square tower of defence, similar to the others, and in good repair. Entering the town by a second gate, we were soon surrounded by a dense crowd of men, women, and children, who greeted us with most hearty salutations, and with every appearance of satisfaction and pleasure—a confused hum of voices, above which rose the shouts and shrill cries of men, women, and children. We now rested in a large market space, under the spreading branches of a wild fig-tree. We were much pleased with the neatness of the town. The walls of the houses were high, smooth, and buttressed: there appeared to be, in some cases, regular streets. We were much pleased with the appearance of this town: its general cleanness—but for those unhappy time-dishonoured pigs it would have been much more

so—the neat, well-built houses, and clear open spaces, and general appearance, had a very good general effect. It is here where the Egbas come from Abbeokuta to trade. Near where we were seated were upwards of a hundred or more neat, wicker frame-work sheds for those who attended market, like the place of an encampment, which Mr. Hinderer said reminded him much of the ‘bodes’ in a German fair. After sending our compliments to the balogun, who, we were told, was at the farm—a not uncommon excuse—we again mounted and proceeded. The dense crowd who had all this while encircled us in the market-place followed us out of town.

“Taking our departure by a similar double gate to that by which we entered, with two flanking towers of defence, and crossing the ditch by two wooden planks, we entered one of those fine avenues, wide and broad—as already several times described—along which we cantered until we came to a turnstile, right in front of us, an evidence of the scarcity of horses in the country. We were obliged to make a little *detour*, clamber a fence, cross a field of corn, and regain the road by another act of trespass. Fine and dense banana groves bordered the way for a long distance: the petals of the ariri, one of the most common timber-trees of the country, strewed the path. Riding along an open path, deeply worn, with high grass banks, and fields of corn on either hand, we at length turned into a shady lane, arched over head, the road winding, and leading S., S. W., W. by S. To the right a road led to Ishadda, a village of which the roofs of the houses were seen. Passing open sheds with cultivated grounds, old waste farms, and corn-fields, we reached a shady lane, and here we were desired to stop, as we were near Ofin, and the messengers believed Oro was out, and the women might not be enabled to enter. These poor women! and yet truth compels me to add, that in Abbeokuta, when Oro takes possession of the town during the day, the place never looks so quiet and so respectable. Not a woman to be seen; no street cries of the venders of agiddi, akara, or yams, and other good things; only a few men walking about with an air of conscious power, and satisfaction at having checkmated their women, and spoiled their gossip. We soon again moved on along what might be made a fine avenue, but sadly wanted clearing, and entered the gate of Ofin, which is a ruinous, broken-down tower, flanked on the left, loop-holed, &c., and traversing the bode, which a tailor kept, whose caps and cloths were exposed for sale, and traversing another inner gate, we found ourselves skirting a fine

orishagrove, with some lofty trees, one giant of which called forth a simultaneous admiration from both, and at the entrance to which two skulls nailed to a tree greeted us. We passed the end of a small market, were saluted by a blacksmith tinkling his hammer on the anvil, received sundry 'acabos' of the few people we saw, and were shortly seated under a fig-tree opposite an open gateway leading into a ruinous compound—the royal residence at Ofin—and, in a few minutes, our lodging was pointed out to us in a narrow piazza, in an unfortunate lane of ruinous houses. Rain had begun to fall as we entered Ofin, and now came down in torrents: as soon as it cleared away we erected our small tent in an open space, and, with our beds placed at either side, and a plank to keep our feet out of the wet we were soon moderately snug."

The interesting narrative of the late Dr. Irving here abruptly terminates. Before he had completed the arrangement and transcription of the notes which he had taken, he was removed by death. The drawing of his subsequent interview with the king of Ofin, from which our engraving* has been made, was taken by himself, with a few other sketches having reference to various points of scenery, which interested him in the Ijebu country.

The result, however, of this tour was of great importance. Peace was brought about between the Egbas and Ijebus, the akarigbó's good will conciliated, and a Christian visitor placed at Ofin. Shortly before his death—with the evident object of keeping the path open, lest, if unfrequented, it should close again—Dr. Irving revisited Ofin, and found himself constrained to remove the Christian visitor to Lagos, on account of his wife's ill health; and this advanced post remained unavoidably vacant, notwithstanding repeated messages from the king, until December of last year, when the Rev. S. Crowther proceeded from Lagos to visit Ofin. We shall subjoin a few extracts from his journal, containing our latest intelligence from the Ijebu country.

"Dec. 17—Having fixed on to-day for visiting Ijebu, I started for Ikorodu this morning. I arrived at Ikorodu about one o'clock P.M., where I took them all by surprise. Atambala, the Ibalogun, who had been always Mr. Gollmer's attached friend, and who had provided a house for our Christian visitors, was very glad to see me. He embraced me with both arms, and said he would have met me at the wharf had he known I was coming. George Williams and William Parks, the Christian visitors, had just re-

turned home from their visit about the town. I believe these two men have been faithful in the discharge of their duty according to their ability, though not under the immediate eye of their superintendent. Atambala took me to his house, and I had long conversation with him about our Missionary work, and our intention to commence a school at Ikorodu, for which he was glad. After this I visited the apena and the oluwo, two chief headmen in the town, with whom I spoke in the same manner. The apena is more favourable to our object than the oluwo, but the latter found it difficult to act against Atambala, the ibalogun, and the apena.

"As I can spare no more than six days out of Lagos, I have arranged to leave for Ofin to-morrow morning, on a visit to the akarigbo—king—of Ijebu Remo, who had been first visited by Mr. Hinderer and the late Dr. Irving, and by the late doctor just before his death.

"Dec. 18—Started early this morning for Ofin. I took G. Williams and W. Parks with me, as they had been to Ofin before, and were known to the people. We arrived there about five o'clock P.M., in a very bad road, the distance being about eight hours' direct journey from Ikorodu, exclusive of halts.

"The oluwo received us most kindly, and soon lodged us in the large shed where the court is kept, and provided for our refreshment. When it was dark he introduced me to the king, who had an interview with us in his private yard. He was very glad to see me, and sympathised with us on account of the death of the late Dr. Irving, whose able services he greatly appreciated, and attributed the preservation of the Remo district to his influence over the Egbas. He said the Egba messengers had just this afternoon left Ofin on a peace-making errand. He made inquiry of Mr. Hinderer, of Ibadan, and wished to know when Mr. Gollmer was returning again. With this he withdrew, and we returned to our lodging.

"Dec. 19—After breakfast we had another interview with the akarigbo, when I entered more directly upon our Missionary business; that we had not been able hitherto to supply the place of J. Coker, but now hoped to do so; and that we would try to establish a school for the little ones, if he would promise us children. He said he was almost without hope of seeing any one coming to him again, and that he would be most happy to receive another teacher, and would give us a place to build on; and hoped we would soon fulfil our promise. After some conversation on different topics, such as the evil of the slave-trade, and the profitableness of lawful commerce and

* *Vide Frontispiece.*

agriculture, I presented him with the silk patchwork gown sent to me by the Society from some kind friends in England, with which he was highly delighted. After returning to our lodging, the oluwo suggested that we should visit the elder chiefs of the town, which we did with the king's messenger; after which the king sent me a fine sheep, and two heads of cowries, for our entertainment. Towards three o'clock I made my intention known to the oluwo of leaving this afternoon for Ikorodu, by way of Iperu and Makun, of which he told the king, who was very sorry that I was going away so soon. He expected I would spend at least three days with him, and that he wanted to speak with me once more, with the elders of the town present; but I told him how limited my time was, and that whatever was to be talked over must be reserved till the next visit. He did not like my passing through Iperu and Makun, because they were the people who opposed the late Dr. Irving's and Mr. Hinderer's coming to him, till he had sent his messengers to fetch the white men; that they were not pleased with his receiving them, and till now they are not pleased with him: he therefore owes them a grudge, which he will pay them one day; that I should sleep at Ofin to-night, and leave direct for Ikorodu to-morrow morning. The apena, who spoke on this occasion, was very warm when he mentioned the conduct of the people of Iperu and Makun to akarigbo, their king. I told them I had heard all the matter from my friends, whose passage was opposed at the time; but since then the people of Makun and Iperu had been very kind to them, and I thought it was right in me to go to these towns, and thank the headmen for the kindness they had shown to my European friends. This message the mild oluwo returned to deliver to the king, when his consent for my going to Iperu was obtained. As much as could have been said of Ofin must have been said by Mr. Hinderer and the late doctor, only this may be repeated: though Ofin is small in proportion to other towns, yet, being the head-quarter—the king's residence in Ijebu Remo—it must be first attended to before we can get hold of Makun and Iperu, both of which are superior in size and population, and more advantageous, as on the direct road to Ibadan. Ofin, the king's residence, is to Ijebu Remo what Ake is to the Egba tribe.

"Having settled all amicably, and got the oluwo to give a large room and two small piazza rooms for the accommodation of the Christian visitor who may be sent, I gave him one head of cowries to employ labourers to smooth the rooms, and make them habitable

in seventeen days' time. I gave the old chiefs four heads of cowries in return for their presents.

"At half-past three o'clock we started for Iperu on a fine road, and in an hour and a half we entered the town, and went to the gate of the bale's house, just by the market, but he was not to be seen. After messengers had passed to and fro, and we had waited outside upwards of an hour, we were admitted into the square, where a large room was cleared out for us. Afterwards, I learned the cause of our detention, and the seeming indifference we met with. Just before we entered the town a most serious accident took place from a musket-shot, which killed the bale's son, and he was in deep affliction when we arrived; so we could not see him. We met with kind attention from the people in the square where we lodged. Here I wrote to Mr. Hinderer, to inform him of my having been at Iperu.

"Dec. 20—At six, leaving a message for bale, we started for Makun, where I came in contact with one of the Egba messengers in the market-place, who told me that they had been to Awujale, the king of Ijebu Ode, and that all things were promising well. He expressed satisfaction at the support they have by our moving thus about the country. We arrived at Ikorodu at six P.M., nine hours' direct journey, exclusive of halts, and on a much better road than that direct to Ofin.

"In such a flying visit it cannot be expected to know much of the town and people; but our passing through now and then, and a word spoken in general among the caravan with whom we travelled, may prove beneficial to some of them.

"Dec. 21—Friday, market-day at Ikorodu: Atambala was obliged to be present there the whole day, to prevent collision between Kosoko's and Lagos people, as both parties meet here to trade; so I was obliged to wait a day longer to see what arrangements can be made to commence a school here, to which some people promised to send their children, as at Lagos. Ikorodu is a very busy place during the market time.

"Dec. 22—Having arranged matters with Atambala, the bale, and two other principal chiefs, I left Ikorodu this morning for Lagos."

Thus the horizon of opportunity continues to expand, and new fields of labour, from whence the entreaty for help is loudly heard, invite us onward to the commencement of new stations. May a gracious Lord vouchsafe to our Society an increase of labourers and means, that we may be enabled to go forward, and crown our work with the rich abundance of His blessing!

NOTES OF A VISIT TO INDIA, CEYLON, SINGAPORE, AND JAVA, BY THE BISHOP OF VICTORIA.

THE Bishop of Victoria has forwarded some notes of a visit recently made by him to India, Ceylon, Singapore, and Java. They do not, as he observes, contain much of special interest to the Church Missionary Society, but may prove of general interest to the friends of Missions, as bearing upon the prospects of Christianity in the East, and especially in the Eastern Archipelago. We very readily give it insertion, at the same time declining, as in all similar cases, to be responsible for every view which may be taken and every sentiment expressed.

"In March of last year a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, accompanied also by a letter from the venerable metropolitan of India, requesting me to assist at the consecration of a bishop for Labuan, led me to decide on making a voyage to India, of which country I retained very pleasant reminiscences, through my visit to the Krishnagurh and Tinnevely Missions three years previously. In the same month, also, I received a letter from the chaplain of the English community at Batavia, asking me, in his own name and that of the trustees of his church, to extend a visit to them in the event of my ever being led to pass the Straits of Singapore. The prospect of usefulness in the latter direction, the hope of refreshing my mind by spiritual intercourse with my venerated Indian brethren, and the general feeling of interest connected with the setting apart of an English bishop for the Missions of our church in Borneo, appeared to me a sufficient compensation for the inconvenience, and disadvantage to bodily health, of leaving China at the commencement of our cool weather, to face the yet-undiminished heat of a Calcutta hot season.

"I embarked at Hong Kong on September 15, 1865, in the Peninsular and Oriental steamer 'Pottinger,' and arrived at Singapore on September 24th. After staying a night at the house of the resident councillor, the Hon. T. Church, Esq., I proceeded in the same steamer to Penang, where I landed on the evening of the 27th, and became the guest of George Scott, Esq., who resides on a nutmeg-plantation about three miles from the town. Finding that a steamer direct to Calcutta was to pass Penang in four days' time, I determined on leaving the 'Pottinger,' carrying the English mail to Ceylon, and proceeding by a much shorter route to Calcutta. The period of my stay at Penang afforded me an opportunity of gathering in-

formation respecting Missions in the Straits of Malacca; the result of which was to leave on my mind the impression that the various Protestant Missionary Societies have not acted wisely in entirely abandoning their stations in the Straits settlements on the wider opening of China by the treaty of Nanking in 1842, and thus leaving an unoccupied field for the Roman Catholics to enter upon. There is an undoubted activity and progress of Romish Missions in the Straits during the last ten years; such as is calculated to awaken the serious attention, activity, and emulation of Protestant churches and Missionary Societies. At Penang the Roman Catholics have gained a hold upon a portion of the native and mixed races. Frequent bequests from dying persons, the severe spiritual terrors of ecclesiastical discipline over church-members, the accumulation of administrative power and control of funds in the hands of a priesthood released from domestic concerns and cares, and the generally-observable *esprit de corps* and worldly wisdom pervading their action and organization for extending the politico-religious influence of the papacy, do appear to my mind a most powerful machinery for compassing the peculiar ends of their mission. In Penang itself there is a college for native Chinese priests. Foundlings or poor children are brought in infancy or childhood, immured in a collegiate building, dressed in ecclesiastical garb, isolated from all sympathy with the world without, cut off from all hope of escape into secular life, trained up under habits of abject obedience to the padres and thus made up into tools and instruments for carrying out the objects of the papacy in China and its dependencies; poor creatures—it may be—knowing little happiness in this world, or solace from religion, but shut up into the one calling of a native Romish priesthood, and likely to prove tractable, docile, and convenient materials in the service of the Propaganda.

"In the absence of the Company's chaplain, shortly expected from Bengal, I had arranged to hold divine service in the church on the Sunday morning; but a sudden attack of sickness, produced by the heat, and possibly the situation of the estate at which I was staying, prevented my carrying out my purpose, as well as my ascending the Penang Hill, where, at the height of about 3000 feet above the sea, there is a fine cool temperature and a good sanatorium.

"On Monday, October 1st, the 'Formosa'

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Peninsular and Oriental steamer was telegraphed as being in sight; and the same afternoon I embarked in her on our direct route to Calcutta. Among my fellow-passengers was the Roman-Catholic archbishop Carew, of Calcutta, titularly known as the Archbishop of Edessa, who had been staying at Penang for the improvement of his health, and had made his visit the occasion of giving an impulse to their Mission at Penang. During our nine days' voyage in a small steamer, we were necessarily thrown much together. As we sat on the poop of the steamer, I little thought that I was conversing with a man who in another month would be cold in his grave. At our parting in Calcutta, he told me of his daily prayers that the church might be one—words which, of course, we all know the meaning of in the Roman-Catholic sense—and made many kind expressions respecting the recovery of my health. As I left the steamer, four or five European priests, whose looks and intelligence raised them far above the wretched appearance of the degenerate Goa type of padres, hurried on board, and, on bended knees, performed the ceremony of kissing his hand, and offering their affectionate congratulations on his return. It struck me, that in so public a place there was a good deal of studied effect in all this; and this Romanists abroad never lose sight of. They might, however, possibly be Frenchmen. The whole scene attracted the comments of some bystanders. The poor old gentleman himself died twenty-three days after, although then apparently in restored health; and his public funeral was attended by many civilians and officers of government. He appears to have been very successful in the establishment of orphanages; but it does not appear that in actual increase of converts the Romanists in Calcutta have lately made great progress.

"On Wednesday, October 10th, I disembarked at Garden Reach, at a point opposite to the fine site and range of Bishop's College, on the other bank of the Hugly. On my arrival at the bishop's palace in Chowringhee I found that he was absent at his country-house at Serampur, about sixteen miles from Calcutta. My first business was to remove all uncertainty as to the Bishop of Madras coming on to meet me at Calcutta; and I mention it merely to show what wonderful power recent scientific discoveries have placed in the hands of the dominant race in India for the retention of British rule, and the means of concentrating a military force in a few days on any point of the frontier, especially in such a contingency as a Russian

invasion. Having arranged to come to Calcutta *via* Ceylon, and to take up the Bishop of Madras in passing; and being apprehensive lest the change in my route, and my non-appearance at Madras in the passing steamer, should disconcert his plans from the fear lest I had failed, and his own visit to Calcutta prove useless—as my presence alone would make up the canonical number of consecrating bishops—I merely went to the telegraph-office, and, for the payment of eight rupees, and with a delay of only six hours in the transmission from next sunrise, I sent on the simple sentence—'The Bishop of Victoria arrived at Calcutta on the 10th instant, and awaits you.'

"My first two days at Calcutta were agreeably spent in visiting the Church Missionary Society's Missionaries at Mirzapore, where I spent a pleasant evening with Messrs. Sandys and Long, the latter being employed in a department of Missionary labour which has attracted, through him, considerable attention of late. His collection and catalogue of all the native books published in the vernacular Bengali during the last century has excited much interest in the general community, and received a prominent and favourable notice recently in the 'Friend of India.' I was unable to renew my visit to his vernacular schools at the interesting out-station of Thakerpuker; but have heard it stated that his work there during his and Mrs. Long's weekly visit of two or three days has progressed rapidly since the period of my former visit to Thakerpuker in December 1852. I spent an afternoon very profitably, also, with the three Missionaries in charge of the Scotch schools, so long under the able presidency of Dr. Duff. The Durga puja holidays prevented my seeing more of the educational system at work, as I witnessed it, under more favourable circumstances, in 1852.

"On the third day after my arrival I proceeded to Serampur, to see the venerable Bishop of Calcutta. After driving three miles to the ghat, I crossed the Hugly in a steam ferry-boat, crowded with horses, carriages, and natives of every caste, from the highest Brahmins and native gentry down to the lowest class of Bengalis, all alike in a state of semi-nudity, and reeking with perspiration amid the intense heat. Having been misinformed as to the hour of the train starting, I was a full hour too early at the Howrah terminus of the railway. But, even so long before the time, the second-class carriages were packed with crowds of natives, the proud Brahmin, with the distinctive holy thread of a 'twice-born' hanging over his naked shoul-

ders, unceremoniously jostled in closest contact with men of low caste. Electric telegraphs and railways seem not less calculated to weaken the hold of caste, and to level the grades of native society, than to cement and consolidate the power of the foreign conquerors and rulers of this splendid Anglo-Indian empire. There were only a few natives in the first-class carriages. A short time previously a rich babu took his seat with some Europeans in a first-class carriage, and, having no garment above his loins, he was requested to leave the carriage, and to remove to a second-class. He persisted in remaining, and, on being forcibly expelled by a railway official, brought an action, and obtained damages, in the Supreme Court; the chief-justice, Sir Lawrence Peel, deciding, that, as it was not contrary to native custom, the deficiency—according to European estimate—in his dress was not sufficient to exclude him from his right of travelling in a public vehicle. Our speed over the sixteen miles to Serampur fully averaged a second-rate railway in England, and the general management appeared to be the same. I found the bishop looking better than I expected to find him; and apparently as strong and well as when I left him two years and nine months previously. My venerable friend welcomed me with his usual cordiality and energy. He was then engaged in writing his charge to the clergy, to be delivered on the 23d instant; and the result will have shown that the same vigorous intellect, sound judgment, and fidelity to the grand fundamental principles of evangelical truth, still animate the octogenarian prelate, as were ever conspicuous in the full noon-tide season of bodily strength. I spent the day very pleasantly with him, scarcely able to realize the improbable occurrence that our intercourse on a former occasion in Calcutta should ever be again renewed on this side of the grave. I preferred returning to Calcutta, with its many scenes of interest, to accepting the bishop's invitation to stay three days longer at Serampur, and returning with him at the commencement of the ensuing week.

"The intervening days passed rapidly. My friend M'Dougall, the bishop-designate, had arrived before me, and occupied apartments near me, which brought us frequently together, and led us to many conversations respecting his work and prospects—prospects most inviting and cheering, but yet replete with temptations and dangers. There is the noble career of Sir James Brooke, inviting the church to follow in the breach which he has made upon the superstition, cruelty, and

lawlessness of the aboriginal tribes of Borneo. May the church, nevertheless, be preserved from the error of depending unduly on an arm of flesh, and confounding any degree of mere civilization or amelioration, short of Christian conversion, with the progress of true Christianity, and the extension of Christ's spiritual kingdom! Again, a great and new experiment in modern Missions is about to be tried; and the church, at an early stage, sends forth her few labourers with the accompaniment of a complete ecclesiastical machinery; so that the presence of a bishop gives the infant Mission the means of adding to the number of his clergy, by ordaining fellow-labourers, without the expense, delay, and inconvenience of their being sent to England, and the Mission thus possesses within itself the elements of self-extension. But here again a danger and temptation meets us, lest, self-satisfied and content with the apostolic model and external form of church-government, we exclude from our estimate the far higher and more essential elements of Missionary growth and health, in the daily prayer for the outpouring of the graces and gifts upon the labourers in the Mission; in the spiritual-mindedness and simplicity which must ever adorn the ambassadors of the Saviour; and in their faithful endeavour and determination to 'know nothing but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.' The Bishop of Madras arrived on the 15th of October; and these solemn topics formed a frequent subject of conversation between the assembled bishops, and not least in the edifying and often affecting expositions of the aged Bishop of Calcutta at the morning prayers in his private chapel. Our brother M'Dougall was, at this time, the subject of many fervent prayers on his behalf; and I believe that the occasion was sanctified to all of us more especially interested in the coming ceremony.

"On October 18th, St. Paul's Cathedral was thronged by the largest crowd that ever entered within its sacred walls. A vast assemblage of Europeans, East Indians, and not a few native Christians in their oriental attire, was, at an early hour, collected together to view the approaching solemnity. The various portions of the morning service were duly celebrated, and a powerful sermon, adapted to the occasion, was preached by the Bishop of Madras, who, as Archdeacon Dealtry, is held in affectionate remembrance among the congregation of his former charge at the old Mission Church, and who found not a few of his old friends and parishioners present to hear his exhortation. At the proper season, the Bishops of Cal-

cutta, Madras, and myself, by solemn imposition of hands, set apart to his office the first bishop for Borneo, and furnished the first precedent, since the days of the Reformation, of an English bishop being consecrated out of England. About forty or fifty clergy, with a large number of laity, partook of the Lord's supper; and, after a protracted service of four hours' duration, the solemnity drew to a close, and each soul which participated therein was soon after left to its own meditations, and communion of spirit with God. May all that was healthful in that day's excitement remain until death, and be a 'savour of life unto life!'

"The next few days were occupied with engagements to meet parties of civilians, clergy, and other residents, at breakfast at the bishop's palace, at which each bishop had opportunities of making an address on the circumstances of his own diocese and Mission. During the two Sundays of my stay I preached, on the former Sunday morning in St. Paul's Cathedral, and on the latter Sunday I preached, in the morning, at the old Mission Church, the scene of labour of the Thomasons, the Martyns, the Corries, and the other honoured names of a former generation, and, in the afternoon, again in St. Paul's Cathedral.

"The return of my former tropical ailment, which commenced at Penang, was an interruption to the full enjoyment of my visit, and at times excited fears lest my inability to attend in the cathedral should interfere with the appointed time for the consecration. On the 23d of October—thirteen days after my arrival—Bishop and Mrs. Dealtry and myself left Calcutta, at day-break, in the Peninsular and Oriental mail-steamer 'Bombay,' being unable to stay to hear the Bishop of Calcutta's charge to the clergy, delivered at a later hour on the same day. A four days' voyage brought us to anchor in Madras Roads, on Friday evening, October 26th, at eight P.M. We landed, and arrived at the bishop's residence before midnight. This gave me a pleasant opportunity of renewing the privilege—which I enjoyed on a similar visit of nine days in January 1853—of profitable and refreshing intercourse, at their own home, with my two dear friends, Bishop and Mrs. Dealtry; one of the bright spots and sweet reminiscences in the generally unvarying monotony of colonial society and oriental life.

"The next evening, at sunset, my friends drove me in their carriage to the beach, and, after the usual exciting passage through the surf in the Massoolah boat, I reached our vessel. We were soon under weigh again,

and on the morning of Tuesday, October 30th, I landed at Galle, in Ceylon, having to await there the arrival of the English steamer bearing the mail to China, expected in about a week, by which it was my plan to direct my course back to my own diocese and home.

"It might possibly not be without interest to the Church Missionary Society for me to state, that among my fellow-passengers from Calcutta was a highly-intelligent gentleman, an indigo-planter, residing within a mile of Mr. Schurr's station at Kapasdanga, in the Krishnagurh district, whose name will readily occur to the Missionaries of that locality. This gentleman told me, that formerly he had lived in the southern part of the zillah, and had then been influenced by the frequent expressions of depreciation respecting the Society's work in the Krishnagurh Mission. When, however, within the last two years, he had himself removed to his indigo-estate in the immediate vicinity of the Kapasdanga station, and had there, by personal eyesight, and with the observation which his own knowledge of Bengali had enabled him to make, enjoyed opportunities of beholding the actual fruits of the Mission, as seen in the schools, the church services, and the general improvement of the native population about the Missionary station, he had become conscious of the false estimate too generally entertained of the Mission, and now voluntarily expressed to me his belief that the results which he himself had seen were sufficient to repay all the labour and expenditure which the Church Missionary Society had ever incurred in Bengal. It gave me satisfaction to hear this pleasing testimony borne to the labours of one of your Missionaries, and to revive the associations connected with my own visit to Mr. Schurr's station.

"On my arrival at Galle I despatched a note to Rev. George Parsons, the Church Missionary Society's Missionary at Baddagame, fourteen miles distant, with whom I became first acquainted in England some years ago. I proposed to visit his station, and to spend three or four days in his neighbourhood, a proposal to which he heartily responded; and, two days after my arrival at Galle, he was there ready to conduct me to his station. We left the narrow streets and old-fashioned buildings of this former Dutch fortified town, and after a drive of six miles, through groves of cocoa-nut trees and a country of rich luxuriant verdure, we arrived at the small river where we had to embark in a boat to pursue the rest of our journey. Seated on a platform of planks resting on two canoes lashed side to side, and sheltered

by a mat roof from the sun, I had the means of enjoying the glorious scenery of hills, clad with forest trees, rising from the general landscape, and gorgeous verdure of mountain, vale, and stream, beautiful beyond description, and lovely to behold.

"About an hour after sunset we arrived at Baddagame, and disembarked at a point of the river which must ever be a scene of melancholy association as the spot where my companion witnessed the death-struggles of his colleague, Mr. Greenwood, who, five years ago, was drowned while bathing in sight of his house, and nearly involved in a common destruction Mr. Parsons himself, while attempting to save him. We ascended the hill on which the Mission buildings are situated, surrounded by a number of other sloping eminences, all covered with rich tropical foliage, and with the river meandering among their bases.

"It will not be necessary for me to enter into any description of the statistics of this rural station, which are so easily gathered from the Parent Society's Reports; and my stay was too short, and the heat too great by day, to enable me to make any excursions. The difficulties appear to be those common to the Ceylon Mission generally, viz. the indolence of the natives, and their unwillingness to endure fatigue, labour, and self-exertion, in a climate and with a soil which produces, at the expense of a few days' working in each year, all that is necessary for food, raiment, and shelter. It is a true remark, that a due proportion between man's necessities and the facility of the means by which his necessities may be supplied, is requisite for the formation of a vigorous, industrious, and thriving race; and that the stern rigours of an arctic region, with not sufficient heat nor fertility to repay the toil of human exertion, and the lavish gifts of Nature in a tropical clime, removing the pressure of physical wants, and the stimulus to bodily exertion needful for their relief, are alike unfavourable to the development of a high order of the human species. In the temperate zone alone physical wants are sufficient in degree to excite, and a kindly temperature and genial soil invites and repays, the toil of man. It is in the temperate regions of the earth, therefore, that art, commerce, and industry have flourished; and from those parts of the world in which this due proportion between man's wants and Nature's bounties exists have ever proceeded the hardy and enterprising races who have colonized, conquered, and civilized the world.

"But to return from these abstract speculations. On Sunday, November 4th, I

preached twice in the Mission church—the first English church, I believe, built in the island, and consecrated by Bishop Heber about thirty years ago. There is a respectable tower, and the building is airy and spacious, capable of containing—I regret to write—a much larger congregation than what I witnessed; a fact accounted for by the thinness of the population, and the distance over which they are scattered, as well as the slow progress of conversions in recent years. In the morning I preached to about 100 natives, two-thirds of whom were young people, chiefly scholars, from Ephesians ii. 1, the Rev. Abraham Goonesekera, the native clergyman, interpreting for me into Singhalese. In the afternoon I preached, from Romans viii. 1, to a small English congregation, composed chiefly of the Missionary's family and the establishment of a neighbouring sugar-planter. A monument is placed on one of the interior walls to commemorate the Rev. Mr. Mayor, one of the first Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon, who died in England. The boys in the seminary, under Mr. Parsons' charge, seemed intelligent, possessing a good knowledge of English and geography, and a fair acquaintance with Scripture doctrines. The indolent impassibility of the native character is a bad material to work upon; and to this drawback from Missionary success is to be added, also, the peculiar hindrance arising from their bondage to devil-dancing and superstition; Buddhism also, in Ceylon, consisting of a more bigoted system of error, and exercising a more powerful influence on society, than Buddhism as it exists among the Chinese. I fear truth compels me also to add, that the adventitious influence acquired by the priesthood, from their quasi-connexion with the British Government, as seen in the formal licensing by the Governor, and induction by government officials into temple offices and revenues, has formed a serious obstacle to the success of Missions, by upholding the social importance of heathen priests, and causing a stumbling-block to native converts. These obstacles are happily in course of removal in every part of the British possessions, under the moral pressure of Missionary Societies, and, as I believe also, the improved spirit of enlightened Christian policy which has diffused itself among the ruling powers. In estimating the moral results of the Missionary institutions formed in the beginning of this century, we may fairly include this improved tone in our public men and government policy. Without such a counteracting leaven, what, we may well ask, would have been

now the aspect of our foreign possessions? what the probable effects of Christianity ignored, and religious decorum systematically violated, in our public national acts? What, we may again ask, would have been the probable condition of every British settlement and colony formed in the lands of heathendom?

"I enjoyed much profitable conversation with the Rev. Abraham Goonesekera, who is an elderly man of considerable intelligence, information, and apparent strength of character. I understand that the proposal is now before the Church Missionary Society to relieve Mr. Parsons of the duties of this retired post, and to remove him to the larger sphere and more extensive duties of Cotta, or some of the stations more in the centre of the island. It may perhaps assist the Parent Committee in their decision, if I take the opportunity of stating that Mr. Goonesekera seems well qualified to undertake the entire charge of the station, and to fulfil the part of a settled pastor, thus setting the European labourer free for the work of extending the influence of Christianity in unevangelized parts, and 'preaching the gospel in the regions beyond.'

"The effects of Dutch tenure of Ceylon have long survived their own departure, and have raised a strange and peculiar difficulty to the progress of real, living Christianity among the natives. I allude to the system of proponents, by which the Dutch Government sought to bring over the whole island to Christianity, by rendering it illegal for any one but a baptized Christian to hold certain native offices, to retain certain civil rights, and, generally, to obtain any recognition and favour from their foreign rulers. I am not sure that full justice has been generally done to the Dutch in this particular; and entertain doubts—as I shall have occasion afterwards to notice respecting Java, in the course of my rambles—whether the Dutch Government has always and altogether been such an enemy to Christian Missions, as the stereotyped opinions of Missionary advocates and writers have generally represented. Their colonial policy has been doubtless one of restriction and severity towards the natives, whom they have ever ruled with an iron hand, and to whom they dictated, on motives of state policy, the religion which they were to embrace. Hence, by a very erroneous, though not, in some respects, a very highly culpable course of policy, they sought to lead men over to Christianity by temporal bribes, and allurements of temporal advantage. This, of course, is opposed to the views of those who entertain strong opinions about the non-connexion of religion with the state, the freedom of reli-

gious opinion, and the rights of conscience; but, when considered in reference to a barbarous, uncivilized race, which is the more highly culpable, the attraction of native idolaters to Christianity by the prize of situations under the Dutch Government, or the repulsion—as in India for too long a period—of native Christians from Government patronage on account of their Christianity, and the concentration of official favour upon the unconverted heathen opponents, rejecters, and revilers of the Christian faith?

"The proponent system was a well-intended, but highly injudicious and unenlightened measure for encouraging the spread of Christianity in Ceylon. According to Mr. Goonesekera's description, the proponents were a kind of schoolmaster-catechist, stationed in every village, and supported by the Dutch government. Their duty was to instruct, catechize, and prepare the natives for baptism; which ceremony they performed, on given occasions, to a promiscuous assemblage of persons, who had succeeded in repeating certain vague formulæ of religious instruction, and more especially in memorizing the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. In the general anxiety to obtain the civil privileges attached to baptism, and the fraudulent methods by which the uninstructed heathen contrived to insinuate themselves among the number of those baptized, it came to pass that a large portion of the Singhalese population became Christians, as far as the baptismal ceremony was concerned, and remained heathen in heart, and even in name; not a few of the Buddhist priests, at no remote period, being included among the number of those who had received baptism. This shocking state of things has been gradually dying out under the British rule. Mr. Goonesekera pointed me to a neighbouring village, where he himself once saw a heathen Buddhist priest, in the midst of a journey, turning aside, and, by means of a pecuniary bribe, getting his own son substituted, among the crowd of persons in the course of being then baptized, in the place of the child of a poor man in the village; and this in order to gain the civil immunities and advantages conferred by the baptismal certificate and registry. Mr. Goonesekera was himself baptized by a proponent, and stated that such a baptismal certificate was held valid by the bishop at the period of his ordination.

"As the great majority of persons received baptism in childhood—at an age, I am told, varying from seven to ten years old; and as such an age can scarcely be termed that of

an adult; it is evident that extreme theories of infant baptism would find in the past Missionary history of Ceylon a knot of difficulty not easy to unravel. In what way was a baptized Buddhist to be addressed by a Christian Missionary? Were certain texts of holy Scripture, expressive of the new birth, to be deemed no longer applicable to such a soul? Baptism by a proponent having been held as a valid rite, even for the ordination of a native preacher—the strictest canonists, in reference to baptism by laymen, having generally held the principle, ‘*fieri non debet, factum valet*’—and lay baptism having been decided in our own times, by the supreme ecclesiastical tribunals of our land, as entitling to the privilege of Christian burial in consecrated ground, it is plain that here in Ceylon, if anywhere, ultra views of sacramental efficacy must be modified by common sense, or would be refuted by palpable and glaring facts. I leave this anomaly and difficulty to speak for itself.

“I spent four days very agreeably with Mr. and Mrs. Parsons, whose Christian hospitality deserves my grateful mention, and will ever deepen my interest in their Missionary hopes and trials. I left Baddagame on Monday, November 6, Mr. Parsons accompanying me to Galle, where I had to wait five days for the steamer from Suez. On its arrival at Galle I embarked in the branch steamer from Bombay, touching at Ceylon, and taking up the English mails for China. Leaving Galle on Sunday morning, November 11, I arrived at Singapore on Monday, November 19th. After one night at Singapore I embarked in the Dutch steamer; and after touching at Rio and Muntok, in the island of Banca, we arrived on the fifth day off Java. I landed at Batavia on Sunday, November 26—too late, however, to attend at the service of the English church—and, after a drive of three or four miles, found a welcome under the hospitable roof of Alexander Fraser, Esq., a highly respectable, intelligent, and pious British merchant, and at the present time the British consular agent in Java. I remained sixteen days in the island of Java, before the return of the next monthly steamer to Singapore to meet the English mail steamers to and from China. Just a fortnight had elapsed since my leaving Ceylon, the scene of former Dutch conquests and possessions, now passed under British rule, and my arriving in Java, captured and held awhile by the British in the last continental war, but ceded back to the Dutch at the general peace, and now furnishing a specimen

of Dutch policy, and their peculiar system of colonial rule. I shall note a few of the incidents of my stay, as the most convenient method of illustrating the impressions made upon my mind by this portion of my extended trip.

The first few days were spent in making visits to the British and American residents—the latter being very few in number—together with such Dutch families as attended at the English chapel. As my visit was an informal, unofficial visit, I abstained from any call of ceremony upon the officials of the local Dutch government, and regarded myself rather in the character of a friend, desirous of strengthening the hands of a brother in the ministry, and encouraging and promoting my friend Mr. Drummond’s usefulness among his people. The custom at Batavia is to make and receive visits only in the evening, after dinner, from eight P.M. to ten P.M., when each European family adjourns to the cool open verandah in front of their house, and a succession of friendly visits generally ensues. The chaplain, Rev. G. M. Drummond, arrived a year or two previously from the diocese of Melbourne; as a successor to the late Rev. Mr. Du Puis in the chaplaincy at Batavia, which is supported by voluntary subscriptions, and does not receive any aid from the British Foreign Office, as no regular consul has ever yet been received at Batavia by the Dutch government. Throughout these eastern seas the Dutch are notoriously jealous of British influence—as seen in their remonstrances against British settlements being formed between certain parallels of latitude, on the plea of certain old treaties quoted by the Dutch, their unfriendly aspect towards Sir James Brooke’s Mission, and their diplomatic interference in Japan, to the detriment of British and American policy. Accordingly, in the letter of invitation originally sent to me from the chaplain and trustees, it was mentioned that the visit of an English bishop from British India might tend to excite the jealousy of the Dutch government, who give an annual subsidy towards sustaining the chaplaincy. As, by a recent commercial treaty, the Dutch have consented to receive a regularly-appointed consul—instead of, as at present, a consular agent—on the realization of this change the Foreign Office will be enabled, in accordance with the provisions of the Foreign Consular Chaplaincy Act, to grant from the public funds a sum towards local church purposes equal to that collected by British subjects; and thus, a British consular chaplaincy being instituted on foreign

and extra-diocesan territory, the chaplain will then probably place himself in correspondence and connexion with the Bishop of London. I was much pleased with my reception among the European community, and had much pleasant enjoyment in the society of Mr. Drummond and his family, and of my host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Fraser, the latter being a Dutch lady of great sweetness of Christian character, who, possessing in a high degree the accomplishments conferring influence over society, yet manifests a spirit of decision, and nonconformity to the fashionable pleasures of the world. There were other friends, also, whose kind attentions and zeal in every good work well repaid my visit to Batavia. It was pleasing to find, in this remote land, the ordinances of religion valued; and, in a few cases, spiritual-mindedness of a high order exemplified among our fellow-subjects engaged in mercantile life. Although several of the limited British community were originally Scotch Presbyterians or English Dissenters, it was satisfactory to notice what a bond of union served to cement us all together in those broad truths of evangelical doctrine, which often, in foreign lands, bring Nonconformists from England into fellowship with Churchmen and Church-of-England clergy.

"I officiated during two Sundays in the English church, originally built by subscriptions collected in former years by the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society, and, on their migration to the China Mission, ceded to the British chaplaincy. Mr. Drummond resides in the little bungalow situated on the church compound, and is engaged on weekdays in instructing a few private English pupils, and in superintending a native day-school conducted by a Dutch master. On the former Sunday, December 2d, I confirmed nine adults, among them two daughters of the chaplain; and afterwards preached, and assisted in the administration of the Lord's supper to twenty-six communicants, out of a congregation of seventy persons present on that day.

"In the interval between the two last Sundays of my stay I made a visit into the interior of the island for five days, in company with Mr. Drummond. We travelled in an open carriage with posting-horses, having received a pass and permission from the Dutch Government, in whose hands all the posting, and every detail of moving from place to place, is jealously confined, so as to exclude every thing like *espionage* or foreign influence from an island which constitutes nearly the only colony and outlet of eastern

commerce to the Dutch, and yields one million sterling of net revenue to the Home Government. We generally had four or six small horses for stages of four or five miles each, and the noise of the driver and Malay runners, shouting and cracking their whips, and yelling to the utmost pitch of their voices, to put speed into the horses, rendered our journey very exciting, though very quick.

"Setting off at sunrise, we arrived in a little more than three hours at Buitenzorg, situated, by a gradually rising acclivity, at 800 feet above the level of the sea, and forming a pleasant and salubrious residence to the Governor-General, who usually spends his time here, and, by daily couriers and monthly personal visits to Batavia, contrives to keep the machine of government in action from this his country palace, thirty-nine English miles distant. We spent the day here, and enjoyed our walk, in the interval between heavy showers of rain, in the park, gardens, and avenues of trees. The garden is laid out in sumptuous style, and is probably one of the best artistically-arranged botanical grounds in the world; thousands of trees and plants being arranged according to Linnæan order, and affording a rich treat to the students of that science in tropical regions. A little Dutch church—in which a Dutch chaplain officiates in rotation from Batavia—a public cemetery, an aviary, and a small mausoleum erected to the memory of Lady Raffles, the wife of Sir Stamford Raffles, the well-known English governor and historian of Java, skirt the edge of the park. The scenery is among the most beautiful in the world, containing an admixture of lowland plains, undulating slopes, meandering rivers, roaring mountain-torrents, and bold ridges and lines of mountain-top in the horizon, 10,000 feet high, all decked out in Nature's most gorgeous verdure, and presenting, in the highly tropical character of the forest-trees, a landscape peculiarly attractive and picturesque.

"On the second morning, at sunrise, we pursued our journey nearly thirty miles further, our progress being slow, and sometimes hardly amounting to two miles an hour, as we ascended from the lower country through winding roads to a pass between the hills at a point 5000 feet above the sea—drawn sometimes by six horses and four white buffaloes, and, over two or three stages, our team consisting alone of buffaloes, ten in number. Coffee-plantations and palm-groves everywhere abounded. The temperature gradually sank from between 80° and 90°, in the plains, to 60°, as we sat to refresh ourselves at one P.M. in a little shed for travellers

adjoining the road at the highest pass. Mountains, 10,000 feet on either side, were in view, as we descended from this pass, called by the natives *Mehamendung*—i.e. the Cloud-dam—from its being supposed to be an obstacle to the clouds passing over it. After travelling over a few miles, and a gradual descent of above 1500 feet, we arrived at *Tjipannas*, a rural retreat and country-house of the Governor-General, who kindly put it at my disposal on this occasion, through the British consular agent, and whose aide-de-camp sent on from *Buitenzorg* some articles of food, which greatly added to the comfort of our three days' stay at this delightful and cool retreat. A traveller in the tropics, who has been accustomed for eight months, in unbroken succession, to an average heat varying from 80° to 90° of Fahrenheit, can best understand the feelings of bodily relief occasioned by breathing an atmosphere ranging from 65° by night to 75° by day. Our time and strength did not enable us to attempt the fatiguing work of ascending the adjacent hills. Our little resting-place was 3450 feet above the sea; and we were situated at no great distance from the bases of *Gunnung Gedek*—lying ten miles to the W.S.W., 9550 feet high, with one large crater of a volcano, which was in action, and sent forth considerable eruptions of smoke and ashes, from the year 1839 to 1848, since which time it has been generally inactive—and *Pangerango*, a conical point 9660 feet high, ten miles to our west. Another range was pointed out to me, which I understood to be called *Gunung Guntur*—mountains of Thunder—from its many eruptions of smoke, ashes, and heavy stones, with rumbling sounds. The garden around the dwelling was kept in fine order, being of a more temperate region of Flora than that at *Buitenzorg*. Dutch garden vegetables, fruit-trees, and curious shrubs from Japan, were here cultivated with success. In a bathing-room near the house the mountain springs are so diverted as to form, under the same roof, two adjacent baths of hot and cold water, only three feet apart.

"My space will not enable me to describe a ramble into the neighbouring village, where we were present at some native holiday, and witnessed a peculiar dance called the *reok*, and gymnastic feats performed to the sound of some strange musical instruments of these Sundanese aboriginal tribes. It was amusing to perceive, both here as elsewhere on our journey from *Batavia*, the peremptory usages by which the Dutch government has ever maintained its ascendancy over the governed races. Every native,

whether Malay or Sundanese, is bound by custom to take off his large rattan, outer hat, on approaching or passing an European on the high road; and even native horsemen dismounted from their steeds as we walked by, with their hat in hand, and re-mounted only after we had passed.

"During our stay we received many attentions from an intelligent and scientific gentleman, Mr. Justus Charles Hasskarl, formerly a government superintendent of the botanical garden at *Buitenzorg*, and now employed in charge of the culture of the Peruvian bark or quinine—termed the *cinchona* tree—at a neighbouring plantation called *Tjiboddas*, 4300 feet above the sea. The Peruvian laws prohibit the exportation of the tree itself for planting; and their weak rulers, each intent, during their short revolutionary tenure of power, on gaining money by cutting down the trees, regardless of their being replenished by new growths, have done much of late towards exterminating this valuable product of Peru. Mr. Hasskarl was commissioned by the Dutch government to undertake the difficult task of bringing clandestinely from Peru a supply of seeds and cuttings; and is now engaged in bringing the experiment to a fair trial, of raising this valuable tree in Java, as a means of future revenue to the government, and of supplying the continued demand, in future times, of a medicine so much needed as quinine in the low ague and fever districts of the Netherlands. We visited the plantation, and saw many hundreds of plants, about a yard high, the tree itself growing, in about thirty years, to the height of 120 feet. The scenery, as viewed from between the forest-glens, as we descended, bore very much the verdant appearance of a Devonshire valley, with the patchwork hues of fields and hedges—rows interspersed, and differing only, on a closer view, in its tropical produce of tobacco, sugar-cane, and rice-fields. In this latitude, seven degrees only south of the Line, the recent rains, and the elevation above the sea, together with the prevalence of cloudy weather, rendered the temperature and appearance that of a much more temperate region and latitude.

"On our fourth day we returned to *Buitenzorg*, renewed our visit to the gardens and park, and the next day, Saturday, December 8th, arrived at *Batavia*.

"On the following day, Sunday, December 9th, I preached my farewell sermon from 1 Cor. xv. 49, taking occasion to advocate the cause of Missions for the benefit of the native races, and especially recommending to more general support the Evangelical Society of

Batavia, as an existing machinery of promise in carrying out this duty universally incumbent on Christians. This Society deserves to be more widely known out of Java, as the only existing and practicable channel at the present time of benefitting the native population under Dutch rule. I commend this Society to the consideration of British Christians.

"Limited space compels me to abridge in the narrowest limits my allusion to this Society—its Missionaries, whom I visited in Batavia, living in dwellings which cost less than 100 rupees each in the erection, and supported on about 60*l.* a year—its schools, well conducted, though on a small scale—the simplicity, self-denial, and energetic activity of its labourers—its two German Missionaries last year going forth to the cannibal savages of New Guinea, with their lives in their hands, dependent on the casual visits of Dutch trading-vessels for their supplies, going forth—like Dr. Krapf in the East-Africa Mission—trusting to God for each day's need, and receiving no fixed stipend beyond the relief of their necessary wants. The origin of this Society was pre-eminently one of faith. A Mr. Aesser conceived, four years ago, the project of a Mission to the natives of Java, and proposed it to the ministers of the local Dutch church—now grievously divided, I am sorry to write, into a schism between Socinianism and Evangelical Trinitarianism, in its preachers. On its rejection by the Dutch clergy, he descended from the corporate agency of the church to the individual efforts of a few private Christians. The plan was taken up with increasing earnestness. The late and the present English chaplain favoured and encouraged it. Funds were obtained from merchants on the spot, and from philanthropical individuals in Holland; and now, at about 1000*l.* of annual expenditure, ten German or Dutch Missionaries, with schools and native teachers, are supported in different parts of Java, and in New Guinea; and, during the period of my visit, fourteen Mahommedan priests were under a course of instruction by Mr. Grimm, one of their Missionaries, late a sergeant and now a pensioner of the Dutch army, preparatory to their baptism. I drove, on the day previous to my departure, to Mr. Grimm's house by appointment, to meet the head Mahommedan priest, now a candidate for baptism. Delicacy alone prevents my mentioning the name of the Dutch gentleman with whom I proceeded to this interview, and who kindly acted for me as interpreter. He is a judge in the Supreme Court; and, as an exemplification of the zealous interest and love of souls which prompts

him to assist this Mission, I may mention, on the authority of the local treasurer, my host, that out of an annual stipend, as judge, of about 1200*l.* a year, he sends, in monthly subscriptions to the Mission, a sum amounting to one-third of his whole salary, *i.e.* between 300*l.* and 400*l.* a year. The local government has also looked at last with favour upon Protestant Missions in Java; and on November 29, 1854, the present Governor-General, a man of enlightened spirit, Christian example, and Missionary sympathies, gave, in Council, his formal Act of Incorporation to the Evangelical Society of Batavia, with the proviso and condition that the means employed by the Mission shall not be 'at variance with the law or political interests of these (Dutch) colonies;' duly recording in the formal preamble the principles of its Missionary operations; and—especially it is to be noted—alluding to its rules and regulations, the third article in which is to this effect—'the Society will stand in no connexion whatever with those who do not confess the true and essential Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ.' But I send you the third printed Annual Report of the Society, with the Governor-General's official Act, and the Society's rules, duly published, as the best method of doing justice to the Dutch Government.*

** Rules and Regulations of the Evangelical Society of Batavia.*

Art. 1. The object of this Society is the propagation of the knowledge of the gospel in Batavia and elsewhere.

Art. 2. The management of the business of the Society shall be entrusted to a Direction consisting of several of its members, of whom a President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian. None but members of the Direction have votes.

Art. 3. The Society will stand in no connexion whatever with those who do not confess the true and essential Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Art. 4. The means to be employed by the members to attain their object shall principally consist in disseminating the sacred scriptures and religious works, and in the instruction of native and Chinese children in the first principles of the Christian faith, also the propagation of the gospel in general by means of Missionary workmen and others.

Art. 5. The Society proposes to keep the children referred to in Art. 4 as long as possible under the training of the Missionary workmen, by giving them the opportunity, after they have made sufficient progress in reading, writing, and accounting, of being brought up to one or other trade.

Art. 6. For printing and distributing books permission will be asked from government, should such be needful.

"I wish I were able to describe at greater length my conversation of an hour and a-half with the fine old Mahommedan priest—the superior of the priests in this district—who, with one other head priest bearing the appellation of an Imam-besar, and twelve lower priests termed Ketibs, are receiving instruction, with the professed object of seeking Christian baptism. His details of the many hundreds of the natives of Java and adjacent islands, who every year undergo hardships and expense in making a distant voyage in an Arabian vessel as pilgrims to Mecca, ambitious of obtaining purification from sin and the sanctity of a hadji; and his descriptions of the route in Arabia, from Medina to Mecca, the ceremonies performed by the pilgrims at the prophet's tomb, their perils and frequent sufferings on the way; can only be briefly alluded to. The priests here appear to be in a great measure destitute of the Mussulman bigotry in other parts; and the old priest spoke with great contempt of the superstitious ignorance of the hadjis; of Mahommed

being only a man, and therefore unable to pardon sin; and of Christ alone being the Saviour of the world. It may possibly be necessary to make some allowances for the sanguine disposition of the Missionary most concerned; but, after all the deductions on this ground which prudence dictates, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there is a new era of hope among the Mahommedans in Batavia. The wonderful remains of Buddhist temples and monuments in the interior of the island show that Buddhism, probably imported from India by refugees from Brahmin persecution, was once the universally-prevailing religion of Java. Mahommedanism raised itself on its ruins; and the hardy, adventurous races who conquered the coasts of Java, thus imposed the yoke of conquest and of their religion upon the Javanese; and there is now probably not a Buddhist throughout Java. The Roman Catholics, who might have hoped for success among Buddhist idolaters, possessing a ceremonial and rites similar to their own, have never achieved any proselytizing success among the Mahommedans in Java, who are opposed to image-worship of every kind and degree. The Roman Catholics, however, are making efforts of self-aggrandizement; and it is to be regretted that the home government of the Netherlands lately sanctioned, by a despatch, the concession to Roman-Catholic clamour of having one Roman-Catholic member among the four local councillors of the supreme government; while the other three, it is to be feared—as in many parts of the British colonies—being Protestants in name, but Indifferentists in heart, may be too often tempted to seek the mean popularity of a spurious liberalism, at the cost of being liberal towards every class of religion and religionists, except what is professedly their own creed, which they honour only in profession and word, and are ever ready to betray with a kiss.

"My visit to the Batavia orphan asylum, in company with its present president, the United-States' consul, Mr. Reed; also to the new boarding-school with Mr. Fraser, intended as a supplement to the orphan asylum; to the fine suite of wards belonging to the government hospital, and reported to be the most valuable institution of the kind east of the Cape of Good Hope; to the palace, being the site of the government offices, and containing the council-chamber, hung round with fine portraits of the present and two preceding kings of Holland, and every governor-general who ever ruled over Java, above fifty in number; and my drives to other public localities of interest, of which I find a notice in the brief daily jottings of my jour-

Extract from the Register of Resolutions of the Governor-General of Netherlands India.

Buitenzorg, Nov. 29, 1854.

Read the petition of J. G. G. Bierhaus, F. L. Anthing, G. F. De Bruyn Kops, A. Fraser, A. M. Bloem, A. J. Elliott, J. L. Martens, and E. W. King, dated Batavia, September 12, 1854, describing themselves as Directors of the Society, formed at Batavia under the name of the Evangelical Society, of which the object and duties are described in the rules and regulations of which a copy is produced.

Heard the Council of Netherlands India.

Is approved and agreed:

To acquaint the petitioners that the Evangelical Society, established at Batavia, is recognised and allowed by the government as described in the rules and regulations, and shall continue to be allowed so long as said rules are not departed from; under the condition also, that the means which the Society may use to attain their object are not at variance with the law or political interests of these colonies, and under the express condition of their conformity to the resolutions of government relative to religion and the Missionary work already enacted or to be enacted;

That further the government shall afford them all the protection which may be considered justifiable; and

That they have permission to circulate subscription lists for the object in view.

Extract of this resolution shall be granted to the petitioners for their information.

Agrees with the above-mentioned register.

(Signed) VAN DELDEN,

Acting first Assistant Secretary of Government.

To Messrs. J. G. G. Bierhaus, &c. members of the Direction of the Evangelical Society of Batavia.

nal; must be omitted in detail. After sixteen days spent in this beautiful island, during which I experienced much that will ever form a bright spot in the past reminiscences of life, I left Batavia on the morning of Tuesday, December 11. After a drive through the low swampy district, in which the town itself of Batavia is situated, for three miles, I arrived at the landing-place, where the chaplain and trustees of the church, and most of the mercantile community, were waiting to take leave of me; and, after a row of another two miles in Mr. Fraser's boat, I embarked in the steamer for Singapore.

"After a three-days' voyage, I arrived at Singapore on Friday, December 14, and spent a week with my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Church; preaching in the temporary chapel on the Sunday morning for the Company's chaplain, Rev. W. T. Humphrey; and, in company with the latter gentleman, spending a morning in examining the Chinese school of Miss Cook, a lady in connexion with the Ladies' Society for Promoting Female Education in the East; one who, for the efficiency of her scholastic work, and the untiring zeal of her Missionary labours among the Chinese female population at Singapore—like that of her predecessor, Miss Grant—claims the respect and deserves the prayers of all friends of Missions.

"But I must hasten homeward. Embarking in the mail-steamer passing Singapore from England on December 21, I arrived at Hong Kong after a ten-days' voyage, and after three months and a-half of absence, on December 31. I arrived in time to watch over the death-bed of our dear second child, Andrew Brandram, who died four days after my return. Afflictive tidings of the decease of relatives in England at the same time awaited me. And to my other trials has been

since added that of the necessity of my visiting England in the ensuing summer, for a change. Renewed attacks, at Galle and in Java, of the tropical ailment which first attacked me with violent symptoms at Penang and Calcutta, have produced a debility and emaciation, which the present cold weather has failed to remove; and I have reluctantly acceded to the urgent advice of medical attendants to take remedial measures by a timely visit to Europe. I have accordingly decided not to await until worse symptoms supervene to risk my permanent removal from my post of labour in China. There is nothing in my present state of health to excite any serious apprehension on the part of my friends; and I anticipate no contingency as likely to prevent my return to China, in re-invigorated health and strength, during the next year of 1857. Since I left England in 1849, I have visited many lands; have travelled over one-fifth of the Church Missionary Society's stations in its foreign field of labour; and have had to bear frequent fatigue, and the wear and tear of tropical service. The anxieties, too, connected with our Mission in this critical period of China's history, have combined, with cares of office, in rendering it expedient for me to recruit my strength and to refresh my spirits by a visit to my native country, and intercourse with the church at home. I pray that my visit may be sanctified to my own soul, and be made useful in promoting the cause of Missions.

"I send this letter in rough draft—such as it is—and leave it for you to make your best of it, if you deem it likely to prove interesting to those who watch the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom in the far east.

"I remain, My dear friends,

"Yours very faithfully and sincerely,

"G. VICTORIA."

VERNACULAR CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR INDIA.

WE have on previous occasions* directed the attention of our readers to the deeply-interesting and important proceedings of a general Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries, held at Calcutta Sept. 4—7, 1855; and stated our intention of inserting seriatim the addresses delivered on that occasion. But the necessity of this has been precluded by the publication of the proceedings of the Conference in an integral form;† and it only

remains for us to deal with this very interesting document as one of those valuable manuals of instruction to which we may refer when questions connected with the development of Missions in India come before us.

A communication from a friend at Calcutta, whose zeal and services in the cause of Missions are well known, has claimed some special consideration for the important subject of a vernacular Christian literature. In our Number for April 1855 we adverted to the serious difficulties impeding the satisfactory working of vernacular schools in India, from the want of sound educational books in the vernacular languages. Nor is it only in the management of schools that

* "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for Dec. 1855 and March 1856.

† "Proceedings of a General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries," &c. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press. 1855.

this deficiency is felt: its inconveniences pervade the entire frame-work of the Missions. Our Missionary, the Rev. J. Long, of Calcutta, whose attention has been specially directed to this evil, brought it before the consideration of the Conference in a very able paper. He first indicated the importance of providing such a literature.

"The formation of a Christian vernacular literature is an object of unspeakably great importance at the present time, when plans are being organized by the Bengal government for imparting a *secular* vernacular education to the thirty-five millions of mental serfs through the length and breadth of Bengal who speak the Bengali language, and for communicating a higher tone of secular instruction to the 80,000 vernacular schools which already exist and have existed for ages in Bengal and Behar. Government has lately issued a notification, declaring the ability to read and write his own vernacular language a *sine qua non* for every person appointed to a situation, the monthly salary of which is over six rupees; and ordering the preference to be given to those who can read and write over those who cannot, for all offices, however small the salary. There are thirty-five millions of people knowing *only* Bengali, whose views of Christianity can be gained only through the medium of their mother-tongue. The mind of the masses is awaking from its torpor, and the activity of the vernacular press is one of its signs. While, in 1821, it was reckoned a great phenomenon by the editor of the quarterly 'Friend of India' that 20,000 volumes were printed and sold among the natives within the previous ten years; we have the fact, that, in 1853, according to a return of mine which the government are now printing,* 418,275

* Mr. Long gives the following analysis of subjects dealt with in Bengali works enumerated in his lately-published descriptive catalogue—

"*Educational*.—Arithmetics, 5; Dictionaries and Vocabularies, 56; Ethics and Moral Tales, 67; Geographies and Maps, 26; Geometry and Mensuration, 3; Grammar, 29; Historical and Biographical, 47; Medical, 24; Mental Philosophy, 3; Natural History, 24; Natural Philosophy, 18; Political Economy, 1; School system, 1; Spelling, 35; Readers, 32. Total, 369.

"*Literary, Miscellaneous*.—Law, 88; Almanacs, 20; Magazines, 44; Newspapers, 78; Poetry, 21; Popular Songs, 38; Tales, 50; Miscellaneous, 114. Total, 450.

"*Theological*.—Serampore Tracts, 85; Tract-Society's Tracts, 77; Christian books, 53; Musalman Bengali, 40; Pauranic, 98; Sivite, 35; Vaishnav, 80; Vedantic, 39. Total, 507. Making, with other works, a grand total of more than 1400."

books and pamphlets in Bengali issued from the *native* presses in Calcutta, the greater part of which were *sold* within the year; while since the commencement of this century more than 1600 works have been printed in Bengali, either original compositions, or translations from the Sanskrit, English, or Persian. These have had a circulation of probably not less than twenty million copies. Over all these how little influence have Christians had! Our English teaching, valuable as it is for a certain class, has had little effect on the national literature: it has been like an attempt to blend oil and water.

"If it be important to raise the mental *status* of our native-Christian readers and catechists who know no English, then it is important to supply them with mental food suited to their condition. We have a fine example of what can be done in this respect, in Neff's labours among the barbarous peasants of the High Alps. Hinduism supplies plenty of *pabulum* for its votaries in its multiplied accounts of Krishna and Durga, in the form of popular songs, poetic descriptions, tales and pictorial illustrations. The Americans are beginning a movement which is much sympathized with in England, viz. that the teaching of native village churches should devolve on natives, and that the European should exercise the office of superintendant: the more necessary is it, then, that those teachers should be supplied with useful books.

"If idleness be the mother of vice, and an unoccupied mind lead to various evils, how urgent is it to supply suitable mental food! No one conversant with a settlement of native Christians, or a native village, can fail to see how important it would be to foster a taste for reading. But then the people must have books suited to call forth their sympathies, and adapted to their condition. No one that has witnessed, as I myself have, a congregation of 200 men and 150 women, listening with the deepest attention to a recitation of the life of Rama, but must feel how much we need a Christian literature adapted to the national taste. The legislative council is about to pass a severe law for the suppression of obscene books and pictures,† but other measures

† "Inflicting three months' imprisonment and a fine of 100 rupees for the sale of them. Already good effects have resulted: three booksellers have been prosecuted in the Supreme Court for selling three obscene books, value four annas each, but fines and costs of court have involved them in an expense of 1300 rupees, and one man has since burned 500 copies of his."

must be taken to give a taste for useful reading. We must apply to it Dr. Chalmers's 'principle of the expulsive power of a new affection.'

"The government is at last awaking to a sense of its duty, that the masses must be enlightened; finding that, as in the case of the Santals, books are better civilizers than bayonets, the schoolmaster than the hangman. Whether the Missionaries accept the grants in aid, or no, government must go on with its Mission; but as the line of the government is *secular* education, it remains to be seen whether Missionaries will not use the press to give a religious tone to education. Where the tongue cannot act, the printer may: knowledge is power: will religious men, by folding up their hands, have this power turned against them?"

Mr. Long then proceeds to specify the obstacles that may be expected to present themselves in the prosecution of this work.

"The small number of natives that can read intelligently calls urgently for strenuous exertions on behalf of vernacular schools. In 1835 Mr. Adam, the Commissioner on Education, reported to government that the intellectual condition of the masses in Bengal was as benighted as that of the masses in Russia;* and since that time matters have become worse: vernacular education has declined, and Missionaries have generally swam with the stream. English schools, however useful to the classes attending them, have had little influence on the masses: Even of the books which issue from the Calcutta presses, very few have a circulation of more than twenty miles beyond Calcutta: with the exception of Almanacs, portions of the Ramayan or the Mahabharat, there is scarcely any reading whatever: midnight darkness, as dense as it was six centuries ago, envelopes the masses.

"The knowledge of reading acquired in the 80,000 common vernacular schools is not enough to enable a native to read the Bible intelligently. The Bible is a book which, with a style necessarily elevated, as adapted to a high subject, teems with references to the geography of the East—to the histories of Babylon, Rome, and Egypt—to Jewish customs. Now are there in Bengal, indepen-

* "The same year that Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg the English established themselves in Calcutta; but while the mighty monarch of the Russians did not deem their having translations of works made from foreign languages for his people unworthy his care, it is only after the lapse of 100 years' settlement in this country that the Indian Government have acknowledged their duty in this respect."

dently of Missionary vernacular schools, 200 vernacular schools where natives receive any instruction in history or geography? What can we expect as an encouragement from vernacular literature, when, in addition to Missionaries connected with secondary English schools being hindered thereby from knowing much of the vernacular, few of those in connexion with government schools know any thing of it?

"All instruction, religious or otherwise, being conveyed in English schools by Missionaries generally through the English, is a barrier to the formation of a vernacular literature, both on the part of pupils and teachers. How often do we find young men well up in English utterly unable to communicate useful or religious knowledge in their own language! Aye, and even divinity students who cannot expound Scripture intelligently! And with respect to a native agency, it would be very desirable, in this point of view, that their religious instruction especially should be in their own language; thus familiarizing them with theological terms, and tending to enrich the language by the introduction of new ideas.

"To the objection, How are Missionaries to gain that knowledge of the language so as to teach through it? we would say, As one step, let the first year of every Missionary who comes to this country be devoted entirely to the acquisition of the language. If government allows civilians time for that object, surely Missionary Societies ought to act similarly. And certainly the way in which Germans who come to this country, having learned English when adults, yet learn soon to preach, teach, write, and speak in it, sets us an example. How few English Missionaries wield the Bengali with the same power as many Germans do the English language.

"The chief educational strength of Missions is given to teaching through English, while vernacular education is left to random efforts, though the working of it requires as high, if not a higher order of mind than that of English schools. We require persons who may devote their entire time to the preparation of vernacular school-books and examining schools. But, except in a few cases, the work has been left in the hands of Missionaries, overwhelmed with all sorts of interruptions, who resemble Moliere's *Médecin malgré lui*, and who have to be Jack of all trades.

"It is to be feared that Missionaries generally have not a thorough knowledge of the language. I mean by this, an acquaintance with the idioms and popular words of

the language, so as to read the standard works of the language with facility. Our educated native converts, as a class, generally show little disposition to co-operate in the work of diffusing Christianity through their own language by the press. Too often they have the same contempt as the Brahmans have for the *profanum vulgus*. What have the converts from English schools done towards enriching a native-Christian literature? As all their instruction has been conveyed through the medium of English, they almost forget the use of their own language, as an instrument of conveying knowledge: it is regarded by them, in many cases, almost as a patois. The result of the experience of the American Missionaries for thirty-five years in Ceylon bears out this statement. In India, in language, history, antiquities, natural science, it is the European mind that has taken the lead.

"Sanskrit, the parent of Bengali and the source to give it elegance, expressiveness, and dignity, has been neglected as a Missionary instrument. While secular literature has drawn much from Sanskrit, our religious literature has done little in this respect; and a knowledge of Sanskrit as a Missionary instrument has been overlooked. Of all the Bengal Missionaries, probably not more than two or three know any thing of Sanskrit. Now Sanskrit bears much the same relation to this country, as Greek does to Europe. It is the key to the past of the Hindus, which has such a bearing on the present: it reveals to us the arcana of Hinduism, and gives an insight into those mighty influences which mould the minds and morals of one hundred and thirty millions of people.

"I do not say that books and tracts ought not to be given away under special circumstances, but it is to be feared the gratuitous distribution of Scriptures and books has done little to promote either Christianity or the cause of a Christian vernacular literature. Independent of the fact that natives are not likely to value much what has cost them nothing—that with them cheap and nasty are nearly equivalent—we have the result of Missionary experience in Agra, Bombay, and Madras, where, for some time, Missionaries have come to the decision to *sell* religious works, and have found the experiment work well. The rule of 'nothing for nothing' is extending to books as well as education. It is stated of Bombay, 'that the tasteful style of tracts and books in Bombay, got up within the last few years, had much to do in securing the large sale of Christian tracts and books by hawkers.' Years ago, Mr.

Mather of Mirzapore declared, in his report, that as long as Religious Societies gave away books and tracts, so long there were no prospects of fostering a Christian vernacular literature. The money that might be spent in bringing out attractive Christian books, with illustrations, is now absorbed in supplying demands for tracts at the rate of from 500 to 4000 at a time, in many cases thrown away, as the seed is sown without the soil being dressed—a remark that does not apply to preaching, as, in the latter case, only subjects are taken up which are understood; whereas, to a people utterly ignorant of history, geography, or the use of a good style, how little intelligent reading can there be of the Scriptures.

"At the same time that books should be paid for, the price should be low. We want large editions and small prices. When an edition of 5000 copies of a work is printed, it can be furnished at the rate of 50 octavo pages to the anna [three halfpence]: this is about the rate at which Sanders, Cones, and Co., bring out their Almanac."

One extract more we cannot refrain from introducing—the encouragements as contrasted with the difficulties.

"The peasantry of this country are justly considered to be an intelligent race, quick to learn; in fact, in acuteness of observation and natural intelligence they are far ahead of the English peasantry.

"Caste is decaying. Even in 1835, W. Adam remarked, as a sign of the times, that many of the lower orders were receiving an elementary education, who, in former times, would not have dared to look in at the portals of knowledge, or investigate the mysteries of A, B, C.

"English schools can be worked to more effect in the production of translations: far more attention is given now in them to the cultivation of the vernacular than used to be the case.

"The thorough reform which has been introduced into the Sanskrit College, by rendering it a literary, not a theological institution, and by the introduction of the system of studying Sanskrit on the European model, is giving us a superior class of pandits. The elegant Bengali writings of Ishwar Chandra, the head of that college, show what may be effected through pandits of taste and general knowledge.

"The native press, though occasionally attacking Missionaries, is yet very moderate in its tone, compared to the days of the 'Chandriká,' the staunch advocate of widow-burning. We have now and then a growl,

but the editors themselves have learned to appreciate the motives of Missionaries better, seeing what they are doing for education.

"The educated natives are, in various cases, awakening to a sense of shame that their own beautiful language should have been so neglected by them, and that they should have looked with such indifference on thirty-five millions who need European knowledge, but have neither means nor opportunity to gain it, except through a vernacular medium. Government, also, are raising their vernacular standard, and so are Mission schools.

"The Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and the North-west provinces have shown every disposition to promote popular enlightenment, though the government of India has been a drag on them. Mr. Halliday is doing all in his power to promote vernacular education; while Mr. Colvin is treading in Mr. Thomason's steps, and has lately published officially three works on the vernacular press of the North-west provinces."

On taking up Mr. Long's address we had intended to introduce a summary of it, but found it already so condensed, that further compression appeared to be impossible without enfeebling the document. Our extracts, therefore, have been more extended than we had contemplated. But they will suitably introduce the earnest and glowing appeal on behalf of India generally, and more especially with reference to this important point of a Christian vernacular literature, of our Calcutta friend—

"When I left England I was under promise to endeavour to supply some information from hence for publication at home; and I have felt not only willing but anxious to fulfil the engagement. It is a great mercy that we have means in these days of circulating intelligence that is calculated to kindle a fresh interest in the Lord's cause in various parts of the earth, to create an enlarged sense of duty, and to awaken the energies of prayer; and especially, as to India, I feel it to be a remarkable mercy, at the present time, that the means are so largely provided, in the 'Church Missionary Intelligencer' and elsewhere, for conveying full and accurate information respecting those astonishing events which now demand the attention of the Christian church.

"We arrived, by the good hand of the Lord on us, on the 23d of January. You may suppose that in passing along we thought not a little of the old days of voyaging to India, and of the future prospects of the East when the new plans shall have been carried into

operation. I have often thought of the words, 'He made the earth to be inhabited;' and have looked forward to the time when new ways shall be made in the desert and in the great waters. It is interesting to think of the Niger and the Tshadda, and of Lake Ngami, and the mountains discovered near Mombas. But is it less interesting to look forward to the canal through the Isthmus of Suez, to the proposed canal through the valley from Acre to the Sea of Galilee, thence to the Dead Sea, and thence to the Gulf of Akabah? or to the railroad which is projected from Belgrade to Constantinople, and thence to Bussorah, thence to communicate by steamers with Kurrachí, and thence by another railroad to Bombay, and thence to Calcutta, and Madras, and Allahabad, Agra, and Delhi, and Lahore? All these plans are feasible and probable, and how wonderful may be their results! Of the latter scheme you will see an account in the recent number of the 'Calcutta Review,' under the title of the 'World's Highway.' Doubtless a considerable time must elapse before it is completed. Indeed, I do not think that Bombay will be linked by the railways with Madras, Calcutta, and Agra, and Calcutta with Agra and Delhi, before 1861; but we shall at least have the electric telegraph to England very soon, for the arrangements for the cable across the Indian Ocean are not very far from completion.

"And thus it is that the East is drawing itself closer and closer to you, and forcing itself on your thoughts. But there are other ways besides, in which you are now led to think of it. Ask the statesman why the Afghan war was commenced in 1839; what was the real reason, and what was the *chief* scene of action. He will at once tell you, Herat. It was there, that, while we were nominally at peace with Russia, our officers and hers were leading the contending forces of the Persians and Afghans in the siege of that important city. And now, what has become of Herat? It has fallen into the hands of Persia, and the issue we endeavoured to avert so many years ago, has occurred when least expected, and when Russia was least able to assist Persia in her campaign. Or ask the economist. If, in the last five years, twenty-two millions sterling have been absorbed here in India by importations of silver from Europe, and in this present year we shall absorb probably seven millions more; while the tribute the country pays—in the East-India dividends and other charges—is, as it were, paid at home by your railroad shareholders depositing their money for our works out here; is not this a

matter almost as important as your importations of bullion from Australia? Or ask the merchant. From whence, since this war began, has he imported his immense supplies of salt-petre; whence has he obtained substitutes for Russian hemp; whence has he secured the linseed that formerly he brought from the Black Sea; and whence, while the harvest has been insufficient in Europe, has he obtained the abundant supply of rice that has been pouring into the English and French ports? He has found all he required in India, and has given a stimulus, not only to the trade in these products, but also has created a trade in wheat, that will vastly augment the material prosperity of this country.

"And what have been the *expectations* of our most sanguine men? Have they hoped the railroad would not be a heavy loss to the East-India Company if it guaranteed a five per cent. dividend; have they hoped that we should not suffer by the Punjab? Have they looked forward to the time when more of the effete native governments would give place to the vigorous rule of this country? How vastly have all their expectations been exceeded! Our railroad, so far as it is opened, ending, as it were, nowhere, is already yielding about four per cent., and next year probably will considerably exceed five. The Punjab is yielding a surplus; and the population, which we estimated at five millions, turns out by the census to be *seventeen* millions, and her Sikh soldiery are proving some of the best and most promising of our troops. And as to native states, we have been led on from step to step. The Nizam has yielded large districts in satisfaction of his debt; Nagpore and Jhansi have lapsed to us; Pegu has been conquered in a war that was forced on us; and now at last Oudh has been annexed, and the vile and awful misgovernment of that country has been set aside, in obedience no less to the obligations of political necessity, than of justice and benevolence. And now, what are we speaking of?—the cultivation of cotton and tea, the progress of public works, the progress of education, the wonderful life and vigour which Lord Dalhousie has imparted to the administration of public affairs, and the development of new wealth and resources in discoveries of coal and iron, and our prospects of accelerated speed in the progress of our trade, and in social and moral improvement. No marvel, then, if men are thinking more of India than they did, and if ideas more commensurate with her importance influence the government and the press at home. But as friends of Missions, as those who look around on the millions of this land,

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and whose feeling is, 'How can I endure to behold their destruction?' other considerations influence us. Not that we are indifferent to those plans which are calculated to elevate the people, and to bring to bear upon them British institutions and British enterprise, and which will unite them more and more closely with Europe. But we think of other things also. We hear of Pegu, and it is our *chief* joy to know that the people there are longing for the gospel; that several thousands have been baptized since the termination of the war; and that there is a near prospect of the evangelization of the whole tribes of the Karens. It is to us delightful to hear of the frank character of the people, of their freedom from caste, of their generous confidence, and of the encouragement the Missionaries meet with everywhere. And so as to India. We hear of physical, commercial, political, and social changes, but we are looking for something else. We are looking for signs at home, that the case of India in her spiritual need, and in her spiritual claims, is considered and laid to heart: we are looking here for proofs that the gracious Redeemer's kingdom is not being usurped in greater power by the god of this world. We know, indeed, that Hinduism is dying away; that Brahmanism cannot stand against civilization and trade: but as respects eternity, are the prospects of these multitudes brighter than they were? Perhaps you know what I shall say. I endeavoured, while at home, to speak faithfully of the utter inadequacy of our Indian Missions. We have seventeen millions in the Punjab, and six or seven Missionaries. We have seventeen millions in northern and eastern Bengal, and just about the same number of labourers. We have eight millions in the province of Behar, and perhaps there are now ten Missionaries. We have whole territories with many millions, like Rajputana, Oudh, and the Nizam's territory, and no Missionary at all. And we have many districts, even in our oldest provinces, and each containing an area equal, probably, to Yorkshire, and with one million of people and more, without any kind of spiritual succour. It need not, then, be wondered at, that, comparatively speaking, little is known of the gospel. The people hear not, for there is no preacher; and men preach not, because they are not sent.

"But I cannot dwell on this. Let me rather pass on to an effort that we are making to dispel some of the existing gloom. I would say more on the insufficiency of our Missionary work, but that I feel it is but little that our friends at home are as yet prepared to

hear on that subject. They have been accustomed to enjoy pleasing accounts of the work in a few localities, and probably they will only comprehend and consider by degrees the whole state of the case—the vastness of India, the small extent of their Missions, and the stupified and obdurate condition of masses of the people, not only among the neglected hill tribes, or such communities as the Santals, but also in some of the districts in which we have enjoyed, but enjoyed in vain, the fairest opportunities of proclaiming the gospel ever since the battle of Plassey. I know not how or when the hearts of our friends at home will be opened to respond with adequate fervour to the claims of this land. They are in the Lord's hands, and He can work wondrously.

"But to turn to my present subject. I think I gave you, before I left England, a paper I had drawn up respecting a vernacular literature for this country, in which I stated, that since 1849 we had raised in Calcutta about 600*l.* a year, and had received many grants from the Religious-Tract Society; but that we were still only on the threshold, and in the earliest stages of our undertaking; and we shall require greatly increased resources if we are to meet the wants of our Missions. In answer to that appeal a kind friend gave me 300*l.*; others helped with much cheerfulness; the Tract Society gave me some liberal grants; and I came out rejoicing in the power to supply the means for increased operations. It was a simple case. We are engaged not only by the Mission schools, but through the government, in teaching millions to read. Can there be a more solemn question than, What are they to read?

"Now let it be observed how the native press will enable us to answer this question. The government lately published a valuable paper prepared by our friend Mr. Long, of the Church Mission. He had long paid attention to this subject, had collected a large number of native works, and had ascertained the extent to which the native presses were engaged. In his list he did not include any of the more gross and scandalous publications, by which the people are polluted. Their abominations are countless and nameless: they are full of woodcuts of the vilest kind, which the women can read if they cannot read the type. He showed that, from April 1853 to April 1854, there were published in Calcutta above 418,275 copies of 252 different books and pamphlets, at 46 different native presses. Of these, about 50,000 were almanacs that were emphatically Hindu, full of astrological calculations, superstitious emblems, and the

like. And taking separate presses, what was the character of their other works? I take the first press in the list. Its works were—Ram's History and Conquests, 500 copies; A Sanskrit Dictionary, 1000; A Love Tale, 1000; Reading Lessons for Schools, 1000; Vedantic Theology, 500; Outline of Indian Geography, 500; A Tale from the Persian, 1000; The Sanskrit Drama of Sakantala, 500; Vedantic Theology, 500. This is a very favourable specimen.

"Here is another of another press—Passages in Durga's Life, 1000 copies; Introduction to Spelling, 2000; On Creation, &c., 1000; On Krishna's Worship, 1000; the Mahabharat, Vol. I., 1000; the Mahabharat, Vol. II., 1000 (this is the Hindu epic); Songs for Hindu Festivals, 1000; An Almanac, 5000; Songs for Hindu Festivals, 1000; Ditto, 1200; Songs to Radha and Krishna, 1000; The Ramayan, 9000 (the Epic on Ram's Conquests); On the Vaishnav marks, 800.

"Then, going through the list, we have numbers of others about Ram's Birth, Warning to careless Moslems, Muhammad's Ascent to Heaven, A Thousand Questions to Muhammad, The Life of Krishna, Durga's Life, and so on.

"But, besides these works, these presses send forth periodicals and newspapers which are read with avidity. And all this is done as a matter of speculation—not by some native Tract Society, but to meet the demand of the readers already existing among us.

"Then, what have we done? I am thankful to say that we have not been idle. We have circulated many Scriptures, and the Tract Society has a very considerable stock of valuable works in Bengali. It has published the 'Peep of Day' and 'Line upon Line,' the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and the 'Life of Luther,' Volumes of Anecdotes, and a Christian Almanac; and I rejoice in the hope that we shall this year attempt far more than ever. We are quite free from debt, and we have a considerable sum in hand, and some warm and zealous friends.

"And we do not work alone. There is the Christian School-book Society, which has a distinct sphere, and has done much important service. And there are other Societies not professedly Christian in their character, but which nevertheless have a tendency to supplant the native literature by a better. The chief of these is the School-book Society, which is principally supported by a government grant, and is associated closely with all the government schools. This Society sold last year 100,000 copies of its publications. And then there is the Ver-

secular-Literature Society, which was established for the purpose of publishing works that do not come within the scope either of the Tract Society or the School-book Society. It has published 'Robinson Crusoe,' Lamb's 'Tales from Shakspeare,' a volume of the 'Percy Anecdotes,' Macaulay's 'Essay on Clive,' and works of that class, with a valuable monthly periodical of an interesting character; and we are now taking measures to re-invigorate this Society, and greatly to extend its operations.

"But let it be considered that we are dealing with about thirty-five millions of people who speak Bengali—perhaps their number is fifty millions—and we wish to do enough to animate and stimulate the other presidencies, so that they may work too, in earnest, in this great concern of providing a sound literature for the myriads who are now learning to read.

"This, then, is one plan for doing good in this country. But if you look at the wants of the country—the social debasement of one large portion of its people—the peculiar position, the spiritual danger, and the extensive influence, of the educated natives—and then think how few there are out here, or at home, who are in earnest about India, is not the call for prayer very urgent, and is not our claim for help and sympathy very strong?

"I can say no more, for I am writing after a day of labour in my court. I know you feel for India, and that there are others around you who feel for her too. May many be added to your number, and may many be led to surrender themselves and their substance in her cause!"

Thus Christian friends in Bengal are being moved to earnest effort, and, by appeals such as this, seek to stir our hearts and carry us onward with them. But we have also to remind our friends of similar efforts which are being diligently prosecuted in the Madras presidency. We have received the first Annual Report of the South-India Christian School-book Society, and it opens with an exposition of urgent wants in that direction, and the circumstances which led to the formation of this institution.

"South India is one of the oldest of modern Mission fields. The labourers sent out by the various Societies, while recognising the direct preaching of the word as their primary object, early saw the importance of the Christian education of the young as a valuable subordinate means for the spread of the gospel. Hindu youths are singularly lively and docile, while the old too often adhere,

with uninquiring and dogged stupidity, to the maxims and customs of their forefathers. The people are desirous of instruction: there are thousands of indigenous schools scattered through the country. Native education, however, exercises no beneficial moral influence. Most of the books read are in language perfectly unintelligible to the children; others make them more ignorant than before, by filling their minds with false ideas; while not a few are of a most corrupting and debasing tendency. Hence Missionaries established schools as extensively as the limited means at their disposal permitted. In their anxiety, however, to bring as many as possible under Christian instruction, it cannot be denied that the *vernacular* education communicated has been of a very elementary character. While this is readily acknowledged, the Missionaries, from the want of funds, have no means of raising its standard, except by the painful step of dismissing a number of the children that have been collected. One method of securing, in some measure, the object in view, without resorting to such an extremity, appeared to be the establishment of a Christian School-book Society. Such an institution was formed, several years ago, with marked benefit, in Bengal, which contains less than half the number of Mission school children that are found in the Madras Presidency. Though it must be confessed that the schools will never be in a satisfactory condition till the teachers are properly trained, probably a good supply of books would double their present value."

An encouraging commencement of labour has been made. Sheet lessons in Tamil have been printed, in a large, bold character, and calculated very considerably to abridge the time requisite to acquire a knowledge of the elements of reading. In addition to these, a first, second, and third book of lessons in Tamil, and a first geography in Telugu, have been put into circulation. These publications have been introduced into the schools of nine different Societies, so far as to furnish half the children attending Tamil Mission schools with one book each. It is hoped that, during the second year of the Society's labours, three times the amount of books may be issued, and its publications be in use in the great majority of schools from Chicacole to Cape Comorin. The Missionaries report favourably of the publications, and arrangements have been made to supply all the Tamil schools of the Church Missionary Society. The field of usefulness to be occupied is very large indeed, as, besides the Tamil language,

publications in Malayalim, Telugu, and Canarese, are urgently required. We place the whole subject before our readers, feeling that such efforts are of great value, taking up as they do a branch of labour which, however important, can scarcely be carried out by Missionary Societies, whose funds ought

to be applied to the direct preaching and teaching of the gospel. Mr. Murdooh, the Secretary, acknowledges the receipt of some very interesting contributions, namely, 20*l*. from the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, and 3*l*. from some negro children in the West Indies.

ABYSSINIA.*

(Continuation of Dr. Krapf's journal.)

Departure from Matamma, and entrance into a country entirely Mahomedan. The river Atbara. The village Doka. Its governor a Coptic Christian. Kindness of the Copts to the travellers. Arrival at Bela. The river Rahat and its wooded thickets. Grassy and treeless plain. The river Dender. Abbas, on the Adeq or Blue River. Sennar.

"May 15—As we have not yet obtained camels nor sufficient provisions, and as we have not been able to sell our three donkeys, which we bought at Gondar for eight German crowns, to carry our baggage from Gondar to Matamma, we could not depart to-day, which is market-day at Matamma. In the market we saw many articles from Abyssinia, and still more from Khartum and Sennar; for instance, cotton, bees'-wax, honey, onions, salt, mirrors, razors, needles, soap, coffee and coffee-cups, stibium, horns, coloured clothes, sheep, goats, bullocks, camels, trinkets, beads, and many other things.

"Our Abyssinian servant, Dárangot, who had greatly offended us yesterday, and therefore was dismissed, brought to-day a large stone upon his head, and kneeled down before us, asking us for pardon, and confessing his guilt. This is a custom very common with Abyssinians in cases of offence which the inferior people may have given to those above them.

"In the afternoon we sold our asses for five dollars—German crowns—with the loss of three, which, however, was of little consequence, as the animals have saved us the greater expense which we should have incurred if our baggage had been carried on men's shoulders. I would advise a traveller to buy a few asses at Adoa for his journey to Gondar, where he can sell them again, or use them for the prosecution of his journey. It is cheaper to travel with donkeys than with men, who de-

mand wages and food on the road, and besides give you much trouble. But if you take asses you can always sell them again, and you need only one or two servants more for loading and driving them. The food for the donkeys costs nothing on the road. In the evening, whilst we were at prayer, Mr. Flad was stung by a scorpion under the knee, which caused him excessive pain. Fortunately we remembered that Mr. Lieder, during our stay at Cairo, had given us the advice to use ipecacuanha powder against the sting of scorpions. According to this advice I mixed about ten grains of the powder with a little water, and put this paste or plaster upon a piece of linen, and applied it to the wounded spot. After a few minutes the plaster drew the pain away from under the knee, and drove it to the upper part of the leg, to which I applied another plaster also. By this means the pains were gradually removed.

"May 16—Departure from Matamma. Sheikh Ibrahim had provided us with two camels for carrying our baggage, and our two servants sitting upon the luggage. About noon we rested in the village Jibri, near the river Atbara. At two o'clock p.m. we started again. We passed the villages Kunéna and Hilla El-Kadi. We travelled on level ground, covered with acacia trees: now and then we saw a tract of land cultivated with cotton. The villagers we met on the road have great trouble in fetching their water, which must be carried on camels, in leather bags, from the river Atbara, many miles from their houses; but in the rainy season they fetch their water from pits dug in the vicinity of the villages.

"In the evening we encamped in the village Etteb. Since we have left Matamma, we have entered entirely into Mahomedan country, where the Amharic language is unknown. We were much pleased with the hospitality of this people. As soon as we ar-

* Our Frontispiece represents a group of Abyssinians—a priest and warriors. "It is to the priest that the warrior repairs before setting out upon an expedition: he will undertake nothing unless the sanction of the priest has been previously obtained." The soldier resting his head upon his hand is from Amhara. The projecting ornament on the forehead of another is not confined to the soldiery.



ABYSSINIANS.—*Vide* p. 140.

rived they assigned to us a cottage, and brought bedsteads and water, and some food for our camel-men. It is indeed much easier to travel in these regions than in Christian Abyssinia, where, almost every evening, a quarrel arose with the people, who will not receive a traveller, although he may be accompanied by a royal soldier.

"May 17—We again travelled over level and good ground, and rested, about eleven A.M., in the village Kummer, whence we rode to the banks of the river Atbara, to let our mules drink. This is the river Astaboras of the ancient geographers, if I remember well. It is several hundred feet in breadth, and has high banks, but not much water at the dry season of the year. Further to the north it joins the river Tacassie, which comes from the Abyssinian province of Lasta, which I traversed in 1842. There are plenty of high trees on the river.

"May 18—About noon we reached the village Doka, where Muallem Saad, a Coptic Christian, who acts as a scribe to the Egyptian Government, received us most kindly, and prepared for us immediately a good dinner of rice, meat, and well-baked bread, which we relished with a good appetite. Also Mohammed Kurd-el-Kuttli, a native of Kurdistan, the kashif—judge—of Doka and El-gadarif, was very friendly, and supplied us with provisions and a soldier for the road. I should never have expected so much kindness and assistance in these secluded quarters of Africa; but it must be told, to the honour of the Egyptian government, that it has introduced good order and security for travellers. Doka is the first village which belongs to the Egyptian government; Matamma being only in part subjected to the Pasha of Egypt, that is to say, the king of Habesh appoints the governor of Matamma, who is to pay 3000 dollars as a tribute to Abyssinia, and 8000 to Egypt. On that account the Matammians are exposed to troubles from both countries, but at the same time they must be the more civil towards travellers, as they can be called to account by the Abyssinian as well as the Egyptian authorities. Doka has formerly been a head-quarter of the slave-trade; and even now, when this trade is forbidden, the Djebberti use to carry slaves through Doka at night. They cover the slaves with the dress of free people, and in this disguise convey them to Sennar, or other places on the Blue River, no foreign consular agent being at hand, who could give information to higher authorities. When we were at Jibri, we saw several handsome Galla girls, who wore a fine dress, but were constantly guarded by a Djebberti, who no doubt had bought them

at Gondar, and was carrying them as slaves to Sennar by stealth. We were told at Gondar that the Mahommedan slave-traders keep their slaves in pits under their houses, whence they drag them at night, and send them to Tschelga with rags put into the mouth, so that they cannot cry out in meeting anybody on the road, or in passing through a village.

"May 20—We reached the village Asser, which is the principal place of the district El-gadarif. We found no water between Doka and Asser. The son of Muallem Saad received us as kindly at Asser as his father had done at Doka. We must testify that the Copts, at these and all other subsequent places, received us with much kindness and disinterested hospitality. We offered some money to Muallem Saad's brother at Asser; but he returned it immediately, saying, 'Whatever we do unto you we do for Christ's sake, who has ordered us to be kind toward strangers, whether they be Christians or Mahommedans.'

"In the afternoon we were called upon by Wolda Abu Sin, who is the great chief of all the Arabs residing in the wilderness from Abyssinia to Sennar and Khartum. He possesses an imposing exterior, which commands great respect. He is a true Arab chief by his conduct and manners. He wore a splendid dress. He asked us whether it was true that the son of Sheikh Nimmer, who killed Ismael Pasha at Shendy, was gone to King Theodoros. There is a little fortress at Asser, garrisoned by about fifty Egyptian troops from Sennar. Their duty is to keep the country in order, and to collect the tribute.

"May 21—We departed from Asser in the afternoon. The soldier of the governor had provided us with two camels, for which he paid by the order of his master, who, by this act of generosity, wished to let us depart with good impressions from his territory. Our kind Coptic hosts supplied us with bread, dates, meat, coffee, &c., for six days. We would not take all the provisions which they gave us; and we much regretted it afterwards. Our Abyssinian servants were so much touched by this hospitality, that they exclaimed, 'These people are kings and Christians indeed, compared with our stingy Abyssinian countrymen.' On our departure the Copts accompanied us to some distance, riding on horses, asses, and camels, and they kissed us at parting. Indeed, during our whole journey we had never witnessed a scene like this, when the only Christian family which lives in this region showed so much practical sense of Christianity. We promised to send them some Bibles and tracts from Cairo. These Copts are no bigots at all,

and we could freely speak to them about the gospel. As they told us that there is no water to be found between Asser and Bela, we took a good supply in leather bags, which the soldier of the governor had procured for us.

"May 22—Last night we lost our road, and were compelled to encamp under trees. After midnight we were overtaken by a violent rain, which aroused us from sleep, and placed us in a very uncomfortable situation, as the ground became soon a miry pool, on which we could not put our bullock-skins, on which we slept. When the rain was over we kindled a fire with great difficulty, as the grass and wood would not burn, from its wetness. We then dried our wet clothes and bedding till daylight broke, when we started. About ten o'clock we rested, and exposed our wet baggage to the sun. At noon we started again, and travelled the whole day, and till eleven o'clock at night, when we reached the village Bela, where we with some difficulty could obtain an open cottage, in which we could deposit our baggage, and find a place for sleeping, as the room was full of people.

"May 23—When we awoke in the morning, and ordered our servant to prepare some coffee, he found that the leather bag, in which we had packed our kitchen vessels, was gone. Our first idea was, that somebody who slept in the cottage must have stolen the bag; but, after some while, a woman brought the news that she had seen pans, plates, knives and forks, scattered about on the road. It was now evident that a hyena must have taken the bag whilst we were sleeping not far from it. According to the information of the natives, the hyenas are so voracious in this quarter that they frequently carry off bedsteads covered with leather. A part of our utensils was lost, perhaps pilfered by the very person who brought the intelligence. The chief had a dromedary saddled immediately, and pursued the strangers who had lodged in the cottage at night; but after some time he returned, having found nothing with them. The village Bela is situated at the foot of a rocky hill. The natives draw good water from a deep well. The heat is very great at this place.

"May 24—Departed from Bela, whence we might have reached Chartum in a shorter time than *via* Sennar; but we had an interest in seeing Sennar, and the road leading from Bela to the Blue River. At first we had from Bela to travel through a thorny wilderness; after which we reached the village Gelwi, which is deserted by its inhabitants. In its vicinity we saw a granite hill, which has evidently suffered much from an earthquake.

After a march of five hours more we reached the river Rahat, which runs into the Blue River. Having crossed the Rahat, we encamped in the village Kummer, as the approaching rain and night did not allow us to proceed any further. The chief of the village lodged us in the miserable cottage of an elderly lady, who was sick of fever. After she had been removed into another cottage we were placed on her bedstead, which was constructed of sticks laid one close to the other, and covered with a skin. But we could enjoy no rest, as the rain came down through the roof, which was covered with dry grass, but very slightly and thinly. In general, the rain gave us trouble, increasing from day to day. It is particularly troublesome when it falls at night, as then the traveller cannot sleep; and yet he needs sleep so much from the fatigues which he incurs during the march in the daytime. I was surprised at hearing the natives say that their ancestors came from Riff, i.e. Egypt. I have never heard of this term previously; and I guess that Riff was a place in Arabia, whence they crossed the Red Sea, and settled down in the wilderness between Arabia and the Nile. They seem to speak a very primitive Arabic; and Arabic scholars might make interesting linguistic discoveries among this people. No doubt their language has been mixed up with that of the Berbers, or Barabra, and of the Ethiopians. They are no bigoted Mohammedans.

"May 25—After we had departed from Kummer we soon lost our road in the wooded thicket which surrounds the river Rahat. We were on the point of sending one of our party back to the village, to obtain a guide, when we met with a party of merchants going to Sennar. They led us on the way. About eleven o'clock we reached again the banks of the winding river, which has but little water at this season of the year. Its banks are from twenty-five to thirty feet high. We saw fresh traces of elephants and lions, which are numerous on the river, as the natives told us. Cotton, Turkish corn, and hirse, are the chief products of this region. Having cooked and eaten our dinner, we continued our march till eveningtide, when we halted a little to prepare some coffee. Whilst this was doing we expected to have seen a stately lion at the outskirts of the jungle. We took our coffee in great haste, having our guns in hand, and departed. Having travelled an hour more in the dark, we began to be harassed by the fall of rain, which made the ground so slippery that we were compelled to make a halt, as the camels could not proceed. We encamped under a tree. As we could not open our bedding, we laid the packages on the ground, and

placed ourselves upon them, and thus slept amidst the rain. When it had ceased, toward midnight, we kindled a fire with the dry straw which we pulled out from the saddles of the camels, and dried our wet clothing. We had been very fortunate in the evening to get our encampment under a dry tree, the only one which was on the spot, as we found in the morning, for otherwise we would not have been able to keep up the fire. Trifling and accidental as this circumstance may appear, yet it was of importance, if we consider that the wearing of wet clothing is sure to bring on fever. Thus the goodness of God shows us, in apparent trifles, how much He takes our travelling at heart, and cares for us in all our necessities. In general, I have often found, in the most trifling circumstances, a source of divine wisdom and mercy, which called forth my humble thankgivings in the end, and which encouraged me to be silent, patient, and submissive, under the most alarming difficulties and embarrassments, as I was aware of divine goodness and care watching over me most minutely.

"*May 26*—Having hailed with delight the break of day, we left our uncomfortable camp of last night, and continued our march over a large grassy and treeless plain, where we saw neither mountain nor hill, nor the slightest kind of elevation. In no part of the world would it be so easy to make a railroad as in these flat and smooth quarters of Africa, which form a remarkable contrast to the hilly and rugged terrain of Abyssinia.

"About three o'clock p.m. we crossed the fine river Dender, which comes from the province of Kuara, and runs into the Blue River. The Dender is about sixty feet broad, and its banks about thirty feet high at the point where we crossed it. There was a considerable volume of water in its channel, even at this season of the year. Having crossed it, we took up our lodging in one of the many villages adjacent to the river.

"*May 27*—As on the Rahat, so also on the Dender, we lost our way in the thicket, and multitude of side and cross-ways beaten by the inhabitants of the various villages and their numerous herds of cattle. After we had been set to rights again regarding the road, we travelled the whole day, with little interruption, in order to reach the village Daud before nightfall. We were already close to it, and darkness had set in, when a tremendous thunder-storm and shower of rain overtook us. We hastened our way to the chief's house; but he, in his rudeness, sent us off to a cottage in which many soldiers, with their wives and children, were squatting on the ground, so that it was impossible for us to

find a proper place for sleeping. We therefore placed ourselves on our baggage, and passed the night in such a cramped manner, that we could not enjoy any comfortable rest, and were compelled to rise from time to time to move our stiffened legs. This was one of the most troublesome nights we passed on the whole journey: besides, the room was full of smoke, noise, and talk from the inmates.

"*May 28*—Before we departed the chief came to see us, and to excuse himself for the indifferent conduct which he had manifested towards us in the evening. He was afraid of our informing the governor of Sennar, and therefore he wished to part with us in peace.

"After a march of three hours we reached the village Abbas, situated on the Blue River, or Adeg, as the natives of this quarter call it. We took up our lodging in the house of a Coptic Christian named Georgis, who is a scribe to the Egyptian government. Now our Abyssinian troubles are passed—lo! the Nubian and Egyptian will commence.

"*May 29*—Departure from Abbas. After we had travelled about twelve miles to the south-west, along the eastern bank of the Baher-el-Asrak, or the Adeg, we reached the point whence people are ferried over the river to the town of Sennar, which is situated on the western bank, close to the river, which is about 600 feet broad at the ferry, but only about the half of this breadth was covered with water at this season of the year. We had to wait for about one hour, and to make signals by firing off our guns, until a broad boat was sent to ferry us over the river, which is full of crocodiles. We had to pay five piastres to the boatman. On our arrival in the town we went to the house of the komos Theodoros, the priest and schoolmaster of the little Coptic community, which consists of about fifty souls, as the komos (dean) told me afterwards. He received us with much kindness, and gave us immediately his own room, where we could make ourselves comfortable after our long and many troubles sustained on the journey. Most of the Copts at Sennar are scribes of the government: some are merchants. The Copts, as may be expected, are still, in various ways, oppressed in this distant quarter of the Pasha of Egypt's territory.

"The houses of Sennar are built of muddy bricks, which are not burnt, but only dried in the sun, wherefore the houses are liable to fall to pieces when the rainy season is unusually violent. We were told that, now and then, some accidents take place in this respect. The houses are constructed in a quadrangular form, and they have flat roofs, which rest on cross-laid beams. Square openings, which serve as windows, are applied to the rooms, which are

tolerably admmissive of light and air. There being no stones in the neighbourhood of Sennar, the inhabitants are compelled to have recourse to bricks of clay; but I do not know why they do not burn them. The town extends over a considerable tract of land, but I doubt whether there are more than 12,000 or 15,000 souls in it. It is garrisoned by 400 or 500 disciplined black troops. A market is held every week: all sorts of Abyssinian, Egyptian, and European articles are exposed in the shops. We felt the heat very oppressive in this town. Caravans are starting from Sennar in various directions, but especially to Abyssinia, to Fasokli, and to the White River in the west. The Blue River—Adeg—is navigable as far as to Roseiras, in the province of Fasokli, in which terminates the territory of Egypt towards the south. The river is obstructed by rocks at Roseiras, wherefore the boats of Sennar cannot go beyond.

"May 30—We called upon the governor of Sennar, who showed at first great stiffness and gravity, but, by degrees, became more friendly and condescending when he found that I could speak in Arabic with him. He had formerly been the governor of Massoa in the Red Sea. He asked us a great deal about the present war of Russia against Turkey. When we inquired after a boat which should take us from Sennar to Chartum, he said that the boats had not yet arrived from Fasokli, and that, if we were in a hurry to depart, he would advise us to travel by land to Wad Medina, and thence to Chartum, and he would provide us with camels. This was no pleasing news to us, as we came to Sennar for the purpose of taking a boat, in order to avoid the overland journey, of which we were exceedingly tired.

"The new pasha—Said—of Egypt has abandoned the gold-mines at Ghésan, in Fasokli, owing to the scanty gain, and the expense of the military establishment which was requisite to keep the African tribes in order. The troops and Arab colonists have been withdrawn. Ghésan is about twelve days' journey from Sennar to the south. The Copts told us, that, some time ago, an Italian priest went from Sennar to Ghésan; thence he travelled to Fedási, the capital of the tribe of the Bene-Shöngöl. His intention was to proceed to Enarea and Caffa, to visit his companions, the Romish Missionaries, who had reached those countries from Abyssinia. As he could not proceed any further from Fedási, he stayed there for some time, during which he cured the son of the chief, who was wounded in a battle. The chief was so pleased with the priest, that he requested him to stay and teach him and his people the

Romish religion. The priest, however, found it necessary to return to Chartum, but he gave the promise to return shortly with a reinforcement of Missionaries. When we afterwards came to Chartum we learned that this fact is quite true, and that the Romanists intend to commence a Mission at Fedási, whence they hope to branch out to Enarea, Caffa, and some other inner-African countries, which have become the positive aim of the African Roman-Catholic Missions.

"In the evening a number of Copts assembled in the room of komos Theodoros to ask us religious and other questions. A priest asked why it was not sinful that David did eat from the showbread; whether our priests are married; whether we have slaves, &c. During the conversation the Copts indulged freely in the use of brandy, which is prepared of dates and durra. The date brandy is very strong: notwithstanding, one individual took three or four Turkish coffee-cups. In general, the habit of drinking brandy prevails among Mahommedans as well as Christians. The Turkish troops have introduced this bad habit, which must become very destructive in inner Africa in process of time.

"We were much pleased with the Coptic boys in Theodoros's school: they are very lively, obedient, and desirous of instruction, which is unfortunately given only in a very mechanical manner.

"May 31—Our Abyssinian servants met this morning, in the streets of Sennar, with a countryman from the province of Wolkait, who is a soldier in the pasha's army. He fled from Wolkait seven years ago—when Ras Ali attacked that country—but was seized on the road by some Mahommedans, who sold him to Muallem Saad at Doka. Saad sold him, after some time, to Sennar, although the fugitive had then been a Christian. At Sennar he was to abjure the Christian religion, and was enrolled a soldier. I was much displeased at this conduct of Muallem Saad, who otherwise is so kind towards strangers. Our servants added, that this was the reason why they would not eat with him, or from his food, because he had sold so many of their countrymen into slavery. We could not understand why our servants would not eat with Muallem Saad, although he is a Christian belonging to the Abyssinian church. We hope that his slave-making propensity will be checked, since King Theodoros has forbidden the slave-trade, and since the pasha of Egypt has interdicted the exportation of slaves from Sennar to Cairo. Most of the Copts at Sennar have slaves.

(To be continued.)

THE NATIVE CHURCH OF NEW ZEALAND.

MISSIONARY efforts are sometimes spoken of as if they had proved a failure, and had yielded results so minute and discouraging, that, were it not for the Redeemer's commandment that His gospel should be preached for a witness to all people, the faith of the church could never be sustained in the prosecution of a work characterized by so little of perceptible progress. Whether the results produced be satisfactory or otherwise, we fully admit that the mission charge of Christ to His church must ever be retained as the mainspring of Missionary action—as that which first originated such efforts, and to which, in vindication of them, we must continually refer. Duties remain the same, whatever be the issue; nor would it ever answer, that in matters of divine obligation the measure of effort should be dependent on the amount of present success which may be yielded. Still, when God crowns our labours with His blessing, when the seed which has been sown in cold and inclement seasons evidently springs, and, in the rich verdure which clothes the fields, we have the promise of a plenteous harvest, it becomes at once our privilege and duty to recognise the Lord's fulfilment of His promise, "My word shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

We do not believe that the Missionary efforts of our day have proved a failure or discouragement. On the contrary, we are satisfied that the results they have yielded are decisive and satisfactory. The agency, indeed, has been limited and feeble. That it should be so, however, is according to the analogy of His procedure, who often prefers a weak and apparently unsuitable instrument to that which human judgment would have selected, and so works thereby as that men are constrained to recognise the operation of God. We believe it has been so in Missionary labours, and that the results, when compared with the means which have been used, in a work of peculiar difficulty, have surpassed all that we could have anticipated. It may answer the purpose of those who estrange themselves from such efforts to ignore the fact, and affect to despise our undertaking; and we must expect to find ourselves occasionally spoken of as enthusiastic persons, engaged in a well-intentioned but futile enterprise, and placed in such a dubious light before the public, as to render it a matter of uncertainty whether we are most to be commiserated or blamed.

The fact is, that men who isolate themselves from such efforts do not wish them to succeed; for in their failure, as they would have it to be, they conceit the proof of their superior discernment. Moreover, there exists in many minds a disposition to think that Christianity has exhausted itself, that it has lost its energy, and, incapable of fresh conquests, retains with difficulty the *status* it has already won. The progress of evangelization amongst the heathen in our day is inconsistent with such a theory; and therefore men who dislike Christianity because of its moral obligations affect incredulity, and treat the weight of testimony by which such a progress is substantiated as of no value.

Yet the phenomena which have been yielded are such as may well arrest attention, and convince even the most prejudiced. The integrity of heathendom has been successfully invaded, and Christian churches and congregations have been raised up in various regions where, forty years ago, unbroken darkness reigned. We may trace them eastward and westward, in the new as well as in the old hemisphere. We would desire to take a comprehensive view of the subject, and, in a matter of such deep interest, include the labours of other and kindred Institutions. How varied and extensive these first-fruits then appear to be! Far off, on the coast of China, little groups of converted Chinese have been raised up, awaiting the moment when the confusion attendant on that great earthquake, by which the barriers of China's exclusiveness are being thrown down, shall have cleared away, and an entrance shall be afforded them into the vast interior. Amidst the jungles and wooded hills of Burmah, the many thousands of Christian Karens unite with us in the worship of the one true God, in the name of the one great Mediator. In many of the nations of the great peninsula of India a commencement has been made, and a large proportion of its varied languages is enlisted in the service of the gospel. Africa is not without its Christian churches. On the west and south the blessed work of evangelization has commenced: sections of enterprising races have received the word with gladness; and, as the light penetrates the dark interior, men's hearts open, and new countries invite us onward. Amongst the remnants of America's aboriginal races, the conservative power of Christianity has been felt: in some of them the process of depopulation has been arrested, and the root, as

it becomes re-invigorated, throws out new branches. A new light is breaking over the countless isles of the vast Pacific, and these lovely homes of man are made more beautiful by the illuminating influences of the gospel; while, far off, the Maoris of New Zealand assemble themselves for Christian worship in churches and chapels which they have erected by their own labour, and at their own cost, and to the decoration of which they have transferred the elaborate carving which once adorned the war canoe and the war hatchet. Assuredly the aspect of our world within the last half century has marvellously changed: there is light where there had been none, and indications of improvement where they could have been least expected. The once degraded African, the licentious Polynesian, the cannibal Maori, the man of blood from the prairies of America, the Hindu, whose gods had been the patrons of his vices, and whose religion had served to develop all the evil tendencies of our fallen nature, are found amongst the worshippers of the true God. Half a century ago all was portentous gloom: now at least it is as the early dawn, and there are abroad the harbingers of His coming, who shall be as "the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds."

Such are our first attainments—the first-fruits of our modern Missions, the earlier sheaves of an abundant harvest in due time to be gathered in. The work has commenced. Let it go on: that is the divine intention. Let these native churches and congregations be made the starting-points of new and more extended labours. They have been given us for this purpose. Askilful general invading an enemy's country, when, after a severe struggle, he has been successful in winning some important positions, is careful to appropriate them. In his anxiety to press forward, he does not neglect them, but carefully secures them, so that they become the bases of the new operations in which he is about to engage. That must be our case. These positions have not been won without a severe struggle; they must be proportionally valued, and carefully attended to. Missionary Societies may not think that they have discharged their duty when they have been successful in bringing some tribe, or section of a tribe, to a profession of Christianity. That effect may be produced, and yet the whole work require to be deepened and strengthened; so that if, at that interesting period, when a nation has cast off its heathenism, and has come forth in the profession of a newly-embraced Christianity, there be any relaxation of effort, any diminution in the prayerful sympathy which has hitherto been

yielded to this particular portion of the field, a reaction may be expected to take place of a very disastrous character, and, either by a relapse into heathen practices, or by a prevailing indifference, that very portion of the Mission field where there had been so much to encourage, become a reproach instead of an honour to the gospel. Where, in the history of a Mission, the movement in favour of Christianity has suddenly extended itself, and, after a period of slow progress, has become very rapid in its action, so that the Missionaries have been burthened by the pressure of the work, inquirers pouring in from all directions, and numbers soliciting baptism, there we may feel assured there has been, intermingled with the truthful operations of God's Spirit, much of mere temporary impulse; and when the excitement has subsided, it will be found that the work is far from being done, that it has only changed its aspect, and that Christianity has not yet attained such a hold upon the native mind as to render unnecessary the continued presence of the Missionary agency which introduced it. All this is very intelligible. When a national movement takes place in favour of Christianity, there is of course much that is factitious, and not likely to be permanent; and yet, at such a period, when a nation breaks forth into inquiry, and all seem so eager and in earnest, it is difficult to discriminate. Still, where Christian instruction continues to be ministered with a diligence that has rather increased than diminished, and efforts be made so to adjust the agencies to the necessities of the case as that the great body of the people shall be retained under wholesome influences, there we may expect to see a healthful progress, and numbers, whose profession of Christianity had been, in the first instance, merely superficial, becoming deeply anxious as to their personal state, and earnest inquirers after the possession of influential Christianity. In a field of labour so dealt with, the work will again progress, the standard of Christian character be raised, the congregations become more enlightened and stable, the native agents better instructed and more devoted to their work, the number of selected men ordained to the native pastorate increase, the self-supporting principle develop itself, and a native church be raised up in the midst of the surrounding heathen, which, living the gospel, will be in a position to extend the action of the gospel. There is a time when Missionary superintendence may be with safety withdrawn; but to forestal that period, and leave a native work, while yet crude and immature, to grapple alone with the many and dangerous influences to which, as a

recent work, it is of necessity exposed, is greatly to be deprecated. Affectionate parents do not unduly anticipate the period when their children may be left to their own resources. They look forward to such a time when they shall have the satisfaction of seeing them occupying an independent position, and with affectionate alacrity repaying all the careful love which has been expended upon them; but before this arrives, much must be done: there needs training and instruction. The development of character requires to be carefully watched over, in order to the maturing of what is promising and valuable, and the repression of unfavourable tendencies. This process of growth is by no means a rapid one. Much patience and forbearance are requisite, but parental solicitude perseveres, until the true season of maturity has arrived. It was in the spirit of a parent that Paul watched over the churches and congregations which he had been instrumental in planting. He knew that first appearances are not to be depended upon; that Christian profession in its juvenescence is subject to many changes; that the work, to be rendered secure and permanent, must be followed up; and so "they returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith." His mind was exercised on this subject, and we find him proposing to Barnabas, "Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do." Nay, when they had attained comparative maturity and completeness of organization, he still watched over them: in his anxiety to preach the gospel where Christ had not been named, not divesting himself of the care of all the churches, but addressing to them epistles of such a nature as to show how anxiously he observed them, and how carefully he marked the points in which they were defective. There was a considerable diversity as to the growth of Christian character amongst them. In some he had more confidence, and he rejoices over their advancement in language such as he addresses to the Thessalonian church—"We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the charity of every one of you all toward each other aboundeth; so that we ourselves glory in you in the churches of God for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure." In others of them he was pained and disappointed, and, by faithful remonstrance, seeks to correct the evils under which they laboured. To the Galatians he

says, "I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain:" yet, so far from despairing of them, he urges them to improvement. "Ye did run well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth? This persuasion cometh not of Him that calleth you. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I have confidence in you through the Lord, that ye will be none otherwise minded."

The native church in New Zealand is just in the position to require like prayerful solicitude on our part. The phases through which the work of evangelization in those islands has passed are distinctly marked. First, there was a long and trying period of apparently unsuccessful labour, carried on amidst scenes of savage cruelty unsurpassed in the history of nations. The cannibal practices for which the Maories were once so notorious have been rooted out from the land, and not a vestige of them remains. That extirpation of a great national vice was accomplished simply by Christian instruction and influence, and this is our encouragement; for the gospel, by which so great a change has been effected, has lost nothing of its power, and is as able to combat with the new vices which have introduced themselves into the land, as with those older ones, which, although deeply rooted in the native character, it has torn up and cast forth. But that initiatory period was one of deep trial to our Missionaries, and the foundations of the work were laid by them amidst danger and distress. Moreover, the native heart was found to be peculiarly difficult to deal with. While intensely susceptible of evil influences, and easily wrought up to a high degree of excitement, to spiritual influences it was hard and unimpressible. Year after year passed over, and, were it not for the conviction that "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham," the Missionaries might have withdrawn in discouragement, for not one heart was moved. At length one faint and straggling ray broke through the thick darkness: a native, under affliction, expressed a desire to understand about Jesus Christ. This was followed by another instance, of a still more decided character, so as to afford opportunity for the first baptism. The number of those who were willing to assemble for instruction on the Sabbath increased. Hitherto they had been so small that the dwelling-houses of the Missionaries sufficed to receive the handful; but in 1826 it became necessary to erect a separate building, of larger dimensions, which might serve the double purpose of church and schoolroom. It is deeply in-

teresting to look into the past history of this Mission,* and observe how dark the night was; how the morning, long expected, at length came; how faint its earliest dawn; how very gradually it increased. Touching instances occurred of individuals in whose hearts the love of Christ wrought deeply, and in whose expressions of faithful attachment to their Saviour there was a freshness and a fulness which reacted with beneficial influence on ourselves at home. It was evident that prejudice and misapprehension had been lived down by "patient continuance in well doing." The Missionaries, instead of being obstructed in their efforts to expand the circle of their labours, and visit new villages and districts, were invited onward by the people. "Come oftener," they said: "we forget what you say because you come so seldom." Natives began to arrive from distant places on missions of inquiry. Some from amongst the converts commenced to act as Christian teachers among their countrymen; new stations were formed and persevered in, notwithstanding interruptions from war, and the utmost efforts of the enemy; until at length Christian inquiry, like a flood of light, spread itself over the entire island. The candidates for baptism increased a hundredfold. The progress of the work, as if to compensate for the slowness which marked its commencement, accelerated with marvellous rapidity; and in the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, on the united testimony of the bishop and the late governor-general, New Zealand was pronounced to be, in 1855, some forty years after the commencement of the Mission, a professedly Christian land.

But the new work has been subjected to a severe ordeal. Colonization had commenced as Christianity prevailed to ameliorate the character of the natives. Humanized by the influences of gospel truth, they no longer, by their ferocious practices, scared the adventurous European from their coasts. A congenial climate encouraged him in the expectation that he should there find a pleasant home. The tide of colonization set in on these improving shores, and ultimately became so strong as to necessitate the interference of the British Legislature.

"Yet the British government undertook the colonization of these islands with avowed reluctance. When it was seen, however, that the country had already become the resort of a number of lawless characters, and that the

New Zealanders were improvidently divesting themselves of their territorial possessions, the government then undertook, but with extreme reluctance, its systematic colonization; and to avert from the natives the disasters which threatened them, and to rescue the settlers themselves from the evils of a lawless state of society, measures were adopted for establishing in these islands a settled form of civil government. . . .

"The position and natural advantages of these islands, and the wild character of their native people, were such as, under any circumstances, to secure for the project of their colonization a large amount of public attention. But it was not because New Zealand was a promising field for British emigration that the undertaking was regarded with more than usual interest, but because it was about to be made the field of an experiment affecting the interests of humanity. A deliberate pledge had been given by the ministers of the crown that the natives of New Zealand should, if possible, 'be saved from that process of extermination under which uncivilized tribes have too commonly disappeared when brought into contact with civilized men.' And the experiment was about to be tried whether it were possible to bring two distinct portions of the human race, in the opposite conditions of civilization and barbarism, into immediate contact, without the destruction of the uncivilized race; or whether, indeed, in rendering the colonization of a barbarous country possible, the Christian Missionary is not also, at the same time, the pioneer of the destruction of its heathen people. Such were the questions involved in the colonization of New Zealand."†

To Mr. Swainson's summary we refer such of our readers as desire to have presented to them the history of colonization in New Zealand, so far as it has hitherto made progress. It is foreign to our purpose to analyze the measures which have been pursued. This, however, we may be permitted to avow, that while, in assuming the sovereignty of New Zealand, Great Britain adopted a measure which was essential to the protection of the native race, her refusal to grasp at territorial rights on the ground of that sovereignty having been ceded, or to establish, without purchase, the title of the crown to the waste lands, has been a most humane and dignified proceeding, such as becomes a great nation.

During the sixteen years which have elapsed since Captain Hobson was appointed

* See the "Southern Cross," by Miss Tucker, in which our readers will find all that they would desire to know of the early history of this Mission, depicted in the most interesting manner.

† "New Zealand. The substance of Lectures," &c. By William Swainson, H.M. Attorney-General for New Zealand. Pp. 8—10.

Governor of New Zealand, the development of industrial pursuits, and the movement towards civilization amongst the natives, have been of a very remarkable character.

"Not only have the New Zealanders become converts to Christianity, but instead of being occupied, as formerly, in a state of constant and destructive warfare, they are now, for the most part, a peaceable and industrious people, occupied in various departments of productive industry, acquiring property to a considerable amount, and the principal producers of the bread-stuffs grown within the colony, and large and increasing consumers of British manufactures.

"Large numbers of their children are now receiving religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language, and are boarded, lodged, and clothed in schools,* which receive aid from the public funds.†

"For scripture history, writing, geography, and mental arithmetic, they are found to possess considerable aptitude. Of 104 adult labourers, employed some time ago by the Royal Engineer Department, it was found that all were able to read the New Testament (in their own language), and that all but two could write: a statement which could probably not be made of an equal number of labourers so employed in the most civilized country in the world.

"By the English settlers large numbers of the New Zealanders are employed as farm

labourers, and experience has proved them to be capable of acquiring considerable skill in various descriptions of useful labour. From a distance of many miles they supply the various settlements with the produce of their industry. They are the owners of numerous small coasting-craft, and flour-mills worked by water power: and that they are deemed trustworthy by the settlers is evidenced by the fact, that they have accounts in the books of the tradesmen of a single settlement alone to the amount of several thousand pounds.

"Probably no better proof can be given of their progress in industrial pursuits than the fact, that the produce brought by them, in the course of a single year, in canoes alone, to one single settlement in the colony, amounted in value to upwards of 10,000*l*. Such is now the condition of a people whose very name, not twenty years ago, was a byword throughout the civilized world."‡

"It is really as gratifying as it is surprising, to witness the orderly and the dignified demeanour of the natives in being presented at the" (governor's) "levee. On the late occasion there were about twenty of them introduced. All were well dressed, and all deported themselves admirably. One of the number is a remarkable man: he is called Hapuka—the great fish of Hawke's Bay, in which locality he is a large landed proprietor. Much of that land he has lately sold to the government, and his present visit to Auckland, which has been his first, was to receive payment for his estate. The appearance of Auckland, and the acquiring a rental from household property, at once struck him. Better to sell his waste lands that yielded no return, and to become the owner of property that would afford him an income while he lived, was a conclusion to which he jumped at once. He therefore became anxious to invest some 5000*l*. in town property, and purchased forthwith the Australian-built schooner 'Erin' for 1200*l*. Men of such keen perceptions are not likely to indulge an insane passion for war. Day by day the agriculture, the commerce, and the shipping interest of the natives are increasing. They are large owners of coasting-craft, and they are indefatigable cultivators of produce with which to freight them. Generally speaking, the lands are held by the tribes in common, but they are quickly becoming aware of the ruinous restrictions upon industry which property in common entails; so, whilst they sell their land as tribes, they are becoming anxious to purchase as individuals, and to ac-

* "Speaking of St. Stephen's girls'-school, near Auckland, a writer in the *Monthly Packet* says: 'The girls are of course not very much advanced in book-learning. All can read and write their own language, and a good number can read easy English books pretty well. . . . A geography lesson is always popular. . . . It is surprising how quickly natives, both young and old, learn to write. They are also very ready with their needles. . . . There was an odd fancy in the country that the natives had no ear for music; but this is quite disproved by facts. The girls are taught by figures instead of notes, which are drawn upon a large black board. They read quite easily even difficult music, such as Mendelssohn's choruses, Gregorian chants, and some of our old intricate catches and glees."

† "Of the children at one of these schools the official inspectors report, that some of the boys have made great progress in carpentry: that the examination of the children in scriptural knowledge was highly satisfactory: that many of the pupils exhibited great readiness in performing all the operations of arithmetic, and were able to calculate mentally with rapidity and correctness: that several showed a clear comprehension of the principles of fractional arithmetic: that the writing of the elder boys was, without exception, good, and in many cases excellent."

quire a holding under the crown. This is the true way to pacify all classes, to improve the country, and to develop its resources; and with such an animating principle actively at work, who can question the rapid advancement of New Zealand?"*

We may be permitted to add something explanatory of the commercial position which the Maoris occupy. On the discovery of the gold-fields the tide of emigration set in powerfully on the Australian shore. But gold-diggers are not cultivators. They dig out the nuggets, but they reap no golden harvests. The Maori is in a position to supply the increased demand for grain in Australia, and receive in return a portion of its gold. His intercourse with Europeans has furnished him with new esculents. To the kumara, the taro, the hue, or gourd, Captain Cook added the potato; Governor King, in 1800, gave him maize; and our Missionaries introduced wheat. The growth of this valuable grain has very rapidly extended itself over the island. Less than fifteen years ago it was introduced into the East Cape districts, at first in a small quantity indeed — two stockingfuls of wheat. This was carefully sown in ready-prepared soil, and yielded in the first year, 1843, a crop beyond all expectation, which again was distributed amongst the converts in whom most confidence could be placed, on condition that its produce should be similarly dealt with, and used for seed only. From this small beginning rich fields of wheat now cheer the eyes of the visitor; so much so, that, after the supply of their own wants, the natives have a large surplus produce to dispose of. Thus the Maories find themselves in a position to meet the wants of the Australian colonists, and a portion of the harvest of gold is willingly exchanged for the wheat harvests of New Zealand.

Yet this influx of prosperity is not without its accompanying dangers. It was the influence of Christianity which first attracted the savage from his cave, and brought him forth into the light of heaven. To this he owes his present position. But for the gospel he would have remained a vindictive cannibal, shunned by the civilized man, or have perished in sanguinary conflicts with the colonist. Now he retains his position in the presence of the English settler, and an amalgamation of the races has commenced. But if he decline in his attachment to Christian

truth, and withdraw his mind from its sustaining influence, new danger threatens him: he may yield himself to the new temptations by which he is surrounded; become infected by new vices; under their degrading influence his short-lived civilization may disappear; and, degraded and enfeebled, he may perish, as many an aboriginal race has done before him, from off the face of the earth. Already a new and powerful evil is at work, one which has been the bane and curse of many an aboriginal race.

An intoxicating medium, to which, in their heathen state, the natives had been strangers, is now brought within their reach, and drunkenness is becoming rife. "I am sorry," writes a Missionary in a recent letter, "to add my own testimony to that of my brethren on the increase of drunkenness among the natives. Licences are now granted to settlers in the interior. The consequence is, that spirits are placed within the reach of almost every tribe." At a crisis like this, so dangerous to every aboriginal race, the force of temptation has been increased by the evil example of the European, whom the native has been in the habit of regarding as, in civilization, superior to himself, and by the fact of money being, for the first time, placed in considerable quantities at the disposal of the Maoris.

The remuneration obtained for his wheat crops, together with the price received for lands sold to government, has made the native comparatively rich, and placed within his reach a variety of new objects, unknown previously in Maori life. It is a time of very strong temptation. The natives are like children with money in their hands introduced into the midst of a toy-repository, eager to have, and yet distracted as to what to purchase. We cannot be surprised if many have been carried away by the strong current, and are wholly engrossed in buying and selling, and getting gain; and that, in the despatches of our Missionaries, there is so much to indicate spiritual declension among our converts, and the love of many waxing cold. That it should be so is indeed painful. As a people they have been very recently evangelized, and when first brought to discern the value of gospel truth, their eagerness to be instructed was intense. Have they so soon left their first love? We perhaps expected that they would have gladly embraced the opportunity, now presented to them, of expressing their gratitude for the blessed change which has taken place amongst them, and that they would have willingly consecrated themselves, and their newly-acquired wealth, to the ser-

* Extract from a Sydney newspaper called the "Sydney Empire," being part of a letter from that paper's correspondent at Auckland, New Zealand.

vice of the gospel. And yet, if it be otherwise, can we be surprised, when we recollect the weakness of churches not a generation old; when we remember, that, in a national movement towards Christianity of so remarkable a kind, there must have been much that was fictitious, and that only wanted the occurrence of a favourable opportunity to show itself in its true character. Perhaps we overrated the character of our work in New Zealand, and confounded too much a profession of Christianity with that sterling heart-work which is alone enduring; and if so, is it not well that our exaggerated views should be corrected, and brought down to the level of a more just judgment? Is it not well that we should see things as they are, and not as we supposed them to be? Scenes on the painter's canvass, however high the artistic skill, are seldom true copies of the original. There is a richness of tint, and a brightness and illusion, that allow no room for the sober commonplace of real life. Even tattered garments look becoming; and muddy lanes through copses appear so inviting, that we are tempted to wish we could at once perambulate them. So a skilful artist, with the pencil, or the pen, or the tongue, may paint an inviting description of Maori evangelization, and the illusion is pleasing as we gaze upon it. But it is not the reality; and would it be safe to act upon it? Had we continued to think the natives as advanced as in such pleasant pictures they have been presented to us, we should have been disposed to consider our work as a Missionary Society perfected, and have expedited our departure from the islands. That were ruinous. We were never so wanted as we are now. Shall we be like the American settler, who, while he cuts down the ancient trees, the growth of centuries, leaves the roots in the ground, and, ambitious of more extensive openings, forgets, as he urges his way forward, that the tangled brushwood is springing up behind? Shall we clear the ground of heathen vices, while the root of the natural heart from whence they sprung be left untouched, and opportunity be afforded for new vices to spring up, more difficult to deal with, because unhappily they are such as consist with the prevalence of a nominal Christianity? Shall a nation be brought to a renunciation of its false gods and ancient superstitions, and, through the incompleteness of the work, be suffered to lapse into indifference to all religions, whether true or false? But what an injury to the work of evangelization in which we are engaged, if, instead of cultivated fields and fruitful harvests, the world can point to efforts

commenced but never finished, and the weeds of neglect rapidly obliterating the traces of human industry; and then inquire, Is this all that you are capable of effecting? for if this be all, we must pronounce it to be confirmatory of all our prejudices. No! we have not yet attained. First impressions, if not followed up, are evanescent. We must be careful that the national alterations which we are instrumental in effecting be so wrought into the heart and character of a people as to be permanent and lasting. The peculiar crisis in New Zealand, and the new temptations to which the converts have been subjected, have enabled us to form a more accurate estimate of what has really been accomplished; that if much has been done, more remains to be done; that the victory has not yet been won; that the enemy has only changed his position, and, with a development of new tactics, is prepared still to contend with the gospel for supremacy. We, also, must put forth new efforts. Paul not unfrequently met with much to disappoint him in the churches which he had been instrumental in raising up. Did he, therefore, despond respecting them, and, pronouncing the whole work fictitious, withdraw himself from a place where there had been so much to grieve him, and forget it in the excitement of new scenes and new labours? No. We have a case in point. The Galatians were led away from the simplicity of faith in Jesus; so much so, that he expresses himself strongly respecting them; so strongly as to say, "I stand in doubt of you." But the more critical their position, the more resolute was his determination to renew his labours on their behalf, and in spirit he wrestled for their recovery. "My little children," he says, "of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you." He was satisfied to pass again through all the pains and anxieties attendant on the commencement of the work amongst them, if so be they might be eventually led on to a more satisfactory and healthful state. He felt persuaded, that, much as they had declined, the root of the matter was in them, and that it might be revived: therefore he proceeded to expend his heart and interest upon them. And we believe that it is so in New Zealand, and that there has been as much of real gracious work in that land as in any portion of the great Mission field.

We cannot doubt this, when we remember how many of our converts have exhibited that graciousness of character which is the result of true union with the Saviour; and in their dying testimony, and expressions of unwavering faith, have left us the strongest

assurance that they have gone to sleep in Jesus. We would refer to some of these ripe fruits as specimens of a harvest which has been gathered in. We would put our hand into the basket, and take them at random from the mass. The first has the year 1848 inscribed upon it—an aged man, and long a consistent Christian, removed by the prevalent native disease, consumption. The hollow eye, the distressing cough, and the hectic flush on the cheek, indicated the rapid progress of the malady. Very edifying it was to sit by his side and hear him converse. Looking on his wasted arms, he said, "Though my outward man perish, my inward man is gaining strength day by day. This disease and pain which I feel is very short, compared with that punishment which I deserve. The riches of the love of Christ is great, is great, is great." This is a form of speech in frequent use among the natives, when they wish to speak of any thing in the superlative degree—when words fail to express what is felt. When inquiries were made having reference to the exclusiveness of his reliance on Christ, with an emphatic renunciation of all confidence in self, he replied, "Christ has atoned for my sins: He has done all for me. He will not leave His work unfinished: He will complete it, and take me to Himself." We find another, which bears date 1850. When questioned as to his feelings in prospect of his death, which appeared to be fast approaching, he replied, "My heart is not dark, but light." When inquiry was made as to the nature of this joy, he pointed out its source—that "Christ has died for my sins. When the natives are in health their whole thoughts are occupied about the riches of this world: they want horses, ships, and mills. When a man is dying, as I am now, he feels that horses, ships, and mills, are of no value to him: that nothing can satisfy him but a crown of glory." Earnest were the exhortations which this good man addressed to his countrymen who came to see him, as he said to them individually, "Be strong in the faith. I am going away from you to Jesus. Trust in Him alone: no other name but Jesus." But we must forbear. Similar cases might be multiplied indefinitely. "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." How frequently, then, during the progress of the gospel in New Zealand, has not that joy been elicited; and what numbers, from amongst that once dark and savage race, have been added to the multitudes of the redeemed before the throne?

That must have been a true work of God which has yielded so many and blessed re-

sults. And has the fruit all been gathered, and all that was genuine transferred to heaven? Has the stock so exhausted itself that it can yield no more? We do not believe it. "There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease." New efforts, new labours, are necessary on our part; but we believe that, if faithful to our responsibilities, we shall be permitted to reap a full reward. That there is a willingness on the part of the natives to co-operate with us in any efforts which may be made for their improvement, and to bear a portion of the necessary expenses, we cannot doubt, if indeed proper means be only taken to elicit such exertions.

Some interesting particulars have lately reached us, which afford encouragement to the hope we have expressed. "New Zealand may properly be called a volcanic country, since it contains a long line of craters, which extends from one end of the country to the other: in fact, nearly half the mountains in the country are extinct craters."* The grand centre, however, of "this volcanic action extends from White Island to Rotorua, and thence by Taupo and Tongariro to Wanganui, a distance of nearly 200 miles, forming a continuous line across the entire width of the island." The centre of the northern island is thus a very singular locality. There mountains are massed together, the highest peak, Parailonga, attaining an elevation of 10,236 feet; while from the less-elevated Tongariro volumes of smoke are being continually emitted, and occasionally of flame, which have been distinctly seen at a distance of 150 miles. Around are the superabundant traces of volcanic devastation. The central plains were once heavily timbered; but the ancient forests are buried, in many places to a depth of a hundred feet, beneath an avalanche of pumice, ejected from the neighbouring volcanoes. Such has been the quantity of ejected matter, that the land in their vicinity has sunk, and formed lakes of a truly singular character. One of these, Rotomahana, "is in itself nothing but a crater, the sides of which are full of action." It is filled with warm water, varying from 90 to 120 degrees of Fahrenheit. Around are numberless puia, or boiling springs. The waters, as they fall from their temporary elevation, and find their way to the level of the lake, leave a silicious deposit, in some places of a beautiful pink colour; and steps of stairs are formed, by which you ascend to the rim of the basin from whence the jet comes.

* Taylor's New Zealand, p. 221.

Taupo is the largest of these singularly-formed lakes, with fearful boiling springs abounding at its extremities.

But it is of the natives of this district we have to speak; and amidst the wild inhabitants of New Zealand they stood pre-eminent in savage fierceness. Often, as a fiery eruption, had they descended upon the lowlands and sea-coast districts, wasting and devastating all before them. Christianity, in its penetrative action throughout the islands, at length reached these upland regions. Indeed, it was in the attempt to introduce it amongst the Taupo tribes that the native Christians, Manihera and Kereopa, were murdered in 1847. That act terminated a long feud that had existed between the interior and sea-shore tribes. The heathen of Taupo had avenged themselves: they had gathered in the last *utu*. The Christians of the sea-coast refused to retaliate; they had learned to recognise Him who says, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." The Taupo people became anxious that a Missionary should be located amongst them. The murderer of Manihera was amongst the most urgent; and, as an evidence of his anxiety, erected a neat, nay, elegant building as a church. It was not, however, until long delay that this wish was gratified. In 1854 the Rev. T. S. Grace, appointed as a Missionary to Taupo, left the east coast of New Zealand, where he had been supplying the place of Archdeacon W. Williams during his absence in England, for this his proper sphere of labour. We introduce his narrative: it is full of incident, and deeply interesting.

"Pukanoa, Taupo, Sept. 11, 1855.

"In May last I wrote you a few lines to inform you of our arrival here, at which time I promised to write you again more fully. I have now great pleasure in fulfilling my promise, by sending you some particulars of our travels, and the reception we have met with in Taupo.

"The coast of New Zealand is particularly dangerous. In the little native vessel I chartered in Auckland, I encountered a heavy gale on my passage to Turanga. Afterwards, on leaving Turanga, with my family, in getting out of the river we stuck on the bar, and were in great danger for some hours, the seas breaking over our little bark. Mrs. Grace and the children escaped on the shoulders of natives, amidst breakers which none but natives would have dared to encounter: our boat was broken, and, had it been whole, it would have been of no use. After this we had to spend nine days in our tents on the beach, while the vessel was discharged, and natives assembled to get

her off: in all this we suffered considerable loss.

"At length we left Turanga with a fair wind; but on the second night, at sundown, after we had rounded the East Cape, we were overtaken by a fearful storm from the north. We could not run back, and forward there was the greatest danger of being driven on the rocky shores. From the hold of our little vessel God heard our prayers; so that, after passing a sad night, we ventured, in the forenoon of the next day, to run into a small bay, which afforded a little shelter. Here we found another native vessel, by the aid of whose boat we were enabled to land. At this place we spent two days. After this, on leaving Whakatane for Auckland, another gale, accompanied by a tremendous sea, burst upon us, almost in a moment. In so small a vessel you may conceive the anxiety of a parent with so helpless a family. God's mercy was greater than our fears. At a little after midnight, after about fifteen hours' tossing, we welcomed the Sabbath morn, in comparatively smooth water, on the other side of Cape Colville.

"On leaving Auckland we had great difficulty to procure a vessel at all, and, after waiting several weeks, had to engage a very small one, of only ten tons: it had been an old landing-boat. The crew consisted of an invalid European, one native man, and a boy of fourteen. In this we had a good passage as far as Maketu, where we put in just in time to avoid a storm, which we could not possibly have weathered. This was providential, as we found that our poor European could not bear the slightest exertion at the helm. Mrs. Chapman gave us a most kind reception. We were detained a whole week, and then sailed for Matata, which, like all the rivers of this island, is guarded by a bar and heavy surf, and can only be entered at high water. We reached this place at a most inconvenient time, it being low water, and the wind, which had been blowing fresh, was fast increasing. Being exceedingly anxious to land my family, seeing a large canoe about to run in, I hailed it. It came alongside, and, by some means, we all got safely into it; after which, one danger more, and we should be safe. The bar had to be crossed—a dangerous and exciting business. This, however, was performed with exquisite skill by the natives. We rode on the crests of three successive rollers, and were at last washed high and dry on the shore. Thus terminated our travels by sea. The poor European died about a month afterwards.

"The natives gave us a kind welcome.

Three poor women immediately joined themselves to Mrs. Grace, to administer to her wants; and, though far from our destination, we seemed once more in our work, and at home, and were enabled to thank God and take courage.

"This commenced our inland journey, which has since, in six months, cost me 1500 miles of foot-travelling. Over some parts of the road I have passed eighteen times, and none less than five. Our first inquiry was respecting natives from Taupo: none had come, and we were informed that a few who had been down a little time before had left word that the people of Taupo had determined to have 4*l.* each for a single load. This was discouraging: yet, if they were to be paid, not unreasonable for a month's work at least, seeing they could get 5*s.* per day for working as labourers. About this time, five natives of Tauranga refused Archdeacon Brown to take 20*l.* to accompany some military men to Taupo. This intelligence did not at all surprise me. My mind was made up: no half measure would, I felt sure, meet the case. If payment was to be entertained, it must be full and equitable: if not entertained, it must be refused altogether.

"From the first I had stipulated, that, in case I went to Taupo, the people to whom I was sent must help to carry us in. They had consented to this arrangement, though there was too much reason to believe that they never seriously intended to perform their part.

"Food was still very scarce, new potatoes not being ready to take, and, in Taupo and on the road, would not be for six or eight weeks. I could not leave my family, to take a journey to Taupo, for the store the natives had put up for us was such a resort for mosquitos and sandflies, that it was not possible to live in it. Our poor children had no rest, and were one mass of inflammation from their bites. I therefore lost no time in commencing to select and make up packages such as a man could carry, in order to push up the river as far as possible—that the natives of Taupo might know I was moving—and then purposed to move on to Tarawera, and there leave Mrs. Grace, and from thence make a journey to Taupo. Accordingly, after enduring the torments of mosquitos for a fortnight, and experiencing many pleasing marks of disinterested affection from the natives, we commenced our journey, poling our canoes up the river. The first day it was very pleasant, but slow work. The next day we had torrents of rain, with no possibility of pitching our tents. At evening we arrived, cold and wet, at a small village called Ahimanga,

where a settler kindly took us in, and did all he possibly could for us, for which we were not a little thankful. What Mrs. Grace and the infants most wanted was a good fire to warm themselves, but the good man's house was without the luxury of a fire-place. The next two days were spent in opening some of our damaged packages. At this place I purchased a small house for a store, and, finding it difficult and expensive to hire canoes, I purchased one. We then set out for Tarawera, the European kindly sending his son to accompany us with another horse. The young man took charge of my two eldest boys, and, on the second day, had the misfortune of getting his horse into a swamp, at which time my eldest little boy had a most providential escape of being killed, for he fell under the plunging horse, and was buried in the swamp. In the evening we reached the Tarawera lake, where, having some delay and difficulty in getting a canoe, it was long after dark before we reached the other side, where we had to climb up almost perpendicular cliffs in the dark and rain, which was a most formidable undertaking for a lady and little children. It was ten o'clock when we reached Mr. Spencer's, faint from hunger and fatigue. This terminated our first week's travel by land.

"The week following I made a journey to Taupo, some account of which I sent you from Tarawera. I was pleased to find things better than I expected. The letter I sent by my friend Matiahu, and his example, had done much. I felt that I had every reason to be thankful for the course I had taken in sending my messengers from Auckland, in place of going myself. The reason of their detention in Taupo was owing to the fears of the natives that we should start before there was food on the way. On my return to Tarawera I found Matiahu had returned, with three additional men and two women to assist us. Poor fellow! he had done his best. He, with his friends, had been to Auckland, and, finding we had left, followed us by sea to the coast, and from thence to Tarawera.

"To detail all the circumstances connected with the next part of our journey would occupy considerable length. I must therefore briefly state, that two parties of the Taupo people met me at Tarawera early in January, according to appointment, but, instead of coming in a large body, they only numbered about twenty bearers. On expressing my surprise at so few having come, they informed me that they had come for Mrs. Grace and the children, and that afterwards they would come for the baggage.

When they found that I would not alter my plans, the great chief, Te Heuheu, became very violent. We remained firm, and left them to consider the matter quietly; and, on account of some remarks of the great man's, sent him back one of his wives: she had come to nurse for Mrs. Grace. In a day or two he became reasonable, and at length agreed to go on with me to the coast to commence carrying.

"With this small force we carried, under a burning sun, for three weeks, between the coast and Tarawera lake. After a commencement was made the natives did their utmost; but, through hard work and scarcity of food, they at length broke down, quite knocked up. Most of the men had never carried before, carrying burdens being the work of their women. They could do no more, and proposed to return to Taupo, and come back in a month with more people. To this I was obliged to consent.

"The most part of February I spent on the same part of the road, carrying, with a couple of natives, and my own and another horse, which we used as pack-horses; so that, by the beginning of March, we had altogether 150 packages deposited in a house on the Tarawera lake.

"On the 7th of March I left Mr. Spencer's with my family, and encamped at the head of Roto Mahana, there to await the arrival of the natives. After waiting a week, the natives arrived, about eighty in number, out of which we found fifty bearers. They spent two days in bringing up the baggage from Tarawera to our encampment, when all went off, except a few, to Roto Rua, to settle some native business, and did not return for a fortnight, when they began in good earnest to carry the next stage, over hills and swamps, which commence the desert of the interior. Our great difficulty was to get a supply of food for so many, and their chief food being potatoes made a great addition to our toil. But nothing could now damp the ardour of our people. The sight of their distant snowy mountains roused their enthusiasm, which even heavy losses could not damp for a moment. We lost at this time two fine milch cows and a calf, by drinking from a poisonous stream which flows from various hot springs. I had brought them all the way from the Bay of Islands, and they were intended to be the parents of a little stock for our school: they were the only cows we had. But a still heavier loss awaited the poor natives, who, on their first journey, seeing that I had only one horse for Mrs. Grace, our governess, and five children, brought a number of their own to assist

us, four of which—two fine strong horses, and two mares that would have had foals in a few weeks—were all drowned in crossing the Waikata river. This was a blow I little expected, and which I thought would perhaps be followed by bad consequences. At a low calculation, according to the present value of horses, their loss could not be less than 200*l*. But no! my fears were groundless. There was a little crying amongst the women for their favourite animals, but not one word of regret for having brought them—not a single hint at a desire that I should pay for them. The next morning they took to their canoes as cheerful as ever, and entertained us with some grand and exciting feats of paddling the canoes up some rapids. The canoes had to be lightened, and as many as forty natives, in a single canoe, paddled with all their might, and with a regularity that nothing could exceed.

"After many mercies, dangers, difficulties, many narrow escapes, and much wet and cold weather, we arrived at the north end of Taupo lake on Saturday, the 14th of April. A number of canoes were ready for us, but a strong southerly wind made the lake very rough and dangerous. The natives hesitated for a long time; and at length, seeing we had no food for spending a Sabbath in the cold unsheltered place we were at, it was resolved to venture, and, after about two hours' hard paddling, we reached the first village on that end of the lake, named Rangatira, but known to you by the name of Jerusalem. Here we received a hearty welcome, and spent the Sabbath and the following day with them, being detained by the southerly wind. On the Tuesday morning we started about an hour before daylight, in a dense fog, and, after a little suspense at first, succeeded in effecting a crossing of about ten miles, with great precision, our only guide for steering being the course of the waves. Soon afterwards the morning cleared, and we paddled on to a village called Motutere, otherwise Babylon. As we drew near, the people assembled on the shore to welcome us with a dance. The greater part of our people were from this place, so that they were not a little elated at being once more at home. Here we were detained until Thursday morning, when we again took to our canoes at day-break, to sail for Pukawa. Our party now became very large: we numbered eleven large canoes, all quite full, many having joined us to be present at our arrival at the station. The distance we had to sail, about eighteen miles, we accomplished by half-past ten A.M. Our arrival opposite Pukawa was to us a mo-

ment of the most intense interest. After more than four years' preparation; after the gravest doubts as to whether we should be able to accomplish our object; after travels and dangers which I cannot half describe—we were now in sight of our habitation and our work, safe with our infant family. The thought that we had lost one dear child by the way could not, however, destroy our feelings of thankfulness to our Heavenly Father. Our party appeared to have somewhat similar feelings. The eleven canoes came up all abreast: one tall man stood up in the centre canoe to beat time with his paddle,* while the whole company, in their own native way, began to exhibit the gladness of their hearts. They struck up a song which, quite unknown to us, they had prepared for the occasion, the burden of which was to this effect—'Is it not a good thing that we have got "mother" thus far without being dead? Paddle the canoe, paddle the canoe.' While this was singing the canoes moved on in a stately manner to the shore, until the notes of their song were lost in the shouts of welcome which reached us from the land.

"We landed; and, after our little European company had bent their knees at the water's brink to return thanks to the God of all mercies, we all, on the same spot, assembled for native morning service and special prayer.

"After this we were obliged to pitch our tents again until Saturday, in order to be present to receive the individual welcome of all who had assembled to meet us, and to hear all they had to say.

"It had been arranged by our party at this meeting to discuss the propriety of those parties belonging to our church, that had not assisted in our journey, of at once assembling to put up a large school-house; but, to our great annoyance, a small party present embraced the opportunity of so large an assembly to bring forward a dispute about some land, which occupied two entire days, and disturbed the minds of the whole assembly.

"Before I bid farewell to our journey I must pay a tribute to the honesty of the natives. During all the time they were with us, though temptations were strong, though many packages had to be opened on the way, though not more than a couple of cases had locks on, though our baggage was scattered on the different parts of the road for twenty or more miles at a time, yet we never missed a single article. One or two matters were lost in the river, but that was accidental. And at this moment my two stores on and near

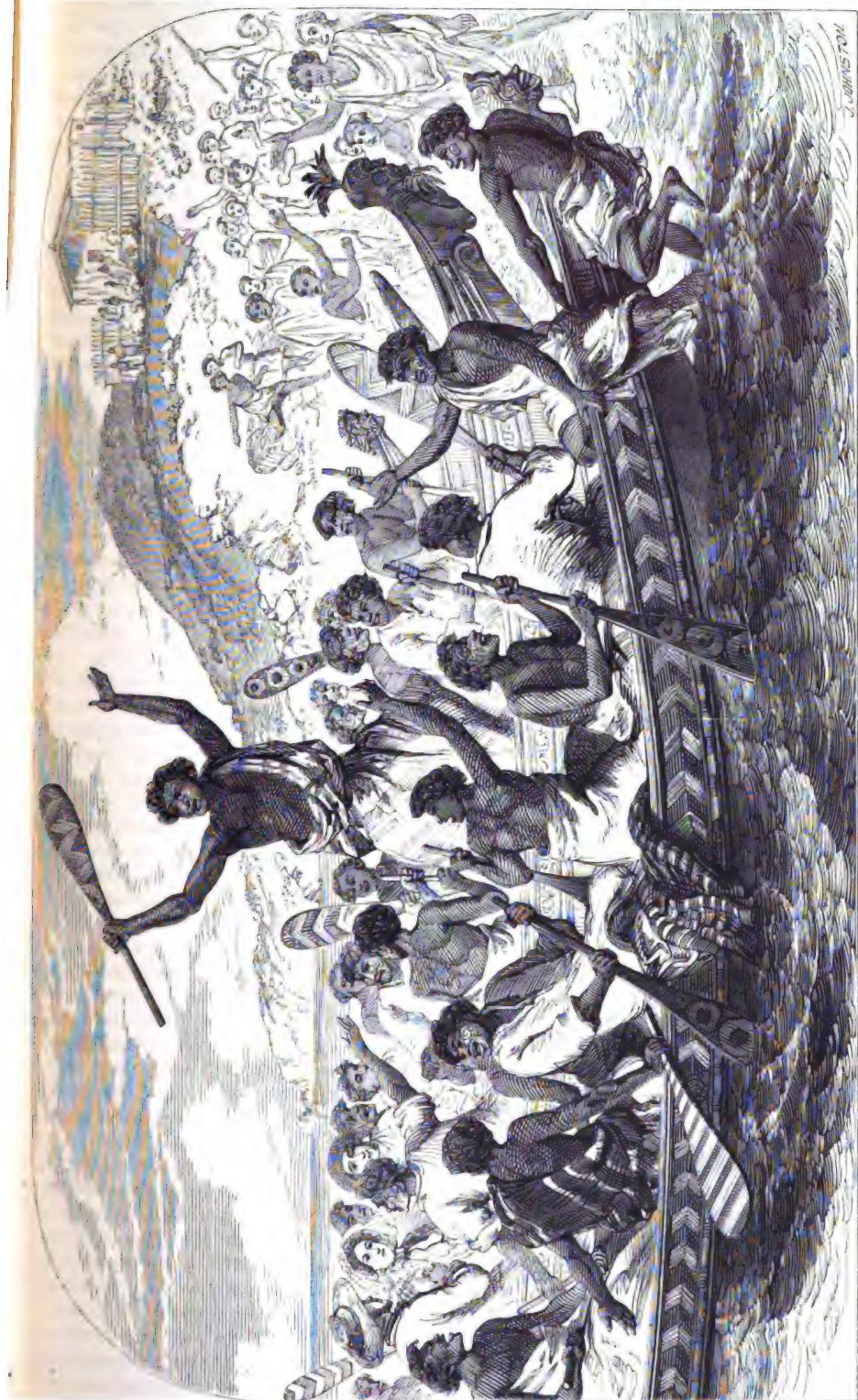
the coast are in the hands of strange natives, and could both, one especially, be entered by any one. In making provision for a station, I confess to have made one mistake, and that is, in procuring locks. At present we have nothing locked, and really think locks may be advantageously dispensed with. I am half inclined to think that the sort of suspicion attendant upon locking may perhaps, in some minds, beget the desire of stealing.

"Another little matter I will name. In our journey we did not follow the common road, on account of getting water-carriage wherever we could. In many cases we had to make roads; but on the last stage of land-travelling we passed over an old road which has not been used for many years. This road, we learned, was called the 'road of war:' now, they said, it must be called the 'gospel road.' It is somewhat remarkable that the road by which their enemies approached them should be that on which the message of peace should be conveyed to them.

"On Saturday, the 21st of April, we entered our frail, unfinished habitation—to an English family a poor apology for a house—no doors, no windows, no chimneys, no floors but the damp earth: yet even this was looked at as most acceptable after so long a residence in calico tents. All its deficiencies were supplied when we remembered, that, while our Great Master had not where to lay His head, this house had been erected by poor natives without consideration of payment, which made it to us a token of goodwill, and more welcome than had it, under other circumstances, been more substantial and convenient. Thus ended our travels. We had been more successful than my most sanguine expectations. I had resolved, that, if I could find ten who would assist me for the gospel's sake, I would proceed. God gave me fifty, and they willing to take, on an average, nearly three loads each. Not one, of all that have carried, have asked for payment, but the majority have acknowledged that it was scriptural that they should assist us."

This testimony is encouraging indeed. With such heart-stirring facts before us, who can despair of New Zealand? It confirms what we have already stated, that the natives, if wisely dealt with, will contribute both money and labour to meet the continued expenses of the Mission. Considerable tracts of land, in different parts of the island, have been freely granted by them for educational purposes. One at Otaki, where a large educational establishment has been commenced, which in due time will become, as the land

* *Vide Frontispiece.*



ARRIVAL OF THE REV. T. S. GRACE AND MRS. GRACE AT PUKAWA, TAUPO.— *Vide* p. 156.

is brought under cultivation and yields its produce, self-supporting. A similar act of liberality has occurred at Waikato, on the west coast. An educational institution, of a self-supporting character, was commenced some few years back, at Waikato Heads, by our Missionary, the Rev. R. Maunsell; and there, after much of arduous effort, the establishment had very considerably advanced. The locality was pleasant, the scenery beautiful, and the garden and orchard, after much labour and expense, were matured and thriving; but the amount of arable land was limited, and, as the price of food rose, this constituted a serious difficulty. Some of the native proprietors higher up the river, ascertaining the dilemma in which our Missionary was placed, immediately came forward with the offer of a noble grant of land, to which the institution has been transferred. Its present situation is "on a little tongue of land projecting out and causing a bend of the fine Waikato river, so that we seem, as it were, to stand sentinel, looking north-east along the banks to the distant mountains and varied scenery, and, facing westward, catching a peep of the mouth of the river and the roaring sea. Inland an amphitheatre of mountains, not very high, varied with cultivations and woods, heave up to view the tops of little hamlets scattered in all parts around the station. 'Every prospect pleases.'"

A similar instance of liberality has occurred at Taranga, on the east coast. An institution for the training of native catechists and candidates having been commenced by the Society at that station, a tribe distant about six miles have made over, by deed of gift, for its support, a beautiful tract of land of not less than 800 acres, with timber for fences and fuel; and thither, by our last accounts, Archdeacon W. Williams was engaged in transferring the Mission buildings.

But what does the native church require, and what remains for us to do? A letter from a valuable Missionary, already mentioned, has very recently reminded us of the advancing years and diminished strength of most of our Missionaries in the island. They are not equal now to the laborious efforts of earlier days, and yet the necessity for active habits has rather increased than diminished. The prevailing insecurity of former years compelled the natives to gather together in fortified villages, just as we find at present in the Yoruba country, where the slave wars, which have prevailed until very recently, have forced the population to congregate in tens of thousands and upwards within large towns,

surrounded by mud walls, while the intervening districts are deserted of inhabitants. But in New Zealand, Christianity has given peace to the land. There is no longer the ambushed war-party, the furious rush, the sudden stroke of death. The pas are deserted, and the inhabitants have spread themselves over the unoccupied districts, and have settled down in scattered parties, as they have found land suited to their purpose. This renders much travelling necessary, and younger men, of more physical power, are needed to carry on the work.

There is another great need in the Maori church which requires to be, as speedily as possible, rectified: we mean the retardation in the development of a native pastorate. It is a remarkable fact, that, where the work of evangelization has advanced to such an extent that nationally the land is Christian, the native pastorate has progressed only so far as the admission of two Christian natives to deacons' orders. We attribute to this much of the spiritual declension which has pained us in New Zealand. It is desirable that native churches and congregations, when raised up, should, as soon as practicable, have assigned to them pastors selected from amongst themselves. To this we observe that Paul's attention was carefully directed. So soon as congregations were formed he proceeded to ordain elders in every city; and justly, for without this, native churches must become dwarfed and stunted. There is no sufficient scope for the development of spiritual gifts and graces. There are those who would defer the ordination of natives until they have succeeded in approximating some to the European standard of intellectual development. But this is not the *matériel* that is needed for the native pastorate. It will not at all answer, that they who hold that office should be too much in advance of their flock. If this be the case, there will be of necessity a want of sympathy. The pastor will be above his people; the people, made painfully conscious of their inferiority, will not identify themselves with one who is so far Anglicised as to be withdrawn from them, and who may, perhaps, possess the mannerism without the condescension of the European Missionary. We are no advocates, therefore, for the retarding of the native pastorate until candidates be obtained who are acquainted with the Scriptures in one or other of the original tongues, and are so conversant with the English language that their examination may be conducted through the medium of that language. The delay is prejudicial to the native churches, and the

result of the delay by no means furnishes a compensation for the disadvantage. We cannot permit ourselves to entertain otherwise than a full conviction, that persons of suitable qualification for the native pastorate are available in all places where any considerable number of native Christians is to be found, provided that the standard of qualification be not raised too high. They have been found to some extent in other fields, and why not in New Zealand? if only, indeed, the point be conceded, that if a man be a gracious man, well versed in his own vernacular Scriptures, apt to teach, who, by service as a catechist, has purchased to himself a good degree, has obtained influence with the seriously-minded members of the flock, and has a good report amongst the people generally, he is a proper person for admission to the native pastorate.

From the indirect testimony on this point which is dispersed throughout the communications of our Missionaries, we cannot but feel assured that suitable elements, from whence a native pastorate might be raised up, are not wanting in that Mission-field—men precisely of the measure of qualification which we have specified, devoid, indeed, of scholastic attainments, but of considerable natural powers, which, under the influence of a gracious heart, they are willing to use for Christ. The Rev. B. Ashwell, of the Middle District, forwarded to us, some few months back, an interesting account of three Christian chiefs,* who maintained for many years a consistent profession before their countrymen, and laboured diligently in their day and generation. They were all engaged in the work of evangelization amongst their countrymen. One of them he describes as a devoted fellow-helper, a man whose consistent conduct, cheerful disposition, sterling uprightness, deep humility, unwearied perseverance in doing good, gained the esteem and love of all who knew him. Nor does he hesitate to say, that, during twenty years of Missionary experience, no brighter display of the grace of God had cheered him in his labours than appeared in the life of this simple-minded believer in Christ, once a New-Zealand cannibal.

We have another and more recent instance brought before us, from the Eastern District, of a man who, for ten years, had acted in the capacity of teacher. By diligence and perseverance he had acquired a very considerable acquaintance with the

Scriptures. Ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, quick in perception, and earnest in application to his studies, he was, at the same time, characterized by a deep-wrought piety and singleness of purpose which showed that his desire for improvement arose from no selfish motive, but from anxiety to be useful to his countrymen. The station where he resided is one which, from various circumstances, has been, on several occasions, left without an European Missionary—at one time, for an entire year. During these intervals the religious instruction of the people devolved entirely on Pita Whakangau. His difficulties in such a position, without orders, and yet in the midst of a professedly Christian people, must have been very great, but he did not prove unequal to the occasion. The regular public services continued to be held, the adult schools and Bible classes were continued, and his energies were wholly given to the improvement of the people. The Missionary of the adjoining district, one who knew him well, mentions these as amongst the chief features of his character—the cleanliness of his person, and comparative neatness of his dress; the order with which he proceeded with his public duties; the superior style of his house and premises; and the commanding respect which he secured from others. Through his influence and exhortations the natives had commenced the erection of a large and substantial church, and much material had been prepared and brought together. During his illness he witnessed its progress with delight, and contributed towards the support of the native workmen. This valuable man was removed by death in the May of last year, his end being, like his life, full of faith and hope. When reminded of what Paul said in the prospect of his speedy departure—2 Tim. iv. 7, 8—his answer was, “Yes, that was Paul’s experience, but he possessed a large measure of the Holy Spirit. All that I, a poor sinner, can do, is to cast myself on the mercy of Christ.” And, later still, when fast sinking in death, he could raise his head above the waters to say, “I cannot speak much, I am so weak: this is all I have to say—Christ alone! Christ alone! Christ alone!”†

Such are some specimens of our New-Zealand Christianity, a few from amongst many. They all laboured for many years, faithfully and zealously, among their countrymen, yet received no ordination to the pastorate. Were they not fitted for it? Wherein consisted their unsuitableness? And

* *Vide* “Church Missionary Gleaner,” April and June 1855.

† *Vide* “Church Missionary Gleaner,” April 1856.

if none sufficient to justify their exclusion can be alleged, why was the office withheld from them? Has the native church suffered no detriment in consequence? We consider that it has to a very large amount indeed, so much so as that it will be difficult to repair it. Had these men been placed in the position for which they were graciously qualified, the influence which they possessed over their countrymen would have been greatly increased, and their usefulness have proved much more extensive. If Pita was enabled to do so much as a lay-teacher, what might he not have effected had he been ordained? Not only would his Christian experience have been available for the comfort of the individual believer, but he would have been in a position to deal more effectually with the national profession which surrounded him—to reduce it to order, to draw forth its energies and capabilities in useful and healthful channels—and in some measure, by the blessing of God, to have preserved his people from being carried away by the new excitements which have deceived so many. Had the European Missionaries been helped by the co-operation of a native pastorate throughout the island, the native church, in passing through its season of dangerous temptation, might have been much less a sufferer than it has proved to be.

Such men are still available. A Missionary of many years' experience bears decided testimony on this subject. After a conversation with his native teacher, he remarks—"We have great reason to be thankful for the help our native teachers afford; and I am of opinion that many of them are far better instructed in the kingdom of heaven upon earth than we are at all times aware of.

"Many conversations I had with William on the road—sixty miles—led me to reflect on these things; for I found that he was sound in religious principles, and well versed in the New Testament and the Catechism of the church. He told me of a conversation that he and some of the Ahipara natives had had with regard to the Apostles' Creed. He said his opinion was, that the creed divided the works of creation and redemption between the Sacred Persons of the Trinity, which some were confused about. He asked me if he was right. I told him, 'Yes.' 'Well,' he said, 'I thought so. I take the words, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth,' to belong to the Father, &c., and so on.'

"My opinion is—that some of our best and well-tried Christian teachers, of fifteen or twenty years' standing, should be or-

dained deacons while we have strength to pursue our work and overlook them, and attend to our work. There should be one ordained native at Whangape immediately. We cannot personally attend to this district more than a very few times in a year; and a native teacher without a salary cannot be expected to attend to the duties required, for those duties would engross all his time. The Whangape district is a fine place to try a native deacon in the ministry. There are a few teachers at Herekino, five miles nearer our settlement; but as they do not attend our meetings but a few times, they are but weak, i.e. they do not visit about. It wants one invested with authority to preach, &c. Himeona is the teacher that I should recommend to be ordained if he would consent, for I have not spoken yet to him on this subject, although I have made it known that I wish him to go to Whangape.

"The Lord's supper ought to be administered in all the respectable chapels in the district, and that every three months. Such is the nature of the times for worldly-mindedness, that our Christian natives are in the utmost danger of falling away unless we can often, both in the word and sacraments, set the Lord before them. New Zealand indeed, at this time, wants Bishops and Missionaries who will feel for the souls of the people, and not in any way seek their own glory, but that of the great Shepherd who has laid down His life for the sheep. Neither bishops, priests, nor deacons, are ordained or consecrated to seek any thing else but the glory of Christ and the salvation of perishing souls; and what is our duty but to lead our people, the sheep of Christ's flock, into green or budding pastures? We, who are witnesses of the state of things, at least in the north of New Zealand, are fully aware that the present state is far from being a healthy one. We are altogether too weak or too short of hands, and a better state of things is needed, i.e. a brotherly and Missionary consultation should take place, and inquiry should be made whether a few of the best of the teachers could not or should not be ordained, &c. May God bless what I have suggested!"

The subject before us is, in all respects, a very serious one. There is one who superintends—"there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal." Of the supreme administration of that Spirit no believer feels

otherwise than assured. All functions and offices are designed to act in compliance with, and in submission to, His directing influence. Just so far as they do so, are they promotive of the true interests of Christ's church, and no further. Every one entrusted with a spiritual office, who is duly impressed with the responsibility of his position, will earnestly desire and pray, that, in the discharge of its functions, he may fulfil the purpose of the Spirit. There is no more important function than the ordaining power. It may be exercised with undue precipitation; and against such an aberration Paul cautions Timothy—"Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure." But there is the other extreme of over caution; or the measurement of qualification may be raised so high, that, except by a forcing process, no native candidate can reach it; and men of Christian character and experience, of sound doctrinal views, of good natural abilities, and commanding influence among their countrymen, be refused on the ground of defective educational attainments. But are these attainments indispensable to the due fulfilment of the pastorate, so that, if destitute of them, the candidate cannot make full proof of his ministry? When engaged in the humble and unobtrusive office of tending his few sheep, might not the native pastor find that these intellectual acquirements, while of no practical benefit to his flock, are a snare to himself? Are they of such vital importance as that a defectiveness on this head necessitates a retardation of the native pastorate? Is it according to the design and intention of the Spirit that it should be so? We cannot think so. He has Himself prepared these elements, and invested them, in all that is essential, with a suitableness for the office. In so doing He has preferred them to the notice and co-operation of the ecclesiastical functionary. Shall this notice be withheld? If, when the Holy Ghost said, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them," the church had procrastinated, and been found unwilling to send them forth, then would its action have been decidedly obstructive to the purpose of the Spirit. If the native churches need, urgently need, a native pastorate, and suitable elements out of which it may be formed have been providentially prepared, which only need a few months' special training in order to become all that can reasonably be required, shall there be delay and hesitation, and that of so protracted a nature, that men—valuable men—are removed by death, without having re-

ceived from the church that special designation which would have given full development to all their gifts and capabilities of being useful? Shall the native student without practical experience, and, as to the realities of life, an untried man, because of a few years of scholastic training, be considered a more suitable candidate for the native pastorate than the tried catechist, who has purchased for himself a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus?

We shall not hesitate to avow our conviction that bishops, and all other functionaries and officers on whom native churches, in this matter of ordination, are dependent, are placed in a position of the most serious responsibility. Humanly speaking, how much is involved in their action! What need have they not to seek the direction of the Spirit, that they may be enabled wisely to discriminate, and resolutely to pursue the right course! We rejoice to find, that, in the Madras diocese, the ordination of candidates to the native pastorate is subjected to no undue restrictions; and that, in the ordination of no fewer than six of the native pastors in connexion with Tinnevely, the examinations necessary to their ordination were all carried on in the vernacular. We trust soon to hear of our West-African churches, in this their day of remarkable opportunity, being strengthened by a similar enlargement of the native pastorate at the hands of Bishop Weeks; and of faithful men on whom the Lord has put honour as lay teachers, notwithstanding their destitution of scholastic attainments, being set apart to the discharge of the ministerial office. Let men of tried Christian character, and of that measure of ability to which we have referred, be ordained in such numbers as may be requisite, and placed in charge of little native flocks, the European Missionary exercising a general superintendence, as the *episcopus* of the Missionary district, and the happy effects of such a movement will soon become perceptible. God will put honour on such humble agency, as if to show that the gospel is not only powerful when preached by the educated and highly-intellectual man, but that He can make it effective to the conversion and edification of souls, when taught by those who have no such pretensions. These native pastors will materially subserve the development of the self-supporting principle. The native Christians will feel the obligation of contributing according to their ability, when their pastor is one from amongst themselves, and not until then. In a word, we believe the native pastorate to be so necessary for the

welfare of the churches, that, seeking out the best materials we can, we must educate them for the work, and in the work; and so expedite, as rapidly as possible, a desideratum which, in some cases, we fear has been unhappily delayed, to the great injury of the native churches. On this important subject we gladly avail ourselves of the following extract from the proceedings* of the General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries—

“The formation and settlement of a native ministry over distinct native churches and congregations is the second† grave question on which the thoughts of the friends of Missions turn. Nearly two generations of converts have passed away since the blessing of God was first poured out on the hearts of many, and the first native church was formed. Several thousands have put on Christ, in a manner which gives credible testimony to their sincerity, and to the reality of the work. From amongst them have appeared not a few men of eminence for their piety and gifts, who have wrought as successful evangelists, and ended their course with joy. The Committees and Directors of Missionary Societies inquire, Why are not such men pastors of the native churches? Why do they not release the Missionary from the local cares which fill his hands? They have not been able to appreciate the value of the answers which have been given in reply, nor to understand the long delay in the organization of native-Christian congregations under officers of their own selection. Much has been said of the feebleness of the piety of the native Christians, of the weakness of their character, of their want of knowledge, and other things incident to an early stage of Christian life. But it does not appear, that, even under the best European superintendence, there is much improvement in these respects. The European Missionary at the end of years makes the same complaints as at the beginning; and finds the people as little prepared to rely upon themselves, or on one another, as on the day he took charge of them. If they were not fit to go alone when he began to be their instructor, they seem as little prepared to walk after years of anxious and most assiduous toil. Now, there is no doubt felt as to the truthfulness of these representations of serious deficiencies in the Christian character of native converts. It may be that closer contact gives them a greater magnitude in the eye of the Missionary than they appear to possess to those who are thousands of miles

away. But, beyond question, there are very large defects to be overcome, if the native church is to become self-reliant, zealous, active in Christ's cause, under the leadership of an indigenous ministry. It is, however, thought, that perhaps some of these defects may be owing to the presence of the European Missionary; that with a native pastorate there would be greater freedom of growth, more expansion of mind, more active personal interest in the welfare of the body, and likewise of the world around. The habit of dependence is itself a cause and perpetuator of weakness. While the dependent relation lasts between the Missionary and his people, he will look in vain for the development of a self-reliant energy. Without, then, depreciating the greatness of the difficulties in the way of the formation of a native pastorate over native churches, or undervaluing the labours of the Missionary as pastor, it seems to the Directors and Committees of Missionary Societies to be generally the wiser course to establish, at the earliest practicable moment, distinct congregations, each having its own native minister regularly appointed thereto; in this respect, as in the former, following closely in apostolic steps.”

The subject of the native pastorate is felt to be one of vital importance to the native churches, and requiring to be disembarrassed of all needless obstructions, that its development may go forward with that measure of blessing which God is pleased to bestow. We have before us the views and feelings of other Missionary Societies. The deputation of the American Baptist Board, on the occasion of their late visit to the interesting Missions among the Karens, have thus expressed themselves—

“Another inquiry had reference to a native pastorate for the churches. It was stated that there are in all Burmah about one hundred and twenty native preachers, Karen and Burmese, besides eleven ordained pastors. Of the unordained preachers, more than one hundred are really the acting pastors of as many churches. In a report adopted by the Convention it is said of these assistants, ‘They are tried men; they have met persecution, and have not quailed; they have been reviled from day to day, and have not fainted; they have been subjected to stripes and imprisonments; the naked sword has been held over them; but all in vain. These men preach with power and acceptance, and have been pioneers in your Missions, harbingers of the gospel of peace. Many of them are even now in charge of churches which may have been raised up through their instrumentality, feeding them, and guiding them onward in the path of life; while others are raising up

* A Paper by E. B. Underhill, Esq.

† The first Mr. Underhill had stated to be, the probability “that the Missionary character is in some measure lost in the numerous avocations of present Missionary life.”

new ones, from the converts around them, waiting for the Missionary to come and set in order the things that remain.' In view of such testimony to the worth of so many assistants, the deputation expressed concern that no more than eleven out of one hundred and thirty should have received ordination. They maintained, that, while the duty of cautious action was imperative, there could be no warrant in Scripture or in reason for withholding ordination so long as virtually to amount to a prohibition of it. Such a course was held to be a departure from the simplicity of the New-Testament order, differing from the practice which prevailed in the earlier history of the Missions, and contrary to the usage of the churches at home, as tending to invest the Missionary, the ordained pastor, and the ordinances themselves, with a character unknown to the apostles, and prejudicial to the growth and strength of a native ministry and the native churches. The prudential considerations which had induced the withholding of ordination were fully stated and appreciated; but the report, as finally adopted by the Convention, recommends that native pastors be ordained over the churches as fast as 'suitable men, qualified as the Scriptures demand, are raised up.'"

The Ahmednuggur Mission, in connexion with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, has modified its action so as to expedite the development of a native pastorate.

"Formerly the Missionary at each station—or the oldest Missionary, if more than one resided at a place—was the pastor of the church at that station, and all the converts in the adjacent villages belonged to that church. Now we have different churches, wherever there seems to be a call for them; and we intend to place a native pastor over each church, as fast as we can prepare them for the pastoral office. Two churches were formed in Ahmednuggur in December 1854, and two native pastors were ordained over them. In the villages of Shingvay and Wadaley, fourteen and forty miles distant from Ahmednuggur, two churches were formed in

February last [1855], and native catechists were placed in charge of them. The Missionary acts as pastor of these churches, until native pastors can be obtained.

"The advantages of this arrangement are very great. The native pastor has the responsibility of the instruction of his flock, and of introducing new members to the church, as well as the administration of discipline, and it removes a great load from the Missionary. He can assist the pastor, and can offer his advice when necessary; but the responsibility rests where it ought—on the native pastor, and the native members of the church. Heretofore, we have been afraid to put so great a responsibility on the shoulders of our native brethren; but the actual working of the system, since we have introduced this new plan, has shown us that our fears were groundless.

"The Missionary now, instead of being the pastor of a particular church, directs his attention to the formation of new churches, and the raising up of pastors and catechists and teachers for the instruction of churches and congregations already gathered, and the collection of new congregations. The whole time of the Missionary is occupied in preaching the gospel, and in preparing native converts for this work. During the cold season he devotes nearly his whole time to preaching in the villages in the vicinity of his station, going particularly to those villages where Christians reside, or where some interest has been manifested, and endeavouring to extend this interest, to collect new congregations, and to establish new churches as far and as fast as possible."

We cannot pursue this subject further at the present time. We conclude with the expression of a fervent prayer, that the Lord may be pleased to revive His work in the hearts of our Maori Christians, and suggest to the Committee of our own Society, and to all who are charged with responsibility in so weighty a matter, such measures as may be most conducive to the recovery and consolidation of Christian truth throughout New Zealand.

ABYSSINIA.

(Continuation of Dr. Krapf's journal.)

Coptic Service at Sennar. Facilities for Missionary action in these countries afforded by Egyptian rule, and rendered available by Romanists to their own purposes. The town of Wad Medina. Formation of small Coptic settlements. Departure from Wad Medina. Intense heat. Chartum, on the confluence of the Blue and White rivers. German Romanist Missionaries, sustained by the Mary's Association at Vienna. Branch Stations on the upper course of the White river, amongst the Bari and the Kiiks. Object of the Chartum Mission. Extensive Vocabulary of the Bari and other languages prepared by the German Romanists. Dr. Krapf's illness. The river Sobat a considerable tributary of the White river. Tribes on the White river.

"June 1—We went to see the Coptic church | chapel at Sennar, by the permission of the and service. The Copts have lately built a | pasha. We were utterly displeased at the

mechanism, noise, and nonsensical ceremonies performed by the priests. There was no end of bowing, offering incense, kindling candles, &c.—all outward formalism, which shows the want of true spirituality inside the heart. The priests read part of the service in Arabic, and part in Coptic, in which latter language they had a very handsome copy of the gospel. They read the Coptic text, but understand not a word of it, as the priests themselves told me. The present Copts are very desirous of restoring the Coptic language, at least of writing Arabic with Coptic letters. The komos Theodoros asked me why no Missionary, like Mr. Lieder, came to Sennar to establish a school. He added, 'We are as ignorant as donkeys, but you must send us a teacher to this place.' I had many pleasing conversations with this friendly priest. He has in his school only one Arabic Bible, which is nearly worn out and torn to pieces. In order not to lose the contents of the torn pages, he has written the text on writing paper. We promised to send him some Bibles from Cairo, through Mr. Lieder, which pleased the komos very much. I trust Mr. Lieder will send him the Bibles and some tracts. He has 'Robinson Crusoe,' and he asked whether its contents were true or fictitious.

"June 2—Departed from Sennar, where the heat is excessive, day and night. But we had scarcely travelled a mile, when we observed that our camels were too weak for the journey. The komos had the kindness to procure other camels for us from a friend on the road. He accompanied us to some distance from Sennar. I had frequent opportunities of witnessing the great respect which even Mahomedans have toward him. Kindness and generosity are the only weapons of which the Copts can make use, and with which they can secure their existence in this distant Mahomedan country. To the southwest of Sennar we saw a mountain, to which it is only a day's journey, as the komos said. The remnants of a Christian church having been there formerly are still visible, according to his information. The mountain is near the White River. No doubt Christianity was, in the flourish of the Abyssinian empire, spread over the greater part of the level peninsula which extends between the Blue and White Rivers as far as to Chartum, where there is the junction of these rivers; but the encroaching flood of Mahomedanism has swept away Christianity in that quarter by the guilt of the Abyssinian Christians, who lost their salt, and therefore were trodden down, or forced

to retreat to the Abyssinian mountains. I should not be surprised, if, among the countless pagan tribes to the south of Sennar, some Christian remnants should be found, as there are some in the midst of the Galla countries. And who knows whether the present king of Abyssinia has not been raised by Providence to open the way to those secluded Christians? The friends of Missions should therefore remember those Nilotic peninsular countries in their prayers, and plans should be concerted to direct Missionary operations towards those dark regions; especially as the Romanists are already on the march and field. The Romanists are more aware than the Protestants of the vast importance attached to a Mission located on the fountain-heads of the Blue and White Rivers, and they shun no trouble and expense in conquering those countries for the worship of their creature-goddess, the Virgin Mary.

"I have forgotten to mention, that, on our way from Wechne to Matamma, we passed by a place where a Christian church stood in the last century.

"I cannot but think that the Lord will overrule the schemes of the Egyptian government—which opened these peninsula countries to the access of Europeans—for higher purposes. Mahommed Ali's intention in conquering those countries in 1825 was to obtain gold and slaves, whom he made soldiers; and he succeeded in capturing 4000 slaves on his first expedition to Fasókli and beyond. Should not these outrages committed against defenceless nations be healed and washed off by the introduction of the gospel, which Christian Missionaries should carry to those regions, with the facilities which Egyptian rule affords them in travelling everywhere? I think it my bounden duty to submit this weighty matter to the serious consideration of the Missionary Societies at home, and, above all, to the Church Missionary Society in England.

"June 3—We started about four o'clock in the morning, and rested about noon on the bank of the Blue River. The heat was excessive. Our road was level, but sometimes wooded. In the evening we encamped in the village Wasalié.

"June 4—Early departure from Wasalié. About nine o'clock we passed by the market of the village Surriba, where camels', bullocks', and goats' meat was exposed for sale. At noon we arrived at Wad Medina, which appears to be a larger town than Sennar. The houses are of the same construction as at Sennar: the language also is Arabic. We took up our abode with the Copt Abd-el-

Kedus, a scribe of the Egyptian government. There are Coptic scribes at all the principal places of the Egyptian territory. Wherever such a scribe resides, and gets a little income and influence, he induces some of his friends and relatives in Egypt to settle around him, and to carry on some trade. By this means a small Coptic-Christian settlement is formed, a church is built, and a priest engaged. The Copts have now permission to build churches wherever they like. The present Pasha Said has given them full permission. At Keneh, a town of Upper Egypt, where the Mahomedans prevented the Copts from building a church, his highness the pasha has given orders to the kadi that he must rebuild the church at the expense of the population, as often as the Mahomedan fanatics should venture to demolish it.

"Who knows whether or not these small beginnings of even nominal Christianity, scattered throughout the Egyptian territory, are calculated by Providence to produce great results in behalf of the Mahomedans and heathen? Suppose a revival of vital Christianity takes place among the Copts, as there is every appearance that it will happen under God, would not these scattered Christian settlements be as so many light-points or beacons for the spread of the gospel? We can clearly see how the Lord is at present preparing great things by small means, and how He puts His footsteps upon every quarter of the globe. I was not aware of these preparations before I visited these countries; but thus the Lord does many things among the nations without our knowing His plans, and the progress of their development. We can clearly see how He will bring the world between a concentric fire, which will cause Satan to go to the great pit, and to seduce the nations no more.

"June 5—We called upon the governor of Wad Medina, who is a friendly Turk. Concerning a boat for Chartum—about which we asked him—we were disappointed, as at Sennar. The governor said that there was none at present, and that he advised us to go by land, if we did not like to wait for a week or two.

"In the afternoon a tremendous thunderstorm broke loose upon the town. A female slave, coming from the market-place, was killed by lightning, and, at the same time, a boy, who played with the loaded musket of a soldier mounting guard, killed a colonel by its explosion.

"As at Sennar, so also at Wad Medina, we found the Copts hard drinkers of brandy. There was one priest named Basilios, who had some time ago arrived from Abyssinia, and who was collecting money for the build-

ing of the Coptic patriarch's college at Cairo. This man was tipsy every evening, and talked very foolish things.

"June 6—We started from Wad Medina in the afternoon. Although we started about four o'clock P.M., yet the heat was still so great that it gave me great pain in the head. In the evening we lodged in a house, in the village Dengai, which was expressly built for the accommodation of travellers. The people supplied us with water and some food. The priest Basilios, who went with us to Chartum, became troublesome to us, as he commanded the natives like a king, and told them that he was ordered by the governor of Wad Medina to be our dragoman, and to convey us to Chartum, which was not true. He is a fine specimen of Oriental priestly cunningness. At Wad Medina he had lived twenty-five days at the expense of the Copts. Whatever food, &c., he desired, his co-religionists were to comply with.

"June 7—We departed from Dengai at four o'clock in the morning, and travelled till ten o'clock A.M., when we halted at Ot-el-fatni, a village on our road. The heat and samum-like wind were intolerable. The rush of wind lasted only for a few minutes, but it was as hot as if it issued from an immense furnace. I had never in my life experienced such a heat. I once felt as if the nerves of my brain were palsied. At four o'clock P.M. we started again, and travelled till eight o'clock, when we encamped in the village Mot Ferün. There are many villages along the Blue River, and a good deal of durra is cultivated.

"June 8—We departed at two o'clock in the morning, and rested in the village Kamnin from ten A.M. till four o'clock P.M., as the heat and sandy wind did not allow us to travel much in the daytime. We longed most anxiously for the termination of our journey. The great heat is owing to the approach of the rainy season, when the temperature will become cooler in this region. We are travelling just at the hottest time of the year, when even the natives dislike journeying. At four o'clock P.M. we continued our march till nightfall, when we encamped at the village El-durábi. The country through which we travelled is as smooth and level as a table, but we seldom saw a tree or any thing green. Towards the west there is a sandy desert.

"June 9—The wind was again very hot, carrying clouds of sand with it, which renders travelling most troublesome.

"June 10—We started early from the village Matadib, where we had passed the night. But after sunrise the heat became soon so power-

ful, that we were compelled to halt in the village Gedid. As we were told that there was no water to be found between Gedid and Chartum, and as we had to travel at a considerable distance from the Blue River, we resolved upon passing the day and the ensuing night at Gedid. Basilios was again most troublesome to us. In a fit of passion he struck the chief of the village, demanding a sheep from him gratis. When the chief brought the sheep we returned it immediately, saying that we had nothing to do with the priest, who had demanded it on his own responsibility, and not by orders given by our party. Basilios afterwards boasted of his deed, saying that this was the way in which these slaves and dogs must be treated and spoken to, else they would slight the travellers. But we expressed our displeasure at such treatment, and only wished to get rid of the priestly savage as soon as possible. His rude conduct towards the natives reminded us of the soldier whom the kashif of Doka had given us as a janissary and guide from Doka to El-gadarif. One morning, when we were on the road, the soldier went to a village to demand a bowl of milk for us from a native. When he refused the demand, the soldier unceremoniously gave him a flash in his face, which he took quietly, and went instantly to fetch the desired object. This is Turkish rule in these countries; but no Abyssinian soldier could do so with impunity in his country, nor could the Turks dare to treat the Barábra in this manner, as I shall mention in the sequel.

"June 11—Last night, when we were sleeping in the open air, a cold and sandy wind rushed on a sudden upon us, with such force that we had not time to wrap our bedding together. The consequence was, that I caught cold, which laid the foundation of the fever which broke out at Chartum, where we arrived about noon. The Austrian vice-consul, Mr. Bender, received us kindly, and offered us a lodging, which we accepted thankfully. Thus far the Lord had helped us on our long journey. The town of Chartum is situated on the confluence of the Blue and White Rivers. It was commenced at the time when the pasha of Egypt conquered these countries. It may contain about 20,000 inhabitants. In it the governor of Sudan has his seat. He has the rank of a pasha, and he commands all the civil and military officers of the Egyptian government in these regions. In fact, he is the greatest person after the pasha, being the ruler of Candia, Egypt, Nubia, and Sudan.

"June 12—We called upon the German

Roman-Catholic Missionaries, Messrs. Kirchner and Gosner, who received us very politely. Mr. Gosner suffered from fever. Mr. Kirchner had the kindness to show us their extensive garden, which the Missionaries' labourers have laid out and cultivated with various trees and many tropical plants. It is watered from the Blue River, and surrounded with a wall. Mr. Kirchner also showed us their chapel and the school, in which about thirty-five boys, gathered from various inland tribes, are instructed. Many have been redeemed from slavery. After instruction the boys will be sent back to their countries, if possible. Mr. Kirchner told us that about ten Missionaries have died since the commencement of the Mission—I believe in 1845—notwithstanding all the European comforts which the Missionaries possess in abundance. The Mission is assisted by workmen, as masons, carpenters, &c., who enjoy better health than the Missionaries, who live too much a sedentary life, and who have too good food, and little exercise, as one of the workmen told us. The mechanics are chiefly Hungarians, who, having compromised themselves in 1848, were compelled to leave the Austrian dominions. At present an extensive and massive Mission house of stone is building, with two stories. This house, as Mr Kirchner said, will serve at the same time as a little fortress in case of any attack being made by the tribes surrounding Chartum on the banks of the White and Blue Rivers. The Missionaries expect just now the arrival of four additional priests and four laymen from Europe: also a number of nuns and sisters of charity will arrive as soon as the house shall be finished. The Mission is conducted and supported by the Mary's Association at Vienna, and the Missionaries are chiefly Germans from Austria, Tyrol, and Bavaria, mixed up with a few Italians. The Chartum Mission is the central station in behalf of the Missions located on the upper course of the White River, where the Romanists have a station in the Bari country, 4° north from the equator, and a second station among the Kika, 7° north.* In fact, the Chartum Mission has only been established, and is maintained, in order to keep up the communication between Europe and the inner-African Missions, and on account of the Missions contemplated for Abyssinia, Senar, and the countries beyond the sources of the Blue River. In Chartum itself the Missionaries can do very little, as the inhabitants are Mahommedans, the community of the

* Vide our Volume for 1852, pp. 83—86, for notices of the Kiks and the Bari.

Copts excepted, who have a church and bishop of their own, and who dislike the Romanists, as is also the case with the Mahomedans, who are particularly averse to the Romish pictures, and to their worship of the saints. Many pious people in Austria send money for the special purpose of liberating slave boys, who are to be instructed in the Roman-Catholic religion, and to be used afterwards as teachers of their countrymen in their interior.

"Mr. Kirchner had the kindness to show me an extensive vocabulary of the Bari language, and also a vocabulary comparing about twelve languages spoken along the banks of the White River. Several of these languages are related to each other. From the comparison, I found that the Bari language does not belong to the great South-African family of languages. But it appeared to me that it approaches to the Wakuafi language, of which I printed a vocabulary in 1854. The Missionaries alluded to the great difficulties which harass the first European who endeavours to pick up a new language from the slaves brought from the interior. As I have made the same experience in this matter I could fully agree with them in this point.

"Mr. Kirchner also mentioned, that in cases of sickness the Missionaries never leave their stations to recruit their health in foreign countries, but prefer rather dying on their field of operation, which, I believe, has been the case in some instances; but I myself remember a Romish priest from Illyria who had been ill at Chartum, and who went to Europe with me on board the Austrian steamer in 1853.*

"In the evening we were called upon by Wolda Kiros, the Abyssinian ambassador,

* "Church Missionary Intelligencer," Sept. 1854, p 204.

whom Theodoros, the king of Abyssinia, had sent with presents, consisting of mules, of a shield and lance, to the Pasha of Chartum.

"June 13—I had a renewed attack of fever, which gave me the presentiment of fatal issue, and caused me to send for Mr. Penet, the French physician of the pasha's troops. This amiable and experienced gentleman has been for many years at Chartum. Also Mr. Petherick, the English consular agent, called upon us. He is a merchant, and has commercial establishments at Chartum and in the province of Kordofan. He intends to go up the White River as far as possible. His boat has lately been up the river Sobat in quest of ivory. This river is a considerable tributary to the White River. It rises somewhere about Enarea or Caffa. The sailors met with Galla. Mr. Petherick encouraged me very much to go up the White River with him in October next, when the climate is cool, the river full of water, and the wind blows from the north, so that the voyage can be made in fifteen or twenty days to the Bari country. He intends to examine first the Baher-el-Ghasal, which is a western tributary of the White River. But what can I do in my present sickness, and without the Committee's permission relative to this undertaking? It appears, from the account of the sailors, that the tribes residing on the White River cultivate Turkish, hirse, and have pastoral pursuits like the Wanika, Wakamba, and other South-African tribes. Boats for ascending the White River may be hired at Chartum at a reasonable price. The Romish Missionaries have boats of their own; and it has happened that, with a fair wind, they have reached Chartum in nine days after having left the Bari land.

"June 14--18—Attacks of fever, and apprehensions of my succumbing to it.

(To be continued.)

VANCOUVER'S ISLAND.

WHEREVER man exists in isolation from Missionary effort, there our attention needs to be directed. Our Divine Master came to seek and save that which was lost. His example is for our imitation. There are neglected portions of the human race for whose evangelization no exertions have yet been initiated. While others are taken up, they appear to be strangely passed over, and are buried in obscurity and forgetfulness. Nor can this omission be always traced to their inaccessibility, or the existence of other extraordinary difficulties; for nations more remote, and presenting inferior facilities for communication,

have been visited. The coasts of Labrador have been reached, the fiords of Greenland penetrated, by Missionary enterprise. The heats of the tropics, as well as the rigour of the arctic regions, have been endured in the earnest desire to communicate that gospel which alone can minister help, if the help to be afforded is to be commensurate with the necessities of man.

Now, we feel assured that all efforts which have for their object the dissemination of gospel truth are under providential superintendence, and that the localities first occupied will eventually prove to have been the best

selected, and the most fitted, as the work expands, to exercise an important and widely-extended influence. Still, it is not the purpose of God that other sections should be lost sight of, for the obligation to disseminate the gospel is as wide as the circle of humanity; and therefore, when, amidst the thronging multitudes of the destitute and helpless, some are overlooked, and Christian sympathy is in danger of concentrating itself too exclusively on those who occupy the foremost rank, we cannot but consider it providential when any circumstance occurs which bids us look further than we have yet done, and remember that there are those who as yet have had no share in the great work of evangelization.

A naval officer, in a memorandum which we introduce, directs our attention to one such locality. His official duties have rendered him conversant with Vancouver's Island, and its adjacent coasts, and the spiritual destitution of these regions has much impressed him. He has drawn up some brief notices of these countries, in the hope that in some quarter sympathy may be elicited, and Missionary work commenced by some section of the Christian church. The hands of our own Society are full, the occupation of new and important points having been just decided upon — such as Constantinople, Mooltan, &c., besides the recently-annexed kingdom of Oude, where the commencement of a Mission is contemplated, if men can be procured—but such assistance as lies within our power we gladly render, by giving this appeal a place in the pages of our periodical.

"The country within which the proposed Mission is designed to operate extends from about the 48° of north latitude to 55°; and from the Rocky Mountains on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west. It includes several beautiful and fertile islands adjoining the mainland, of which the largest, most important, and most populous, is Vancouver's, being about 290 miles in length and 55 in its average breadth.

"The Government, impressed with a sense of its great commercial, and its growing political, importance, combining also great advantages as a naval station, erected it into a colony in 1838, and gave to the Hudson's Bay Company a charter, conferring on them certain privileges on condition of their carrying into effect the intentions of the Government. The climate of this island is more genial than that of England; its soil is more productive; and its coasts abound with the finest fish. It contains, too, the only safe harbours between the 49° north latitude and San Francisco; and there have been disco-

vered lately fields of fine coal of immense extent, from which the entire coast of the Pacific, and the steamers trading there, can be supplied. What has been stated with regard to these natural advantages of Vancouver's Island applies generally to the mainland.

"The seat of the Colonial Government is at Fort Victoria, where there is a chaplain, the only Protestant minister within the limits of the above-mentioned territories. About three years since a Roman-Catholic bishop, a British subject, arrived at the same place, accompanied by a staff of Jesuit priests, and purchased a site for a cathedral there. Hitherto their success has been very doubtful. It is difficult to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the total amount of the native population: a mean, however, between the highest and lowest estimates gives 60,000, a result probably not far from the truth. It is a fact well calculated to arrest the attention, and to enlist in behalf of the proposed Mission the active sympathies, of every sincere Christian, that this vast number of our fellow-subjects have remained in a state of heathen darkness and complete barbarism ever since the discovery and partial surveys of their coasts by Vancouver in 1792—1794; and that no effort has yet been made for their moral or spiritual improvement, although, during the last forty years, a most lucrative trade has been carried on with them by our fellow-countrymen. We would most earnestly call upon all who have themselves learned to value the blessings of the gospel, to assist 'in rolling away' this reproach. The field is a most promising one. Some naval officers, who, in the discharge of their professional duties, have lately visited these regions, have been most favourably impressed with the highly-intelligent character of the natives; and, struck by their manly bearing, and a physical appearance fully equal to that of the English, whom they also resemble in the fairness of their complexion, and having their compassion excited by their total destitution of Christian and moral instruction, they feel it to be their duty to endeavour to introduce among them the knowledge of the gospel of Christ, under the conviction that it would prove the surest and most fruitful source of social improvement and civilization, as well as of spiritual blessings infinitely more valuable, and would be found the only effectual antidote to the contaminating vices which a rapidly-increasing trade, especially with California and Oregon, is bringing in its train.

"There is much in the character of the natives to encourage Missionary effort. They are

not idolaters: they believe in the existence of two great Spirits—the one benevolent, and the other malignant; and in two separate places of reward and punishment in another world. They are by no means bigoted. They manifesta great desire and aptitude to acquire the knowledge and arts of civilized life; and although they are addicted to some of the vices generally prevalent amongst savages, they yet possess some virtues rarely displayed by them. Some of the servants of the Hudson's-Bay Company, who have married native women, bear the highest testimony to their characters as wives and mothers, and to the manner in which they fulfil all their domestic relationships. Drunkenness was almost wholly unknown, until lately introduced by increasing intercourse with Europeans; but it is now spreading with rapid and destructive effect among the tribes. Loss of chastity in females was considered an indelible disgrace to the family in which it occurred, and was consequently uncommon; but here, again, European influence has made itself felt, and this is now far from being the case. Persons who are acquainted both with this people and with the New Zealanders, are of opinion that the former are mentally and physically equal, if not superior, to the latter; and that, were like measures taken to convert and civilize them, they would be attended by similarly happy results. As to the medium of communication, although the number and variety of languages is very great, yet the necessities of trade have given rise to a *patois* generally understood, and easily acquired, which might be made available for Missionary purposes, at least as far as oral teaching is concerned.

"The expense of establishing and supporting a Mission would not, it is hoped, prove large. Fish and game are extremely cheap. Fuel, both coal and wood, is cheap and abundant. It is proposed that the first Missionary station should be at Fort Simpson, on the mainland, as it offers many advantages for prosecuting the objects of the Mission. There the Missionaries would enjoy the protection, and, it is hoped, the cordial co-operation, of the Hudson's-Bay Company; and, in return, the Company's servants would receive the benefit of the ministrations of the members of the Missions. The position is central to all the most populous villages; and here, in the spring of each year, a kind of great national fair is held, where the tribes from the most distant parts of the coast and interior assemble, to the num-

ber of about 15,000, and receive the commodities of the Company in exchange for the skins collected during the preceding season. On these occasions valuable opportunities would be afforded to the Missionaries of conversing with the natives, and giving them religious instruction. Here, too, a school might be opened for the native children, where they would receive an industrial as well as religious and secular education, and be secluded from the prejudicial influence of their adult relatives."

Vancouver's Island is evidently a very important appendage of the British crown. On this and the adjoining coasts are to be found the only harbours which Great Britain possesses on the shores of the great Pacific. But there are combined many and great advantages—fine harbour, luxuriant and valuable timber, cultivable land, and coal in such abundance, that H. M. S. "Cormorant," in 1846, shipped in three days sixty-two tons, at a cost of not more than four shillings a ton. Vancouver's Island might now be yielding a large amount of agricultural produce, which, transhipped by British steamers, would have found a ready market on the Californian coast. "The sources of prosperity in California are probably temporary: those in Vancouver's Island permanent. They depend, for the most part, on its geographical position, on its climate, suited to the English constitution and habits, its harbours, its soil, its mineral resources; upon its being the nearest point on the coast to the headwaters of the Saskatchewan river, and therefore the terminus of the great route which it would be the wisdom, and will, ere long, be the task of Great Britain to establish across the continent of North America, connecting the oceans that wash its opposite shores."

Hitherto our possession of this country has yielded to the aboriginal tribes, the native inhabitants, thus entrusted to our care, no benefit. New vices have been introduced, the fire-water has infatuated the Indian, and the race has deteriorated and fearfully diminished. Still, as will be seen from the above memorandum, a stock remains, which, under the fostering influences of pure Christianity, again developing itself, is capable, when engrafted with Christian principle, of reproducing a numerous and valuable population, as valuable as the Christianized Maories are found to be in the far-off islands of New Zealand.

NATIVE CHURCHES IN TINNEVELLY.

In our last Number we considered the importance of the native churches and congregations which have been given to us in various parts of the heathen world, and the care which should be taken so to promote their growth and consolidation, as that they may afford to the heathen around just exemplifications of what the gospel is capable of effecting; presenting, in this respect, as marked a contrast as the garden won from the wilderness does to the uncultivated ground. At Mengnapuram, in the Tinnevelly district, such a contrast may be found. The garden around the Missionary bungalow is fruitful and well cultivated. There flourish vegetables and flowers, trees and fruits, of superior quality: the rose and the jessamine are in their beauty, the cocoa-nut tree in all its gracefulness, and the plantain, grape, and pine-apple, yield their delicious flavour to the taste. Around is the desert of sand from which the little Eden has been reclaimed, in its natural state, barren and desolate, the *locale* of palmyra trees, castor-oil shrubs, and thorn bushes. How was the change accomplished? The garden is under continual irrigation. Wells have been opened, and water poured forth in every direction, until the deep sand has ceased to be *Sāba mām*—soil under a curse. Such is the aspect which Christian churches should present. "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed. Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard, spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices." But, that they may be such, there must be "a fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon;" nor should painstaking diligence be wanting on our part to ensure the continuance of those fertilizing influences on which spiritual life and fruitfulness are dependent.

The improved aspect of our Tinnevelly churches suffices to show that faithful and persevering labours will not fail to carry with them a rich blessing from on high, and that, if we open the wells and provide the necessary means and agencies, the living waters will not be found wanting.

Let us glance briefly at the past history of the Tinnevelly church, that we may be better enabled to appreciate its present state. Romanism introduced itself into the province so early as the 16th century; and Xavier, contenting himself with such converts as might be collected without any knowledge of the lan-

guage on his part, or of Christianity on theirs, baptized some thousands. There are at present about 45,000 in the province who profess to be children of the church of Rome. Upwards of two hundred years after, Swartz visited Palamcottah, where a commencement of labour had been made by native priests and catechists from the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, and baptized his first convert, the Brahmini woman Clorinda. Others were soon added, and a neat but substantial church within the fort remains to this day as a memorial of these first Christians, by whom it was erected. The little flock gradually increased, until, numbering about 160 persons, it was placed, in 1785, under the charge of the native catechist, Sattianadhen. The importance of using this as a centre for more extended operations became apparent, and Jænické, the first European Missionary, after two years' residence with Swartz, well occupied in the acquisition of the Tamil language, reached Palamcottah in 1790. There the work had so much increased that it was decided to ordain Sattianadhen as native pastor. His qualifications, indeed, as described by Swartz, rendered him a very eligible candidate. "I cannot but esteem," so writes the apostolic Missionary of South India, "this native teacher higher than myself. He has a peculiar talent in conversing with his countrymen. His whole deportment evinces clearly the integrity of his heart. His humble, disinterested, and believing walk has been made so evident to me and others, that I may say with truth I never met with his equal among the natives of this country. His love to Christ, and his desire to be useful to his countrymen, are quite apparent. His gifts in preaching afford universal satisfaction. His love to the poor is extraordinary; and it is often inconceivable to me how he can manage to subsist on his scanty stipend—three star pagodas per month—and yet do so much good. His management of his children is excellent, and he understands how to set a good example to his own house." The remarks of the Christian-Knowledge Society, on publishing the account of the ordination, are well worthy of remembrance—"How long it may be in the power of the Society to maintain Missionaries, how long the fluctuations in the affairs of this world will afford duration to the Mission itself, is beyond our calculation; but if we wish to establish the gospel in India, we ought to look beyond the casualties of war or the revolution of empires: we ought, in time, to give the natives a church of their own, independent

of our support; we ought to have suffragan bishops in the country, who might ordain deacons and priests, and secure a regular succession of truly apostolical pastors, even if all communication with their parent church should be annihilated." So strong was the conviction that existed, even at that early period, as to the necessity for a native pastorate: and now that the need has so vastly increased, with what earnestness and undelaying diligence ought we not to avail ourselves of the opportunities which present themselves in the various Presidencies, to develop a pastorate sufficiently numerous to supply the wants of the native churches and congregations that are to be found dispersed over the peninsula of India. Wherever a sufficient congregation has been collected, a native pastor ought to be ordained to the charge of it. Our Missionaries in the Punjab have shown great promptitude in this respect, in having the Sikh catechist Daoud at once ordained to the pastoral charge of the native congregation at Amritsar. And while we lament that the expansion of the Christian flock, in various places throughout North India which might be enumerated, has been so slow, we should remember that, with the single exception to which we have referred, there is not one native pastor to be found throughout the entire range of the Bengal Presidency, and that the native flocks have been detained under the exclusive ministrations of European Missionaries. It is a question well worthy of consideration, whether this deficiency has not exercised an injurious influence; whether energy of every kind, intellectual and spiritual, has not been repressed; a weak and dependent state of mind unhappily fostered; and the native Christians kept so long in leading-strings, that they seem to consider themselves incapable of rising beyond the condition of childhood.

In consequence of Jænické's ill-health, Sattianadhen was principally occupied in itinerating labours; and it is interesting to observe that the results were of a character precisely similar to those which have been consequent on the more recent efforts of our own Missionaries. Whole villages, singularly moved to a conviction of the profitlessness of idolatry, and the superiority of the Christian faith, broke their idols and buried them deep in the ground, the temples being converted into Christian churches, where the people were instructed and baptized. Gerické, Jænické's successor, was overpowered with the numerous applications, from villages in different directions, soliciting his visits. In one journey, accomplished in 1802, from the

Mysore country to Tinnevely, he baptized more than 1300 persons; and, "after his departure, the native teachers formed no less than 18 new congregations, and instructed and baptized 2700, making together about 4000 souls."* This large accession was followed, as in the history of our own Tinnevely Mission, by a persecution from the influential heathen, of such severity, that, in the language of one from amongst the troubled flocks, "were it not for the fear of hell and the hope of heaven, such are our sufferings that we should all throw ourselves into the sea." Yet, infantile as was their Christianity, and severe the fiery ordeal to which it was subjected, not one of these converts appears to have apostatized.

Thus the work continued to expand; and had the home supplies been co-equally sustained, it might have become firm and established. But just at this interesting period of rapid growth, when the most careful attention is requisite, they became enfeebled, and the Mission was prematurely thrown on its own resources. Denmark, amidst political uncertainties, had withdrawn itself from the prosecution of the Missionary work, and the charge of the Danish Missions had devolved on the Christian-Knowledge Society, and, for more than a century, that Society had "supported several Missions in India, besides liberally contributing to the Danish Mission at Tranquebar. But this was not professedly the object of its institution;" nor could it with propriety continue to apportion one-tenth of its average income of 10,000*l.* to the support of an undertaking which, although important and interesting, did not properly belong to it. There was, however, a greater difficulty than that of pecuniary means—the impossibility of procuring European labourers. A strong disinclination existed on the part of Europeans in India to the continued prosecution of Missionary effort in that country. Many at home were similarly prejudiced; and the contest ran high between those who wished to open wider the door of entrance to Missionaries, and such as endeavoured altogether to exclude them. But if even now, when the obligation to carry on the work of evangelization is so much better understood, and the Missionary spirit deepened and strengthened throughout the land; when the fears which had been entertained, that attempts to convert the natives of India would be injurious to the interests of England, have proved so entirely groundless; we nevertheless experience so great difficulty in obtaining such an amount

* Hough's "Christianity in India," vol. iii. p. 678.

of Missionary reinforcement as may suffice to support the existing circle of our work, what must have been the state of things in those days, when the public mind was either hostile, or at least indifferent, to Missionary operations? Can we be surprised that the supply of labourers failed at the very moment when their continued aid was most necessary, and that, the support on which they had hitherto depended being prematurely withdrawn, these interesting Missions declined? Advancing years rendered Sattianadhen unequal to the measure of work which he had hitherto discharged with such effectiveness. There was no prospect of aid from Europe. Under these circumstances, the Christian-Knowledge Society undertaking to maintain them, four native catechists were admitted, at Tanjore, to Lutheran orders, on March 17th, 1810, one of whom was sent to Palamcottah.

In the autumn of 1816 the Rev. J. Hough, under God the great instrument of reviving the work in Tinnevelly, was appointed chaplain at Palamcottah, where he found one of these native pastors, Abraham, engaged in the superintendence of 3100 souls, dispersed in no less than sixty-three places, their numbers, in different localities, varying from two individuals to between 400 and 500. They were, indeed, in a languishing condition. The schools, few in number, without any regular teacher, were conducted by catechists, who had other and pressing duties to discharge. "There were very few books, either for the schools or congregations. A Tamil Testament was preserved here and there in the chapel; but very rarely was such a treasure found in the hand of an individual. The scholars were taught to read out of such cadjan writings, or native compositions, written on the palmyra leaf, as they were able to procure, the general subject of which was little calculated to improve their minds." Mr. Hough diligently addressed himself to the work of restoration. "No time was lost in establishing regular schools in the principal villages, providing the Liturgy, Scriptures, and other books, for the pupils and the community, and obtaining a second country priest." But in proportion as Mr. Hough's efforts were successful, the necessity for further help became more apparent. There was an opening for an European Missionary of no ordinary interest. Happily the state of feeling in England had greatly improved, and the Church Missionary Society, whose direct object was the heathen, having completed its home organization, was coming forward into active service. The historical facts already referred to prove the urgent need which ex-

isted for such an Institution. It was to the Gospel-Propagation Society that the Danish Missions first looked for help, and that Society, in 1710, had assisted them with a grant of 20*l.* sterling, and a case of books. Letters were also addressed to the Missionaries, encouraging them to persevere, in one of which the following sentiments occur—"May the Lord bless you whom He hath counted worthy to sow the first seed in a work which, in time, may grow to a tree on whose branches the birds of the air may build their nests! Your confidence in your work may gather strength from the evidence you already have of the power of God in carrying it on thus far. For, though yet but small, still it is a grain of mustard-seed, which, by its indwelling vitality and strength, makes itself known by touching the hearts of men. Love and humility must be the two pillars on which you raise the edifice, if it is to have an immediate foundation which no turbulence of storms or waves shall be able to overthrow." These were truthful and encouraging sentiments, and, together with the gift of 20*l.*, no inconsiderable sum in those days, when compared with the limited amount of the Society's income, evidenced its disposition to assist, if consistent with a sense of duty; but it was "considered that this was not their proper sphere of action, the terms of their charter expressly directing them to the British colonies in North America and the West Indies;"* and it was "therefore resolved to commend the interests of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," a Society which did indeed afford liberal and continued aid, but with an expressed conviction, that in doing so it was also, in some measure, departing from the original objects of its institution. There was room, therefore, for the organization of another Society, directing itself to the evangelization of the heathen as its great object, and more particularly the heathen in Africa and the East. Already, in 1812, had the Church Missionary Society rendered pecuniary aid to Dr. John's Schools in Tranquebar, to the amount of 100 rupees a month; a grant which, after the death of that venerable Missionary, was increased to 150 sicca rupees; an opportune aid, without which, according to the testimony of Dr. Cæmmerer, the schools must have been closed. "Several schoolmasters," he adds, "especially John Devasagayam, late writer to Dr. John, and a pleasant man, who has the inspection of several schools, express their thankfulness to Almighty God, that, just at the time of need, your grant of money

* Hough, Book 7. chap. 3. § 33.

arrived, and cheered their downcast minds." It was with reference to these schools that the Society sent out, in 1814, its first Missionaries to South India, Messrs. Schnarré and Rhenius, who remained at Tranquebar until January 1815, when they were summoned to Madras by the Corresponding Committee, which had been formed there, it being thought more desirable that the Society's operations should be commenced within the limits of the English Presidency.*

The state of Mr. Hough's health rendered the necessity for European aid increasingly urgent, and, in answer to his application, Messrs. Rhenius and Schmid were designated to Mission work in the Tinnevely province, and reached Palamcottah in 1820. Missionary excursions throughout the district were soon commenced, with the two-fold object of preaching the gospel to the heathen, and reviving the work amongst the dispersed Christian congregations. Nazareth was visited—a community of Protestant Christians, formed about twenty years previously, during the prevalence of a wasting famine, when many of the suffering natives fled to the Missionaries for relief. A large piece of ground was then purchased; huts built upon it, forming three or four narrow streets; a church and parsonage erected; and thus Nazareth rose. A native priest was in charge of the flock, amounting to 400 or 500 inhabitants. In the church of Múdhálúr, a village more populous than Nazareth, the Missionaries were met by a congregation of 600. The feelings of interest and thankfulness elicited by the sight of so large an assemblage were, however, changed into pity, as the internal condition of these poor people, on further investigation, became revealed; for they were indeed as sheep without a shepherd, an aged catechist being their only instructor, with occasional visits from the country priest at Nazareth. Mr. Rhenius thus expresses his feelings respecting them—"If the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge knew the miserable and languid condition of these people in general, they would, I doubt not, hasten to send an active, zealous, and pious labourer among them. But why do I say one? Two, three, would not be too many; and perhaps not less than two years' incessant and patient labour would be required, to put them, even externally, in a condition that might be honourable to the Christian name. . . . Alas! the native Christians are in a sad condition: there is indeed, in many, an appear-

ance of good, but I have mostly found that it is only an outward decorum, which the heathen also have somewhat coloured by Christianity. Appearance of good remains so long as we refrain from looking into the inner parts of their affairs and sacrifices; but if we dive once into them, we find things that shock and grieve every Christian heart."† It cannot be surprising, under such circumstances, that many had relapsed into heathenism, and that, of the 10,000 of more prosperous years, scarcely 4000 remained.

After the departure of Mr. Hough from India, Messrs. Rhenius and Schmid laboured to promote the welfare of these congregations, until the arrival of the first Missionary from the Gospel-Propagation Society in 1829, the Christian-Knowledge Society having transferred its South-India Missions to the supervision of that Society. This gentleman, the Rev. L. P. Haubroe, on receiving from our Missionaries the Christian congregations to which we have referred, thus expressed his sense of the services they had rendered—"What you have done for our Tinnevely Christians will be remembered by brother Kohlhoff and myself; and though we, as other mortals, should forget, you know there is One who rewardeth in secret. May His blessing be ever with you and your labours!"

That blessing did indeed, in a very remarkable manner, crown their efforts; so much so, that, as we shall see, they were enabled in a few years to raise up, out of heathenism, congregations more numerous than those the care of which they had resigned. Disembarrassed of that responsibility, they turned to the heathen, and concentrated on them their prayers and exertions. It is our privilege to trace the growth of this new work; to point out how feeble it was in its commencement, how enlarged in its results; how often it happened that one soul was first moved to inquiry, and from thence the impulse communicated itself to an entire village, so that whole communities cast their idols to the moles and to the bats, and voluntarily placed themselves under Christian instruction. It is also worthy of remark that the Mission has continued to make progress, notwithstanding every possible hindrance and difficulty that could be brought to bear upon it—storms of persecution from without, trials from within. But in vain; they prevailed not to arrest it: it has advanced, notwithstanding all the devices of the enemy.

On the commencement of their labours the

* Mr. Schnarré subsequently returned to Tranquebar.

† Appendix xiii. Proceedings 22d year of Church Missionary Society.

Missionaries found the heathen, particularly the Brahmins, very shy of them, so that they could with difficulty approach them. On attempting to introduce printed religious books into the schools around Palamcottah, they were threatened with the removal of all the scholars; but, convinced that unless Christianity was tully and freely taught in them they could not be considered as proper objects on which to bestow Missionary time and labour, they persevered, and native prejudices were gradually overcome; so that, after the expiration of a year, their books were eagerly learnt by the heathen boys, and not unfrequently read to their parents at home. Schools began to be opened in new villages, at the request of the heathen themselves. These were frequently visited, the children catechized, and the gospel preached to the people, who used to come in considerable numbers, first, doubtless, from curiosity, but, after a time, with a desire to hear the Christian Veddam and receive books.

The first baptisms took place in 1822. Two adults—one of the schoolmasters, a Sudra of the merchant tribe, and a woman-servant in the Mission—with two children, composed this tiny sheaf of the first-fruits. But the harvest was at hand. Symptoms of a movement on an extended scale began to show themselves. On a Missionary excursion, in January 1823, throughout the district, Mr. Rhenius had evidence that the heathen, nearly throughout the whole route, thought meanly of idolatry, and that its hold on them was slight. Other candidates for baptism soon presented themselves. They came from the village of Tirupulankudei, where some time previously an awakening had occurred, the precursor of many like ones. A youth belonging to this village had heard from a catechist of the Tanjore Mission an address against image worship, which much displeased him. He, however, accepted a much-used Tamil New Testament, and, taking it home, read it for himself and to his relatives. Although his perceptions of its meaning were at first dim and indistinct, yet he began to understand that Christianity held forth, as the alone object of worship, one true God; and, becoming more and more convinced of the unprofitableness of idols, laboured with some success to persuade his parents. One day, when Ammen's devotees went about in the streets dispensing holy ashes, Subramanien—for such was the youth's name—openly opposed him, refusing the ashes, and telling the people plainly that it was a vain and foolish thing to trust to idols; that they should all trust in the only true God. Persecution

forthwith commenced. Subramanien, anxious for further instruction, sought it in different quarters, but in vain, until the catechist, whose address first arrested his attention, directed him to Mr. Hough, from whom he received a Tranquebar Catechism, with one or two other books. These, as they were read by the inquirers, revealed to them their guilt, and, as the uneasiness increased, they inquired of one another how their sin could be forgiven. In this uncertainty they remained, until, hearing of the arrival of two teachers at Palamcottah, they sought them out in the August of 1820. As they listened to the blessed truth of an atonement made for sin, and of the blood of sprinkling, they felt comforted, and confirmed in their determination to renounce idolatry. They were enabled patiently to endure the increasing hostility of their neighbours, and came frequently to Palamcottah, a distance of fifteen miles, to hear the word of God. At length Sunday, Aug. 17, 1823, the day appointed for their baptism, arrived, the first day of harvest. The candidates were in number five adults, with three of their children—a father and his three sons and a grandson, the aged man's nephew, and his two sons. There were many heathen present in the prayer and schoolhouse, which, at the earnest request of these people, had been erected at Tirupulankudei, they themselves assisting from their poverty to raise the building. "It was," writes Mr. Rhenius, "an interesting scene in this wilderness. They are the first Christians in the village. I have every evidence that they are truly devoted to the Lord Jesus Christ; and I humbly trust that the Lord has imparted fresh grace to them this day, and will enable them to stand fast to the end, and to spread the good savour of the gospel around them." It was Mr. Rhenius's custom, when he baptized a convert, to apply to him a text of Scripture. The one selected for the aged man was Isaiah xlii. 4: "Even to your old age I am He; and even to hoar hairs will I carry you." It surprised him much to find that even old people were so particularly noticed in the word of God. Subramanien, to whom the name Titus was given, having been with the Missionaries for some time as seminarist, was appointed to carry on the school, to assemble the little flock, and read to them the word of God and sermons, &c. It is remarkable, that, besides Titus, two others of the little group—Stephen, the elder brother of Titus, and Abraham, the old man's nephew—were both employed as teachers, and both fell asleep in Jesus in 1828, with very strongly-marked features of Christian character. When, on

the approach of death, Stephen was asked whether the consciousness of sin did not disturb his inward peace and joy in God, his answer was, "No, not now; for I fully believe and know that Jesus Christ died for me, and has forgiven me all my sins. The holy God is now no more against me, but for me. I feel an unspeakable love to Him." His countenance indicated, indeed, that he was peaceful and joyful. He spoke little, excepting when he rallied his remaining strength to comfort his weeping wife. "Do not mourn for me, as those who have no hope. I am going to be with the Lord. I shall not die really. I have a place prepared for me in heaven, where my Lord Jesus Christ is, and do not think the Lord will leave you and my three little children after my departure. He will do more for you than I could do."

Abraham was alike full of faith and hope. The Christians of Kongalarayakurichi, where he was placed as catechist, had to pass through a fiery ordeal of persecution. Their enemies burnt down their prayer-house, charges were brought against them, and, the *tasildar* siding with the heathen, Abraham and his people were detained in confinement for about thirty days. From the effects of this he never recovered. He was taken ill in prison, and came home ill; but, remarkable for his meekness, and trusting in the Lord, he encouraged the people to be patient in suffering, and not to render evil for evil. The spirit in which this good man met his affliction, his anxiety for the spiritual welfare of all around him, the earnestness with which he availed himself of every opportunity to speak a word in season, combine to form a rich development of Christian character. Finding himself growing worse, he sent for his brother Titus, and, calling the congregation together, spoke thus to them—"As I am now at the point of death, what do you think about me? Ah, my dear friends! I greatly desire to leave this world and this body. Were I still to stay awhile, it would be well for you; but let this be, not according to our wish, but according to the will of the Lord." To the heathen, many of whom came to see and lament him, he said, "You need not weep concerning me, but weep concerning yourselves. I rejoice to leave this world. That you, also, may have such comfort and joy, forsake the idols which you have so long worshipped, and turn to the living Lord Jesus Christ." Thus the catechist's address, which seemed to irritate rather than convince, and the old Tamil Testament, issued in this rich gain of two precious souls, besides others of whom

we have no records. We trust our readers will pardon our thus retracing the early footsteps of this favoured work. They remind us what God has done; they encourage us to look forward to what He will yet do for us. It may cheer the hearts and strengthen the hands of those who are toiling at the foundations of new Missions, to mark how the more advanced ones commenced and prospered. The means employed are the same precisely which are now at their disposal, and there is the same God ready to bestow as large a measure of blessing.

The spirit of inquiry which had thus broken out in one place soon showed itself in others. In October 1823 some persons came from Sembankudiyirupu, about twenty miles south of Palamcottah, begging instruction in Christianity, as they found no satisfaction in heathenism, and had been persuaded by some native Christians to apply to the Missionary. Mr. Rhenius found the place in the midst of a palmyra forest, with several villages scattered round. The inhabitants assembled under a pandal before the Ammen idol, which they desired to forsake, and instruction was given them in the truths of the gospel. The owner of the village, a Brahmin of kind and gentle disposition, proceeded to point out the piece of ground which he was willing to give for the settlement of such as desired to become Christians. Here, around the school and prayer-house, the people built their huts, and a Christian village was formed, called Arúlúr, or the village of grace. This village was visited by Mr. Rhenius in February 1825, and he thus expresses his grateful feelings at the change which had taken place—"I could not but reflect with wonder on what God had wrought in this wilderness. A year ago, when I was here for the first time, there was no Christian place of worship, no Christian village or congregation, excepting that some had just come forward to forsake idolatry. Now these things are realized, and the praises of the Redeemer resound from between these palmyra-trees! A chapel is here, and a street of worshippers of the true God is formed. They have stood the fiery trial of persecution, they appear to delight in the word of God, they begin to walk worthy of the gospel: more than that, the sound thereof spreads around in this region, and from various places people come to hear it."

Such indeed was the case. A new and important centre had been formed at Sathan-kullam, or the Tank of Satan, about seven miles distant. David, the catechist, while instructing the people of Arúlúr, had visited

that place, with a desire of communicating spiritual good to the crowds who were accustomed to assemble there at the fair or market. He had preached and read tracts to them, and several Shanars, desirous of further instruction, followed him to Palamcottah.

This place was sought out by the Missionaries in June 1824, several families having expressed their anxiety to receive Christian instruction. As they approached the village, it was interesting to see people, small and great, old and young, running forth from all sides to meet them; and when they arrived on the spot, a gratifying and affecting spectacle presented itself. There were at least 400 people assembled—men, women, and children—and one of the native assistants in the midst of them, reading and explaining the short Catechism. On the next day, Sunday, divine service was held in the choultry, which was crowded with persons of both sexes. No fewer than twenty-nine families subscribed their names as anxious to become Christians. Towards evening the Missionaries visited them in their houses. Large crowds of all kinds of people gathered round, and followed them as they passed, and abundant opportunity was afforded for the work of Christian instruction. Not that the whole village was thus favourably disposed. On the contrary, the headmen were inimical to any change, refusing to give a site on which to build a school and prayer-house; and, after the departure of the Missionaries, proceeded in various ways to harass the inquirers. Some had their houses plundered, others were hindered from reaping their crops, others forcibly bound and placed in confinement: three, in particular, were severely flogged. Still the people flinched not, and the time appointed for their baptism arrived. They were assembled in the evening, in the square before the choultry, under the canopy of heaven, by fine moonlight. The candidates—including men, women, and children, about seventy persons—were seated in rows on one side: a large number of heathen Shanars were on the right hand; behind them stood another group of heathen; and, during the address, about a dozen Shanars arrived from a neighbouring village desiring to be instructed. The answers of the candidates surprised and gratified: even the women had learned the principles of Christianity by heart, and answered with understanding.

After the baptisms came the heavy storm of persecution; and first at Arúlúr. Very early on a Sunday morning, in October 1826, the headman, whose wife and children had become Christians, was surrounded by an angry crowd

headed by Paranniyappen, an old enemy, who pointed him out for vengeance as the man who had brought Christianity to the village. He was struck with a large knife on the head, laid senseless on the ground, and his body trampled upon. Several of the people from the village, who hurried out to help him, were beaten and badly wounded, both men and women. Poor Pedrú, the headman, spoke no more. His relatives placed him on a couch to carry him to Palamcottah, but he died on the road. The criminals were apprehended, and the trial came on at Madura. Prakasen, the catechist, who had shared in all the troubles to which his people had been subjected, was necessarily connected with the subsequent proceedings, and had to make frequent journeys. His mild and feeling temper was much tried, and the anxiety of mind and over-exertion of body laid the foundation of an illness which ended in his death. He died about a month before Abraham, like him a sufferer in the cause of the gospel, and, like him, supported and comforted by faith in his Redeemer. His heathen relatives and friends importuned him much to have recourse to heathenish practices for the removal of his sickness; but he steadfastly refused: declaring that he had no fear of death, that he was glad to go to his Saviour, that He was the comfort of his soul, that he by no means regretted having embraced the gospel, and that, had he the choice, he would rather remove to be with Christ, than stay any longer in the world.

At Sathankullam, also, there were troubles: the Christians were unjustly taxed; others beaten. Thus in various quarters there were annoyances and sufferings. Sometimes the heathen would stealthily open at night the small dams around the rice-fields, and let the water out; and then in the morning, accusing the Christians as the perpetrators of the mischief, cause them to be flogged. So severe was the pressure, that, to human judgment, it appeared too overwhelming for so recent a work; but it is thus that the Lord carries on His husbandry; nor are trials less necessary to the healthful growth of His cause than water to the growing rice-crops. Otherwise, a too rapid development would give to the whole work a feeble and exotic character, and, like the seed sown on stony ground, it would be scorched so soon as the sun was up, and wither away.

Where large masses of people are so rapidly moved to forsake their idols, and embrace Christian instruction, there must ever exist a great mixture of motives. Some supposed that their worldly circumstances.

would be improved, and especially that they would be assisted to get rid of their oppressors. Many came forward because others had done so who were their superiors or near friends, knowing very little of Christianity; and some no doubt there were who joined with the express design to abuse the kindness of the Missionaries, and give full scope to their evil passions. Thus an ordeal became necessary, which, without injuring the genuine portion of the work, should discourage and purge away much of what was fictitious. Troubles and persecutions were permitted to supervene: they are indeed interwoven with the whole history of this Mission. No sooner did any large accession of numbers take place, than a sifting period was sure to follow. Then, unstable souls went back. Sometimes they found, that, instead of temporal advantages, they were exposed to severe suffering. Sometimes sickness occurred in a family under instruction—the cholera or smallpox removed one or more of its members, and the survivors, persuaded by their heathen neighbours that the calamity was caused by the goddess Ammen, as a punishment for having forsaken her worship, left off attending Christian worship, entirely, or for a season.

Hence there have been continued fluctuations in the numbers under instruction. The work has advanced for a season in tranquillity, and large accessions have been reported: then the tide of trial has come rushing on, and sweeping away much of the loose materials. Still, in the midst of it all, Christianity has been climbing up to a higher and brighter position. They who remained steadfast, and continued to hear and learn the word of God, gradually became better informed: they were enabled to perceive that there is in Christianity an excellence superior to all they had seen or heard of previously; their hearts remained not unaffected; they began to hate vice, and to behave with more decorum. They found, too, that their temporal blessings, instead of being diminished by their adhesion to Christianity, in many respects had decidedly improved. They learned what it was to be cleanly in their persons and clothing, and more decent and orderly in their deportment, and the cholera proved less deadly. They had become diligent and industrious, and their fields yielded finer crops. They found they had their full share of the welcome rains when they descended, and that when, at the idolatrous feasts, the cars were overturned, and some killed, and then confusion arose, from such troubles they were happily exempted.

Thus if some relapsed, others persevered, notwithstanding the severity of the trial through which they had to pass, and assumed a settled and stable character. Amidst much that was shadowy and unsubstantial, there was a solid nucleus of sound profession, which, from the very commencement of the Mission, amidst the fluctuations of the lighter elements around, has been making steady progress; and the properties of soundness and reality which belong to it have become from year to year more visible; so that, instead of a chaos of jarring influences, permanent and well-consolidated results meet the eye and gladden the heart. The trials of the Tinnevelly Mission have been overruled for its good, and the devices of the adversary have recoiled upon himself. His object, no doubt, was to stay the spirit of inquiry, and, by discouragement, extinguish it; but he succeeded not. We are reminded of the fire, not extinguished by the much water cast upon it, because there was one unseen who fed the flame with oil.*

It is indeed very interesting to observe, that in the very places where persecution was most intense, there the work became most firm and important. Both these localities, Arúlur and Satthankúllam, became leading points; Arúlur being the centre of one group of villages, throughout which the spirit of inquiry extended itself, and Satthankúllam the nucleus of another group. The latter town is now one of the principal stations of the Church Missionary Society, containing, with the surrounding district, upwards of 2000 persons under instruction, of whom more than 1200 are baptized.

It is remarkable, also, how, even in localities where the light seemed quite extinguished, it kindled up again from amidst the embers. We give one instance of this.

A Mr. Sawyer, a shopkeeper in Palamcottah, had purchased, about the year 1809, a piece of ground as the site of a Christian village, with its church and school. But during the destitution of European superintendence under which Tinnevelly had so long suffered a powerful native had so vexed and oppressed the inhabitants of this Christian village, that all backslided, with the exception of one family, who, remaining firm, found themselves exposed to the enmity of all their former brethren. The neighbouring villages refuse them all assistance, and threatened to give them none of their daughters in marriage. Means of grace they had none, a small book excepted, containing the Creed, the Cor

* Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress."

mandments, and some forms of prayer, and occasional visits from Sattianadhen. Under these distressing circumstances, a wealthy Christian merchant, of a neighbouring village, was providentially led to their dwelling, who promised to help them as far as he could, and encouraged them to persevere. From some of their troubles he succeeded in disembarassing them, but unjust exactions of money continued uninterruptedly, until the family had been mulcted to the amount of 400 pagodas. Still they yielded not, and the scantiness of their Christian knowledge rendered this the more remarkable. At length their perseverance prevailed, and one of them, accompanied by several of the relatives who had given them such vexation, visited the Missionaries, desiring to be instructed. "These men," he said, as he detailed to Mr. Schmid the story of his sufferings, "have also contributed to persecute us, but now I remember these troubles no more." A tear stood in his eye, and his peaceful and serious countenance, furrowed by sorrow, bespoke his sincerity. The name of their village was *Savvaypûram*. It is now one of the largest stations of the Gospel-Propagation Society, and, on the occasion of a recent visit to the Tinnevely districts by the Bishop of Madras, presented 168 candidates for confirmation.

It may not be uninteresting to introduce at this point some of the statistics of the Mission in its earlier years, as they will at once exhibit the numerical increase. They are as follows—

	Families.	Souls.
June 1827 in 106 villages,	756	or 2557
Dec. 1827 " 109 "	954	" 3505
July 1828 " 146 "	1250	" 4305
Dec. 1828 " 167 "	1408	" 5225
June 1829 " 205 "	1855	" 6243

And here we may also refer to some wise arrangements of the founders of this Mission, which not only contributed to the furtherance of the work, but enabled them to meet the demands for an enlarged agency necessarily consequent on so rapid an increase of numbers.

The Rev. James Hough, who laid the foundation-stone of the entire superstructure, and whose name, as the benefactor of Tinnevely, ought ever to be held in honoured remembrance, opened a seminary for the particular instruction of native Protestant Christians for eventual employment in the Society's Missions. On the arrival of Messrs. Rhenius and Schmid, this Institution was transferred to their care, and in first dealing with it they experienced no slight difficulty. Having added to the six

or seven pupils of the *Súdra* caste, previously in attendance, thirteen others, of whom eleven were of lower caste, the *Súdras* objected to eat with them, and their parents supported them in their refusal, proposing various arrangements, such as that of screening the two parties from each other by mats suspended between them. But, aware that in this question of caste was involved the future character of their Missionary work—whether they were to content themselves with nominal converts, who should carry with them into their profession of Christianity the superstitions and injurious practices of heathenism, or, teaching the gospel in its purity, set it free to work its own way amidst whatever difficulties—the Missionaries refused all compromise, and the seminary was for a time suspended. In January 1825 we find it again in action, and containing thirty-six young men and boys. Now these youths, from the very first, were prepared for future usefulness, not only by intellectual training and instruction, but by active habits in doing good. So far as they were found to be such as might have some confidence placed in them, they were encouraged, at different times during the week, to go into the high road which bordered the compound, and read tracts and portions of Scripture to the passers. When they visited their homes, they took tracts with them to read to their relatives and other people whom they chanced to meet. As they were tried, and acquitted themselves satisfactorily, they were sent on more important missions. Sometimes we find three or four setting out for the idolatrous feast at Trichendûr, being sent forth with prayer, and taking with them 700 tracts for distribution; then, like the seventy, returning with joy, and reporting what they had been enabled to effect; and deeply interesting the details must have been, as they told how eagerly the many received their books, and how, when some were angry, they prayed, and were enabled to be patient: as one man afterwards told them, his object had been to make them angry, "but," said he, "you have remained steady, and that is right." At other times we find them going forth to visit the villages in which Christian families resided; and, finally, a selection was made of the more trustworthy to go and instruct the new congregations, each having a younger seminarist associated with him as an assistant. Thus the seminary was a training institution of the most practical kind, in which, by essays wisely proportioned to their powers, the students were gradually introduced into

service. Mere study, however admirable in its arrangement, and diligently wrought out, without such exercise, cannot make effective workmen. Close mental application, unless diversified by active and useful habits, generates abstraction, and that is not a temperament desirable for a Missionary, who needs to be a man of observation and readiness, affable in his manner, and encouraging to those who approach him, becoming "all things to all men, if by any means he may win some." It was by the adoption of such a system that the Tinnevelly Missionaries, when large numbers of inquirers were unexpectedly thrown on their hands, were enabled to furnish forth teachers, not wholly inexperienced. Some, no doubt, disappointed: perhaps they were sent out into fixed positions prematurely: that ought to be, and may be, avoided, except under such peculiar pressure as occurred in Tinnevelly. But the other extreme of keeping individuals in prolonged tutelage, never trusting them, or affording them opportunities of testing their powers, and becoming habituated to their work, is productive of more extensive injury. But many of these first seminarists proved to be most valuable men. The names of a few have been mentioned—Stephen, Abraham, Prakashen; and to these we would add some others, of whom we have found honourable memorials in the records of the Mission. In a report of the Catechists'-widows Fund, one of the Societies supported by native Christians in Tinnevelly, we find mention made of three from amongst these first seminarists—Samuel, Thomas, and Anthony. We have only space for the introduction of one of these, that of Thomas. The following is the Rev. J. Thomas's account of his character and death—

"Thomas was among the first converts of the late Mr. Rhenius in Tinnevelly. After his conversion to Christianity, his father and several families of the caste became Christians also: the father, who lived but a short distance from Mengnanapúram, was a good man. He died several years ago; but to the present day he is spoken of among the people generally as a person of no ordinary piety. Thomas, before his conversion, was a zealous heathen, had read extensively the heathen Tamil works, was a proficient in the arts of conjuration, and rigid in the performance of the rites and ceremonies of heathen worship. The same temper which characterized him while a heathen, led him, after his conversion to Christianity, to study the holy Scriptures with uncommon zeal and diligence.

I have understood that he not only repeatedly read the whole of the Bible, but had also written in verse the principal events related therein. He was in the habit of writing a diary; and has left a short autobiography in Tamil, parts of which I have read. During his last illness I visited him several times, and administered the Lord's supper to him. His knowledge of holy Scripture was extraordinary, which he evinced, during conversation, by frequent and apt quotations. His confidence in the mercy of God through Christ was unwavering, and his hope and anticipation of eternal life firm, and attended with "joy unspeakable;" not, however, because he was deficient in humiliating views of his own sinfulness, but because he had such exalted thoughts of the merits of Christ's death, and the infinite efficacy of His blood to cleanse from all sin. About half an hour before his death he sat up, called his family around him, and spoke to them with great earnestness, exhorting them to be stedfast in the faith. While making this last effort his speech suddenly failed him; but, though unable to speak any longer, yet, to express his confidence in the all-sufficient atonement made on Calvary, he folded his arms in the form of a cross, and thus, within a few moments, departed in peace.*

To this we add some few extracts from a memoir of Peter, inspecting-catechist of Surandai, drawn up by the Rev. T. G. Barenbrück—

"Peter, the late inspecting-catechist of this district, was one of four brothers of the Vellalar caste, who, though they were all born in heathenism, have known and professed the truth for years past.

"In 1828 he seems, at the age of 13, to have first professed Christianity; and in 1832 was received into the Palamcottah Seminary, where he made such advances as to occupy the position of senior monitor. In the course of the same year he was baptized by Mr. Rhenius, and, after a year's preparatory training, was sent as reader to these parts. It is from this period that he dates the commencement of a new life within him. Subsequently he was, for periods varying in length, stationed as catechist at Mengnanapúram, Atchungundum, and Paragundapúram, and was engaged under the Rev. P. P. Schaffter, at Palamcottah, in instructing his preparandi. In 1840 he was appointed inspecting-catechist to the Virakalampatúr

* For memoirs of Samuel and Anthony, see "Church Missionary Record," June 1845, p. 121.

division of the Nallúr District, and at that post I found him on taking charge of the Surandai District.

"His abilities were far superior to the common standard of those of our catechists. Naturally of an inquiring mind, he eagerly availed himself of any opportunity that offered for advancing in knowledge; more especially in such knowledge as would tend to promote his usefulness. He was well acquainted with Scripture history, and had a clear perception of the doctrines of the Bible. Nor was he satisfied with a barren perception of truth: he exhibited, by his uniform and consistent walk, a love of the truth. His conduct was throughout straightforward and upright. On no occasion did I find him regardless of truth or guilty of a subterfuge, which is more than I can say of most of our native Christians, or even catechists, this being the weak point in the native character. As an inspecting-catechist he was active in the faithful discharge of his duties, and by no means wanting in energy and perseverance. His report, after having visited a congregation, of its improvement or want of improvement, I have invariably found confirmed on subsequent personal inspection of the congregation. Peter had his faults. Whenever I had any occasion, however, to call his attention to them, he seemed thankful for what had been said, and did not plead vain excuses in palliation of them. At the monthly meetings with the catechists—when it is the practice for one of them to preach a sermon in rotation—I have always with much pleasure listened to Peter's discourses. They showed that he was in the habit of comparing Scripture with Scripture. He excelled most natives whom I have heard in striking and familiar illustrations of the subject in hand.

"It was natural that, when the plan of establishing an Institution at Palamecottah for training the most advanced of our catechists, with a view of their entering the ministry, was matured, Peter, who had gained the confidence and good opinion of those under whom he had successively laboured, should be one of those proposed for admission.

"On the completion of the necessary buildings, he received an intimation that his attendance at Suvisheshapúram was required: he made every arrangement to leave this on the 10th of February, but the Lord had purposed otherwise. In the morning of the same day he was unexpectedly taken ill with symptoms of cholera. I found him fully expecting that the attack would terminate fatally. On seeing me he observed, 'I had made every prepa-

ration for an earthly journey; but the Lord admonishes me to hold myself in readiness for a greater and more important one. Little did I think, Sir, that the words of your text last Sunday morning—Amos iv. 12, 'Prepare to meet thy God'—would so soon be addressed to me.' Some one present remarking, 'There is still every hope of your recovering,' he said, 'It is the Lord: let Him do what seemeth Him good. It is a great thing to die; but I know whom I have believed; and He will strengthen and support me in the hour of death. I have no fear.' After having remained a considerable time, and prayed with him, I left him for the evening. He spent the greater part of the night in listening to portions of Scripture read to him, naming hymns which he wished to be sung, at intervals, himself engaging in prayer, or requesting others to pray. From the first prepared for death, calm and composed to the last, his end was peace. About nine in the evening his spirit was released without a struggle, to enter, I firmly believe, into the joy of his Lord."

One more aged servant of the Lord remains to be added to this deeply-interesting list, Vedhamúttú. We find his name introduced very early into the reports of Mr. Rhenius, as one of the seminarists who were sent out by him, in 1825, on brief Missionary journeys. The Rev. J. Devasagayam thus speaks of him, under date January 31, 1855—"I went to our old friend Vedhamúttú, a pious and zealous catechist for many years, who is very near departing to his eternal rest. He was not able to recognise me. I commended him in humble prayers to the hands of our dear heavenly Father, that he may be washed by the precious blood of His only Son Jesus Christ, and be adorned by the robe of His righteousness, and that His angels may conduct his soul to the glorious kingdom of God." We have to remind our readers that Mr. Devasagayam is now the oldest labourer in the Mission, at the advanced age of seventy years being enabled to render effective service in his Master's work; and with him must be conjoined the Rev. B. Schmid, the associate of Mr. Rhenius in all the earlier proceedings, who is still living and labouring at Ootacamund, in the Nilgherries, where, many years ago, he had been obliged to retire on account of his health.

Another important element, which has exercised a most beneficial influence on the Mission, and aided in fostering habits of mutual co-operation, Christian liberality, and self-denial, consists in the various So-

cieties for religious and charitable purposes which have place amongst the people. They are as follows—the Tinnevely Tract Society; the Dharma Sangam, or native Philanthropic Society; the Tamil Book Society, for the publication of useful books on general subjects; the Tinnevely Bible Society; the Church-Building Fund, to which every person under instruction throughout the district gives one day's income in the year; a Poor Fund; a Catechists'-Widows' Fund; a Heathen-Friend Society. To this list is now added an Auxiliary Church Missionary Society, and its affiliations. It had long been felt that without a Church Missionary Auxiliary the native institutions were incomplete. The impulse given by the itinerating labours of Messrs. Ragland and Meadows in North Tinnevely developed into action these long-cherished convictions. On January 18th, 1855, a meeting was held at Palamcottah for the formation of a Central Auxiliary, and this desirable object was accomplished. There was not only unanimity on the subject, but intense delight, and never was held at Palamcottah a meeting so full of interest. All felt that the blessing of God had been largely vouchsafed. The chair was occupied by the Rev. W. Knight, one of the Home Secretaries, and among the resolutions was one recognising the duty of the native church to co-operate, by its prayers and pecuniary aid, in the great work of evangelizing India. Affiliated Associations have been formed throughout the several districts.

The two first of the Societies we have mentioned were initiated by the Missionaries Rhenius and Schmid. The Tinnevely Tract Society was the first-born. Its most important publication is the monthly periodical, "The Friendly Instructor," which commands such general interest, that even some of the heathen subscribe for copies. Next followed the "Dharma Sangam," instituted for the purpose of affording means of settling to recent converts persecuted by heathen proprietors. It possessed, at the period of the Bishop of Victoria's visit, 53 village settlements, besides 40 little churches and 12 prayer-houses, 34 catechists' and schoolmasters' houses, and 11 schoolrooms, together with the church furniture, &c.; the total property of the Society, in money and investments, amounting to 12,628 rupees. The first collection, in June 1830, amounted to little more than 60 rupees.

To this Society we are indebted for one of our most interesting station villages in Tinnevely, one already referred to—Kadachapū-

ram, under the charge of the Rev. John Devasagayam, containing, with the surrounding district, 2000 persons under Christian instruction, of whom 1799 are baptized, and 725 are communicants. The church, a neat, substantial building, was commenced by the Rev. C. Blackman in 1841. On the occasion of the Bishop of Victoria's visit it was filled to overflowing by a congregation of 800 persons. The formation of the Auxiliary Church Missionary Society, in January of last year, proved also a deeply-interesting season. Messrs. Ragland and Meadows having come down from their itinerating labours in North Tinnevely to tell the Christians of the south what God had done by them, and how He is opening the door of faith to the heathen, no fewer than 400 native Christians assembled within the walls of the village church to listen to the details of a work in which they had already shown a lively interest by sending one of the catechists, at their own expense, to help therein. Annual subscriptions were promised to the amount of 82½ rupees; and a supplementary meeting for such as could not attend in January was held in March, when it was resolved that the new Auxiliary should have the same subscription which is given to the Church-Building Fund, namely, the highest income of a day every year. The catechists and schoolmasters, with their wives, are particularly interested in this new Society, and cases were referred to, by the Rev. Jesudasan John, of children rearing fowls that they might have something to contribute to the Missionary Box.

We have endeavoured to bring to remembrance the earlier history of the Mission. Many years have passed over since this foundation-work was carried on, and the incidents connected with it have been much forgotten; and yet it is not well that it should be so, for they show what can be done with small means and under discouraging circumstances: and now, side by side with the reminiscences of former days, we would desire to open out more fully our Tinnevely churches as they are. The intermediate history we pass over. In a work by the Rev. G. Pettitt, entitled, "The Tinnevely Mission," its leading features will be found. "Growth amidst trial" appears to be throughout a suitable motto for that history. Of trials, indeed, there have been many, but that of most severity was the retirement of Mr. Rhenius from the Society's service. We intend not to adventure ourselves into the eddies of that troublous period: it has passed away. The grave has long since closed on Rhenius, and we remember nothing now but

his excellencies as a Christian and his devotedness as a Missionary. But it is remarkable that even his severance from the Society, and all the unhappy details which followed, did not arrest the growth of the Mission. Let us hear the testimony of Mr. Pettitt on that point—

“It is a matter worthy of observation here, as it was at the time a source of great comfort to our minds, amidst so many sources of disquietude and irritation, especially as indicating to us the overruling providence of God in these affairs, that the number of persons under Christian instruction not only did not diminish, as might reasonably have been expected, but even steadily increased. Many persons—at least 2000—including children, had connected themselves with the Mission before Mr. Rhenius’s return, during the time that it was entirely under our management. After the division took place, that portion which remained under our superintendence began to increase by new accessions from heathenism, and a similar increase took place in the seceding party.”

Let us, then, briefly review the present *status* of our Tinnevelly districts. There are now no fewer than 500 towns or villages in which native Christians are to be found, in greater or less numbers, having attached to them 375 churches and prayer-houses, superintended by 13 clergymen, of whom 8 are natives, with 186 catechists and readers, and containing a grand total of 27,140 persons under instruction, of whom 17,259 are baptized, and 3821 communicants. The schools, containing 8263 scholars, of whom 2855 are girls, are 333 in number. The districts, 13 in number, into which the Mission is subdivided, are ranged in the table given on the next page very nearly according to seniority, each with its amount of converts, inquirers, and other particulars.

The area of territory, comprising some 5700 square miles, over which these Missionary stations are scattered, may be divided into “three parallel belts, of about equal dimensions, running from west to east. The most southerly, bounded northwards by the Tambrapúrni river, but including Paneivilei on its left bank, is the portion wherein the bulk of our native converts is to be found, to the amount of nearly 20,000—the district most generally evangelized. The most northerly belt, of about equal area, was, three years ago, a region of unbroken heathenism, but is now the site of the initiative labours of our beloved itinerating brethren. The central portion of the Tinnevelly district is not only the link geographically between the

north and south, but combines many of the features of each in the character of the work pursued there. Nallúr, Surandei, and Pannikúllam, are as populous and well-ordered Christian stations as any in the south, but they stand more isolated from each other: the heathen temples are more frequent, the number of native Christians does not much exceed 7000, and bitter persecutions by native officials are still by no means unknown.” Of late years the numerical increase has been by a slight addition from year to year, presenting in this respect a remarkable contrast to the rapid transfer of large masses from heathenism to a condition of Christian tutelage, by which an earlier period was characterized. In the year 1841 the increase of persons placing themselves under instruction was, in almost every district, unprecedented. The anger of the higher castes, already greatly excited, was aroused to the highest pitch by the order of the Court of Directors abolishing the connexion which had existed between the Government and the heathen temples, and the heathen organized themselves into a Society antagonistic to the further spread of the gospel, called the “Vibúthi Sangam,” or Sacred-Ashes Society. A tempestuous season of persecution followed, and a large proportion of the new inquirers relapsed to heathenism. The year 1845 presents historical reminiscences of a like character. In the Nallúr district, one recently formed, there had been for many months large accessions from heathenism, and again the fiery furnace of bitter persecution was kindled, into the midst of which the new work was flung. It suffered, in passing through that ordeal, a considerable reduction of numbers; but since that period the progress has been more equable, and, if there has been an absence of impulsive movements among the people in favour of Christianity, yet the Mission has remained free from violent reactions. In December 1849 we find an aggregate of 23,994 under instruction; in 1852 of 27,175; and in December 1855 of 27,140. Indeed, the accessions from without appear to have been arrested for a season, in order to afford opportunity for an internal growth of primary importance. The mass under instruction divides itself into two portions, the baptized and unbaptized; the former the better instructed and selected one, the other more crude and uninformed. In 1849 these several classes were nearly on an equality, the baptized exceeding the other by 928 individuals only; in 1852 they were 4700 in excess; and in 1855 they surpassed the unbaptized by 7378. The fact, that during

the last three years the aggregate has remained at the same level, enables us to discern more clearly the improvement which has taken place in the interior organization of the Mission; that there has been Christian growth; and that the entire work has become more stable and settled. The steady increase in the number of communicants presents another satisfactory evidence of healthful improvement. In 1849 they amounted to 2334; in 1852 to 3357; in 1855 to 3821.

Nor need we confine ourselves to statistics, which, *per se*, are inconclusive. The development of Christian character is encouraging, and the testimony of the Missionaries in the several districts distinct and satisfactory. "With respect to intelligence and external deportment," writes the Rev. E. Sargent from Palamcottah, "I am sure I see a gradually advancing state of things among our people; in some more, in others less so. And as to spiritual improvement, considering the system which has for ages been degrading their race, there is much to encourage us. I can look upon several people of the congregation as enjoying the riches of divine grace in the heart, though their outward circumstances are verging on poverty. They have their daily bread, and nothing over, and with it they are content, praising God."

The Rev. J. Thomas, of Mengnanapûram, is equally explicit. "In all the congregations I have been much gratified with observing an improved tone, more intelligence, more steady attendance upon the means of grace, and more earnestness in listening to the preaching of the gospel."* And again—"Great is the change in the condition of our congregations. Formerly my people could not have understood, nor appreciated, my present mode of preaching. They were babes, and required the very simplest teaching, and constant catechizing. This morning I asked but few questions: the most earnest attention

was shown during the whole service."† The real character of the Christianity of Tinnevelly, in its present state of comparative advancement, is thus portrayed by the Rev. W. Knight‡—

"If persons suppose that it is passive, mechanical, and perfunctory, or that the subjects of it are incapable of an intelligent comprehension of the gospel, their impression is most erroneous. The Shanars have been spoken of as though they were incapable of any intellectual process, and exclusively occupied in climbing palmyras. The majority, however, of the caste are engaged in trade, and there seems no reason for supposing them inferior in intelligence to other natives just escaped from the low carnalities of heathenism. Of the five deacons ordained in 1851, the two distinguished by the examiners as the superior were Shanars, the other three, and two rejected candidates, being Vellalers; and the two Shanars are selected for priests' orders next month, while Paul Daniel, the native candidate for the diaconate at the same time, was originally of the same caste. Another evidence of the hold Christianity has upon the people has been the erection, in the course of last year, of a chattram, or native rest-house, at Palamcottah, for native Christians, which cost 1100 rupees, more than half being contributed by the native-Christian community. It is usually well filled, and the fees of the guests more than pay for its maintenance. To those who, like myself, have travelled hundreds of miles in India without meeting a Christian, this little circumstance speaks volumes for the extension of Christianity in Tinnevelly."

We append, in a note, a statement of the sums raised by the native Christians of Tinnevelly during the year 1855, and the purposes to which they have been applied;§ and

* Annual letter, January 1855.

† Journal extract, June 21, 1855.

‡ Letter dated Madras, February 15, 1856.

	I. Missions C. M. S.			II. Church Building.			III. Lighting of Churches			IV Commu- nion Alms.			V. Endow- ment Fund.			VI. Poor Fund.			VII. Widows' Fund.			VIII. Miscel- laneous.			Total.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Palamcottah	10	0	0	85	6		40	14	0	18	3	5				66	11	4	39	0	0	212	11	2	573	0	11
Sâtthankûllam ..																											
Mengnanapûram ..	186	12	6	414	2	2	289	7	8	129	3	5				190	3	6	160	4	2	571	7	5	1941	13	10
Asirvâdhapûram ..																											
Kadachapûram ..	91	1	6	55	4	9	52	8	0	31	14	7	385	0	0	19	8	0	19	0	8	135	8	8	789	44	2
Dohnavûr	50	0	0	220	12	6	46	2	5	10	15	5	21	10	3	31	1	0	71	12	2	149	8	7	101	14	4
Suvisesapûram ..	62	10	0	84	8	6	105	0	0	11	8	11	63	4	2	30	0	4	56	10	0	298	2	11	711	12	10
Paceivilei	239	12	6	77	4	0	81	4	0	11	3	0				31	14	0	44	4	8	61	14	5	547	8	7
Pannikûllam				101	2	0	34	6	9	7	11	6				19	2	0	37	11	0	125	13	7	325	14	1
Pancivadali				37	7	1	41	4	0	4	3	6	96	5	11	6	13	6	29	4	0	48	10	0	264	0	0
Nallûr				82	14	7	143	15	0	5	12	7	50	9	2	110	0	3	78	9	10	164	13	9	636	10	2
Pâvûr																											
Sarandei				70	3	8	40	12	0	17	7	3	82	0	4	21	1	10	69	7	8	81	8	0	382	1	9
Total ..	732	4	9	1229	1	7	787	59	1	244	3	7	706	15	6	526	12	9	606	0	2	1850	2	6	5775	1	8

we add a brief communication from the Missionary of the Paneivilei district, the Rev. J. Pickford, in which he shows how their "deep poverty abounds unto the riches of their liberality."

"Our annual Missionary meeting was held yesterday in Paneivilei church. It is an event of much interest to the Christians of this district; and, inasmuch as it may be one of those things which show whether the work of the Lord is progressing or retrograding among us, I think it advisable to forward to you a general account of our proceedings.

"In the first place, the meeting was well attended, there being about 800 persons present, and, with one or two exceptions, all the distant villages were represented by their headmen, many of whom had come a distance of twelve, fifteen, and eighteen miles. From the report of this, the third anniversary of the Paneivilei Church Missionary Society, it appears that our income for this year amounts to rupees \$15.6.2. The contributions from the people, schoolmasters, and catechists, show an increase of nearly fifty rupees during the year, which, considering the dearness of rice and other articles of food, is a cheering fact. As far as I am personally concerned, I feel much comforted that God has put it into the hearts of the people to give so freely of their substance during this my first year's connexion with them; but there is especial occasion for hope and thankfulness when we consider, not only the amount which has been contributed, but the ready cheerfulness with which it has generally been given. 'He that watereth others shall be watered also himself' is a divine truth, which is, I believe, receiving daily illustration among the Christians of this district. If we send sixty rupees to that noble institution the Bible Society, we receive Bibles, Testaments, and portions of the Holy Scriptures; and in this way the waters of life are circulated in every village; and I trust in a short time there will not be a Christian family in the whole district—any member of which can read—without a Bible, or at least a whole New Testament: and thus the marvellous story of God's love to sinners will be heard read in every Christian cottage. What is said of this Society may with equal justice be said of the rest. The money given to the Book and Tract Societies, and to other local purposes, returns in another and more useful form to the people. Two of the mukunthen (headmen), in addressing the meeting, brought this point out in a manner very striking, and yet thoroughly native; and the people seem to have a growing appreciation

of the fact. The Local Committee, consisting of the catechists, schoolmasters, and headmen of the villages, voted to the

Bible Society	Rs. 60	0	0
Book Society	40	0	0
Tract Society	25	0	0
"The good Instructor"*	20	0	0
For books already purchased, or desirable to purchase	110	0	0
Pilgrim Society	18	0	0
For various local objects, about	100	0	0

"In addition to the above, the people have contributed fifty rupees towards the erection of a chattram, designed especially for the accommodation of Christians going into Palamcotta. Also for the support of a catechist, to labour with Mr. Ragland in the North of Tinnevely, the people have contributed in pice a sum sufficient to defray the expenses which have been already incurred.

"In all these proofs of zeal and Christian liberality it is only due to the catechists to say they have always set a good example; and I can truly say there is no class of Christian men, with whom it has been my pleasure to become acquainted, who give either so largely or so cheerfully of their means as the Tinnevely catechists."

It will be interesting to our readers to know what view our American brethren, our fellow-labourers in the great work of evangelization, take of the Mission-field among the Tamil people. We therefore introduce, from the pages of the "Missionary Magazine," the organ of the "American Baptist Missionary Union," the following article, abstracted from the work of the Rev. Joseph Mullens, of Calcutta, on South-India Missions, and thus adopted as their own, on "Native Agency and Liberality among the Shanar Christians." There will be found in it a prominent, although not exclusive reference to the efforts of the Church Missionary Society.

"An interesting topic connected with the Shanar Missions is the system of agency adopted by the Missionaries for the instruction and discipline of their multitudes of disciples, of whom each Missionary has on an average two thousand. In these extensive Missions, Missionaries appear much more as the directors and superintendants of several congregations than of one; and much more as pastors of Christian flocks than direct preachers to the heathen. The influence of each one of them is thus spread over a much wider surface, without being at all dissipated.

* The monthly periodical already referred to.

The system of management is very complete throughout all the Missions; and will, I feel sure, under God's blessing, tend to establish the converts in sound doctrine, and to apply the gospel widely and fully to the extensive district where they toil. This system has been the growth of years; and its elements have been suggested by the experience of actual wants. It is not invariably the same in form, individual Missionaries making modifications of their own. All Missionaries have a body of native catechists under their direction, who are employed in the charge of the various village congregations connected with each head station. By some, all the catechists of a district are gathered monthly for three or four days at a time: by others they are gathered weekly on a particular day. On these occasions the catechists give in systematic reports of the state of the separate villages under their management. They report on the condition of the congregations and schools; the attendance at public worship; the sermons they have preached; the places they have visited; the burials they have performed; the number of converts added; the progress of inquirers; the number desirous of baptism; the applicants for admission to the communion; and so on. They also receive instruction, the Missionary dictating a sermon to them, or regularly reading through, for their benefit, a book of Scripture. In some stations the catechists preach sermons dictated to them by the Missionary: in others they prepare sermons of their own, and submit them to the Missionary's criticism. Both plans have the same object, that of providing proper instruction for the out-stations. Similar reports are received from the schoolmasters. Again, in most cases, the agents of the Mission pass through different grades of employment, as from assistant schoolmaster to that of schoolmaster. Thence they pass to the office of assistant catechist; then become catechists; and finally may be ordained. This plan is found to work well, as furnishing a stimulus to exertion and improvement. In the Church Missionary Society there are also superintending schoolmasters and superintending catechists, who have charge of several divisions of a district.

"The work of the Missionary, in the complete and constant superintendence of the separate districts of each Mission, is by no means light. It embraces several distinct departments. First, a Missionary is directly the pastor and preacher of the station where he resides. He also teaches the chief classes in the school of the station, especially in the boarding-school, and the Bible class. He has to receive the

reports of all his native agents, to meet their difficulties, give them advice, or, by them, send advice to the people. He must also be prepared to see smaller or larger deputations arriving from all parts of his district at any hour of the day, to ask his assistance in settling quarrels, making up marriages, securing loans from the Benevolent Societies, or treating special cases of sickness. He has also to visit in turn the chief out-stations in the district; to examine and teach the local schools; preach in the village churches; meet the candidates for baptism; and settle a thousand varieties of miscellaneous business, which the people are certain to have on hand for his advice. He must also be architect and builder, not only of the Mission buildings, but also superintendant of the village streets which spring up around his dwelling. How well these things can be done by devoted and energetic men is proved by many examples spread over the whole province. Every station bears witness to their skill; but the villages of Edeyenkúdy and Suvisehapuram, the establishment at Sawyerpuram, the beautiful Gothic churches, built of stone, at Suvisehapuram, Paneivilei, and Mengnanapuram, display it in the strongest light. The districts to which they belong are also some of the most interesting, for the numbers and character of the converts, in all Tinnevely.

"All the Societies among the Shanars have paid much attention to the raising of a thoroughly good native agency. Had they better materials, the results would be better than they now are, though still they exhibit a great advance on former days. Three seminaries have been established for this purpose, at Nagercoil," for the London Missionary Society, "at Palameottah, for the Church Missionary Society, and at Sawyerpuram for the Propagation Society. At each place a large number of promising lads and young men are subjected to a course of instruction, extending over several years, and embracing the most important branches of education, with a view of being fitted for employment in the Mission. Special instructors have been appointed to these Institutions, and great pains are taken to secure the end for which they were established. The longer they are maintained, the greater will be the good influence which they exert throughout the Shanar Missions.

"A thing specially worthy to be noticed in these Missions is the practice, early introduced among them, of leading the converts to contribute to the gospel which they have themselves received. In Bengal and other parts of India, though a beginning has been made,

native churches have been backward in this matter. The plan was first introduced into Tinnevely by Mr. Rhenius, and was then adopted at Nagercoil. In all the stations, contributions are sought for various Christian Societies. There are, for instance, the Bible Society and the Tract Society, both well supported by native subscriptions. In Tinnevely, in 1852, the Christians contributed nine hundred rupees to the Bible Society. From Travancore they remitted three hundred and forty-eight rupees. At Nagercoil and two neighbouring stations, the same year the collections and purchases in the Tract Society amounted to six hundred and seventy rupees. At some stations there is a Book Society, at some a Dorcas or a Poor Fund. In the Nagercoil Mission subscriptions are gathered as a contribution to the Home Society, and for several years they have amounted to a thousand rupees, enough for the support of twelve readers. Throughout Tinnevely there are Societies to aid the building of village churches. An immense number of such churches have been erected by their aid. They subscribe also to the founding of villages as well as Societies, and are now endeavouring to establish endowments, both by gifts of money and planting lands. Most of the Christians are poor, particularly in the southern parts; yet even the poor give willingly. Many that have no money contribute lumps of sugar: their coin, however, is very small, the copper cash having a very minute value, and many of these appear in the collecting-boxes. The catechists and more wealthy men give liberally, and that, too, without boasting. In special cases many have frequently given a month's salary. One catechist, in the Propagation Society's Jubilee, gave four months' salary; and when Mr. Cæmmerer objected, thinking it too much, he said that he must give it in thankfulness for what he had received from the Mission, and for the education of his children in the knowledge of the gospel. The same man, on collection days, has been known quietly to give his two boys two rupees each to put into the box. Richer men do more. In Mr. Tucker's district, where the Shanars are wealthy, some have frequently given five, four, or three rupees at one time, and one man on several occasions has given twenty-five. Let but the principle be understood, and the habit established, and why may not the same be seen in other parts of India?

"Through the kind aid of the Rev. W. Clark, of Palamcottah, I have obtained a carefully-prepared statement of the sums of

money contributed by the Tinnevely Christians to their different Christian Societies during the last four years. The statement is not quite complete; but it proves the astonishing fact, that the Christians of eleven stations, 21,000 in number, contributed during that period, for the various benevolent objects above mentioned, no less than seventeen thousand rupees. If we reckon those of the seven other stations, containing 14,000 people, as liberal in an equal degree, it will exhibit the sum total, given by the whole Christian community in the province, as amounting to more than twenty-eight thousand rupees in those four years."

In this extract the usefulness of the catechists, and the efforts made to bring into action an effective native agency, are specially adverted to; and with justice, for without the catechists how could the work have been carried on; and unless this subordinate agency be developed into a native pastorate, how shall it be duly maintained? If the native pastorate be needful for New Zealand, how much more for Tinnevely? Let the condition of these churches be duly weighed, not only as to their extent, but as to their advancing condition; the 375 places of worship, each with its congregation, more or less numerous, but all now having taken root, and requiring care and cultivation; the regular preaching of the word, so essential to growth; the administration of ordinances, a deficiency in which must be seriously prejudicial; and how without a native pastorate, duly proportioned to the necessities of these churches, can the responsibilities connected with them be fulfilled? Let one point alone be considered, the due celebration of the marriage rite.

No Christian "marriage can take place without the previous consent of the Missionary. Prior to asking his permission, it is necessary to obtain the certificate of the catechists of the villages in which the parties live, that there is no impediment. They must then go personally to the Missionary, who may be living at the distance of ten or fifteen miles, and procure an order for the publication of the banns, which order must be conveyed to both places. After the publication they must bring a certificate that no impediment has been alleged, and ascertain on what day it will be convenient for the Missionary to marry them. And then, after all this trouble, when the marriage takes place, the bride and bridegroom, and their respective friends, have to travel the whole distance on foot. Such annoyances should be removed as

speedily as possible, for, though the people submit to them, it is often with great reluctance. A native pastor, always present with his people, would obviate many of these difficulties. The Missionaries, too, would be thus left free to go among the heathen, and attend more to the new congregations than is possible at present.”*

So long as the great body of the people consisted of persons under instruction for baptism, a few European Missionaries, with a strong force of native catechists, might suffice to fulfil its necessities. But now that the congregations consist mainly of baptized persons, requiring to be dealt with as a professedly Christian people, the catechist needs to be a pastor. And as in our last Number we did not hesitate to express our conviction that the New-Zealand congregations had suffered severely from a deficiency in the native pastorate, so in Tinnevelly there must be the same loss if the same defect be permitted to exist.

As to the facilities for the organization of such an agency, Tinnevelly is far in advance of New Zealand. The materials from whence it may be deduced are more abundant. Educational and training institutions were at once initiated in that Mission, and have gradually become more settled and well arranged, so as to afford at present as effective a graduation from the first elementary school to the Preparandi Institution, where spiritual men are trained for spiritual work, and catechists who have already been tested by actual service in the field are prepared for ordination, as is to be found in any of our Mission-fields.

“It is interesting to note what appears to be the natural and healthy growth of a Mission. First comes preaching to adults; then the gathering of a few children under instruction; then congregations are formed; the need of helpers then presses; the most pious and energetic of the converts are naturally selected; native agency is thus originated; their imperfections are brought out when they are once set to work; the Missionary endeavours to remedy their defects; and at length it becomes obvious, that if he could divide his labour, and commit the training of his native agents to some one specifically devoted to it, he would have more time and energy for his own particular work, and his native assistants also would be made far more effective. Thus at last we

arrive at some central training establishment.

“This appears, we say, to be the theory of the normal and healthy growth of a Mission. It is of course liable to be disturbed in practice by a thousand modifying circumstances: it is so here, for example, from the desire of the natives of India to obtain English education; but still this does not affect the true theory of Missions; and it is, accordingly, a mark of an advanced stage in the operations of any Mission when such training institutions become a felt necessity. It is a mark of advancement, we say, when they are really wanted, and then alone is there any reasonable prospect of their succeeding. Attempts have been made again and again, in different parts of the world, to commence such training institutions before the Mission in which they have been originated was ripe for the experiment, and they have as often failed. No system of manufacturing native agents out of unfit materials, however laborious the discipline, will bring forth satisfactory fruits. The agents must come first, and the training of them afterwards; but where the agents are already supplied, suitable but imperfect, then the time is come for training institutions.

“We have found it to be so in the case of Tinnevelly. Till within the last six years each Missionary was encumbered with the preparation of his own future catechists, when the establishment of the Preparandi Institution relieved hands, already too full, of that additional labour; and the successful result of the change is best expressed in the testimony of one of our most experienced Missionaries, that his lowest reader now is superior to his highest catechist ten years ago.”†

The present state of the Preparandi Institution appears to be very encouraging. The Principal, the Rev. E. Sargent, bears the following testimony as to the spiritual progress of the students, and the efficiency of the native teachers—

“As to heart work, I have reason to know that conscience with some has been exercised in a way they had never experienced before, though with some it falls short of the full turning unto the Lord. I have known times when, with the prospect of employment as a catechist, a man would maintain that all was right with his soul, simply because he had never been detected in any known sin. I am pleased to see a better notion gaining ground

* “Madras Church Missionary Record,” April 1856, p. 104.

† Ibid. March 1856, pp. 69, 70.

among our native teachers on this point. I have met with several cases of young men, who, upon leaving the Institution, and the matter being placed seriously before them, with reference to the Society's rule that none but spiritual men be appointed to spiritual work, have, with evident concern and honest struggle, confessed that they could not class themselves as yet among that number, although at times they felt impressed by appeals in sermons.

"In the native teachers, I have had the most efficient moral helpers that I could wish for in conducting such an establishment."

It is very satisfactory to find that the mode adopted by Rhenius, with so much benefit, of engaging the students in active efforts for the good of the heathen, and thus affording them a practical training of the best kind, is pursued in this Institution. On Saturdays, at noon, after special prayer, the teachers and students of the first and second classes, with five others not connected with the Preparandi, go out, two and two, to the neighbouring villages, to distribute tracts and speak to the heathen; so that every village and hamlet within five miles of Palamcottah is visited at least twice or thrice a month. In connexion with the Parent Society's Institution at Islington a like system is pursued, the students visiting a certain portion of the district, and carrying on there genuine Missionary work, with improvement to themselves and much benefit to its inhabitants.

An Institution, designed to give the same training and efficiency to schoolmasters which the Preparandi Institution is affording to catechists, and candidates for the native pastorate, is on the point of being organized, under the title of the "Palamcottah Vernacular Training Institution."

"It was felt that the time is now come for a similar effort on behalf of the schoolmasters of the Mission, and that the village schools especially needed improvement. We are now thankful to be able to record that such an Institution has been constructed. The Principal is supplied in our Missionary, the Rev. J. B. Rodgers, who for two years conducted the vernacular department of the late Madras Training Institution. He will be assisted by four trained teachers, and the system of instruction pursued will be mainly that of the Home and Colonial School Society—the system, in fact, which was substantially originated by Pestalozzi, which has been found so successful wherever it has been introduced into Bengal, combining, as it does,

a special adaptation both to the genius of Oriental languages and to the listlessness of the Oriental mind!"*

In this, then, we have encouragement, that there is to be found in the Tinnevely Mission the material from whence the native pastorate may be raised; that there are institutions in which there is afforded not only intellectual improvement, but spiritual development, to the man under gracious influence, that he may be fitted for the important office of catechist; and where the faithful catechist, who has already laboured diligently in that more limited sphere of usefulness, may be prepared for higher duties.

Another fact there is which may well cause thankfulness, that the ordination of natives is going forward in the Tinnevely district; that tried catechists are being admitted to the native pastorate, and their qualifications, in other respects satisfactory, accepted by the Bishop of Madras, although confined to their own vernacular.

The bishop reached Mengnanapuram on Tuesday, February 26th, the candidates for ordination from the Church Missionary and Gospel-Propagation Societies having assembled at that station. In the afternoon the catechists of the central station and surrounding villages assembled in the verandah of Mr. Thomas's house to pay their respects, and were received by the bishop in the most cordial and affectionate manner; and after that upwards of 300 schoolchildren, all Christians, assembled in front of the house—a happy sight, and one which seemed to warm the heart of the good bishop, as he listened to the ready replies of the children to his questions on many of the great and fundamental truths of God's word. On Friday morning the Rev. W. Knight arrived from Madras, and, with the Rev. Messrs. Thomas and Alcock, assisted the bishop in examining, on this the last day, the candidates for ordination. Ten were accepted, of whom seven—four Europeans, and two natives, Abraham Samuel, and Paramanandhen Simeon, for priests' orders, and one native, the catechist Paul Daniel, for deacons' orders—are in connexion with our own Society. The subsequent proceedings are thus related by Mr. Knight—

"In the evening the bishop invited me to ride over with him to Kadáchapúram, and address the candidates whom he was about to confirm there. It was dark when we arrived, and it was most impressive, amidst the gleaming lights, to see the whole Christian popula-

* Ibid. p. 70.

tion, who had gathered under their venerable pastor to welcome the bishop, and to hear the hymn of thanksgiving which went up from the schoolchildren all around us. The church was nearly filled with candidates: 130 from Kadáchapuram, 102 from Múdhálúr. They were of all ages: but it was especially delightful to think how far riper and more intelligent is the rising generation of Christians than that which is passing away. Whilst heathenism is ever deteriorating, the path of the gospel is as the shining light, that shineth more and more to the perfect day.

"The next morning, the day of the ordination, was ushered in by the confirmation of about 400 candidates from Mr. Thomas's combined districts; and at eleven o'clock the spacious church, now, with the exception of the permanent roof, far advanced towards completion, was crowded by a congregation of 1800 worshippers; embracing a large body of catechists, the students from Palamcottah and Sawyerpuram, the senior classes of the schools, and others who might be expected to take the deepest and most intelligent interest on the occasion. Larger numbers might easily have been gathered, but many of the ordinary attendants were not encouraged to come, as they might have excluded some to whom the solemn rite would be especially instructive. And I believe that all did feel that it was a most impressive season, and that the many supplications which had been offered up, both in the Ember prayers used previously throughout Tinnevely by the bishop's special desire, and in private and domestic approaches to the throne of grace, were heard, and answered in the presence and power of God the Holy Ghost amongst us. A thousand copies of the Ordination Service, in Tamil, which had been prepared for the purpose, were in the hands of the congregation; and besides the introduction of Tamil hymns, many of the more important portions, such as the questions to the native candidates for orders, were read in Tamil by Mr. Sargent audibly and emphatically. The laying-on of hands was watched with breathless seriousness; and I cannot refuse to believe that the ocular and audible demonstration afforded to the whole native church, and in the very midst of themselves, far away from any European community, will do much to raise their estimate of the ministerial office, and lead those who are looking forward to it for themselves hereafter to regard it more as a solemn and weighty responsibility, than as a dignity which elevates them somewhat in the social scale. I am sure that it would

have gladdened your heart and refreshed your spirit, could you have witnessed so palpable a token that our labour has not been in vain in the Lord. Besides the English sermon, there was one in Tamil, preached by Mr. Cæmmerer. In the evening Mr. Thomas called on me to lay the foundation of a new school-room for the boys' boarding-school, which will cost 500 rupees, the greater portion having been provided independently of the direct funds of the Society. May many of those educated therein be among the future priests and deacons of the Tamil church!

"The next day, Sunday, Paul preached at the early morning service, from Romans viii. 1. I understand the discourse was remarkable, like all his other sermons, for power of expression; and exhibited the deep insight, which he appears to have learnt from the Spirit's light upon the word, into the great mystery of redemption, the vicarious character of our Lord's death and sacrifice, and the great transition of becoming a new creature in Him. The Rev. John Devasagayam seemed quite carried out of himself in his enjoyment of the genuine Tamil oratory he had just been hearing. 'Often,' he said, 'those who have learnt English infuse too much of the English idiom into the Tamil, and deprive it of the excellence of the true native language.' Paul could not be obnoxious to this fault; for he knows no language but his own, and his Bible has been his great storehouse. 'He has got,' said Mr. John, 'what you call eloquence. He expresses his ideas in rich, suitable words. I give a thousand thanks to the Lord for the great work of grace upon his soul. It was a pure gospel sermon, Sir. His exposition of the doctrine of the cross, and the work of the Spirit, was beautiful.' As I heard this old disciple thus praising God for His grace to one so much his junior, I felt it was an earnest that the Lord will never want, in this land, a seed to serve Him. At the mid-day service we enjoyed the holy communion, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Alcock, Mr. John, and myself, joining in distributing the blessed memorial feast to 240 native communicants, besides ten Europeans. It was a season much to be remembered. May the savour of it long rest on those who were permitted to enjoy it! On the following day I overtook the bishop at Suvisésapuram, where he held another large confirmation. His reference to our late Missionary, the Rev. James Spratt, who had received him on his previous visit, was peculiarly touching and affectionate."

In reading the above account our only regret is, that a greater number of natives were

not presentable as candidates but we trust; that on the next opportunity there may be four times as many.

We must now leave, for the present, our Tinnevely churches. There is another interesting feature which remains to be considered—the manner in which they are being led forth to the prosecution of Missionary

effort amongst their heathen countrymen. But we must first glance at the native church in Travancore, and perhaps, also, that in Sierra Leone, in connexion with the native pastorate; and then Missionary interest and effort, as exhibited by the native churches, will remain as a uniting subject, in dealing with which they may be all grouped together.

THE INLAND SEA OF CENTRAL AFRICA.

IN our Number for February last we published some communications having reference to the existence of a great inland sea, lying several hundred miles due west of that portion of territory on the East-African coast with which we have been made acquainted through the exploratory tours of the Missionaries Krapp, Rebmann, and Erhardt. More especially we introduced a letter from Mr. Rebmann, which had previously appeared in the "Calwer-blatt," in which he details the information received, and the conclusion in favour of the existence of such a sea to which he and Mr. Erhardt had come. A map, illustrative of the idea which they entertained, drawn up by Mr. Erhardt, appeared in the first Number for the present year of the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London;" and a wish having been expressed that the readers of this periodical might be similarly favoured, and thus be enabled better to understand the position and bearings of the Uniamesi sea, we furnish them in the present Number with that desideratum.

The following summary of such information as has been collected appeared in the same number of "Proceedings," &c. to which we have referred, and the perusal of it will at once place the details of the map before our readers.

"Vague reports have long since been heard by the Missionaries in Eastern Africa of lakes; of mountains, isolated and in masses; and of a country whose slope and drainage was towards the interior.

"At Mombas few opportunities offered themselves of meeting with travelled natives; but it was quite otherwise both at Fuga and at Tanga. At both of these places the Missionaries stayed many months, and made acquaintance with caravan-leaders, Arabs, Suahelis, ivory-merchants, and slave-dealers, whose reports corrected and corroborated what had been told to them before.

"There are three main sets of routes from the coast to the interior, all of which pass over a flat country, and finally lead to an

immense lake of fresh water. Mr. Erhardt calls this the "Sea of Uniamesi," from the country that affords the greatest extent of its eastern shores. But the Waniamesi, the inhabitants of that country, call it "Ukerewe;" elsewhere it is called "Niandja," and its southernmost extremity "Niassa."

"Very full geographical details are given in Mr. Erhardt's paper about each part of these routes. He gives us also an account of its ferries, where it is narrow, and of two voyages across it, where it is very broad: one of these is that of an Arab, who also coasted along a large part of its northern shores.

"The routes are as follows, and all of them run westerly, and in the directions drawn by him on the accompanying diagram-map.

"1st. That of the ivory-traders from Tanga, who, threading various isolated masses of hills, of which Kilimandjaro and Doenyo Engai are snow-capped, passes through the level pastoral country of Masai to a place called Burgenei. This route—taking the average of four journeys, the particulars of which are given—occupies fifty-five days, the rate of travel being about seven hours a day. His informants travelled eight days further from Burgenei, through a tract peopled densely with Waniamesi, and then came suddenly upon the lake. The Masai are fierce and pastoral, the Waniamesi kind-hearted and agricultural.

"2d. That from Mboa Maji to Ujigi, a town of Uniamesi. This is of equal length to the first route, and is travelled leisurely by numerous caravans, with horses, donkeys, &c., for slaves, ivory, and copper ore. The country passed over is perfectly level, with the exception only of a mass of hills, the Ngu, which has to be crossed about a quarter of the way from the coast.

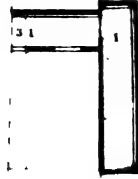
"3d. Those from Kiloa or Kirimba, to the ferries Gnombo and Mdenga. They are travelled by Portuguese slave-dealers as well as by Arabs.

"In tracing the contour of the lake, he begins from the south. He speaks of people

down on the accompanying map.

It is not surprising that these statements have been called in question by geographers who have given great attention to Africa, and have carefully noted down each new

lake or inland sea, of which only the approximate size can be given, since the measurements are determined exclusively by the journeys made by natives along parts of its shores, and across it. Only the east and



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as by Arabs.

"In tracing the contour of the lake, he begins from the south. He speaks of people

who come up from its shores two days' journey to the southwards of the ferry Mdenga (which is stated to be due west of Wuibu) in order to cross the lake, for they know nothing of its southern termination. From Mdenga to Gnombo is five days—two hard days further to Sigono, a 'heel.' Here the shore of the lake makes a great heel, and turns to the westward of north, for seven days, when a wild elephant-country is reached. The shore now runs due west for five days to the Waniamesi. Among them, twelve days further, the shores run due west and W.; and in another twelve days further, a tribe, the Wafipa, is reached, in the country is a small salt-water stream, which much notice is taken, and which is then of as running westwards from the Wapogo to the Wapogo.

A traveller from Ujigi, going due south to the shores of the lake, reached the salt in the Wapogo country in seven days: he says, the sea made 'quite a round bend.' This great bend is confirmed by the men of the lake. From Ujigi northwards to the great river of the Wadusi was by an Arab, but detailed itineraries wanting. A considerable portion of its eastern and western shores is traced out on the evidence.

Ujigi is the starting-point for large rowing to cross the lake to the opposite shore: in five days' rowing they reach a mountainous island, Kavogo. Twenty-five more days takes them to the opposite shore, where they buy copper. The above-mentioned Arab crossed across the sea in twelve or fifteen days, and was nine days in returning.

The lake appears to be remarkable for its sandy, and reedy shores, except only at its southern extremity, where it runs to the base of a steep range of hills. Its shores run very high, and an entirely calm sea is rare. Its water is sweet and good, and abounds with fish. There are very few islands visible anywhere from the coast, and the above-mentioned Arab, who twice crossed the lake, saw none. A large part of its shores are covered with a population 'like an ant-hill.' The northern extremity is unknown, but it is supposed to be at the foot of a range of mountains which stretch westward to the north of the lake. The river of the Wadusi, on the eastern part of its east coast, is an enormous river, but very sluggish: the other principal rivers which have been heard of are laid down on the accompanying map."

It is not surprising that these statements have been called in question by geographers who have given great attention to Africa, and have carefully noted down each new

step towards the discovery of the great interior. A subsequent paragraph in the same number adds, that

"Mr. Macqueen called in question the conclusions of Mr. Erhardt.

"In Mr. Macqueen's paper, of which only a small portion was read, he contended that there were two lakes, and not a single large one; that there was a general slope of Africa from the interior towards the coast of Zanzibar; that the river crossed by Dr. Livingston, and called by him the Casai or Cassabe, was not, as he had heard, an affluent of the Congo, but that it was identical with the Cassabe River, which joined with the Lualaba River, and ran into the northernmost lake; that a river issued on the opposite side of this lake, and reached the sea under the name of the Lufia, or the Lufigi; that the Luapula River, passing near to Luenda, ran between the two lakes without touching either, and then joined the Lufia; and, finally, that the northernmost lake and the southernmost were distinguished by the names of the greater and the lesser Niandja.

"Mr. Erhardt premised, that during his residence of six years on the coast he had become familiarly acquainted with three of the native languages, and had derived his information from a vast number of persons, and from independent sources. He then recapitulated the conclusions he had arrived at, based on the evidence mentioned in his paper read at the last meeting—

"That a ridge of considerable elevation, but not quite continuous, runs from north to south, at no great distance from the coast, and forms the watershed of that part of Africa.

"That the region to the east of this ridge is drained by several short streams, *e.g.* the Rufu, rising in the Fuga country, the Rufuma, and others.

"That he himself had ascended the Lufigi River for a few miles, and found it to be a small and insignificant stream. Mr. Macqueen's description of its length and breadth corresponded to no river at all in East Africa.

"That the country west of this ridge consists of extensive plains, with isolated hills, the plains being for the most part level, and presenting from the heights the appearance of a vast sea.

"That beyond these there is an immense lake or inland sea, of which only the approximate size can be given, since the measurements are determined exclusively by the journeys made by natives along parts of its shores, and across it. Only the east and

part of the south coasts can be laid down with any thing like an approach to accuracy.

"He then mentioned the reports of natives and traders, which connected different points in succession along the entire margin of this lake, and asserted that he was well acquainted with the names given by Mr. Macqueen, and ascribed by him to different lakes, but that they simply referred to two reaches at the very southernmost extremity of the same lake; the lesser one, which ran north and south, being usually ferried across by traders; and the greater one, running east by west, seldom if ever crossed by them, because of its greater breadth, and because the direct routes of the caravans ran alongside of it."

Dr. Beke has also published a letter in the "*Athenæum*," in which, adhering to his opinion of two lakes, instead of one, he refers to a certain Mohammed bin Khamis, "a very intelligent Sawáhili, educated in England, formerly commanding one of the Sultan Seid S'aid's ships," and now in Mauritius. Dr. Beke says—

"I have laid before him Mr. Cooley's recent works, the several articles in the '*Athenæum*,' &c., and discussed with him their contents. And he has expressed to me, in the most positive and unqualified manner, his conviction of the existence of *two* lakes—the one, 'Nyassa,' being much smaller, more southerly, and nearer to the coast, while the other, 'the Monomwézi Lake,' is considerably larger, more towards the north, and much further in the interior. In the Sawáhili language they are respectively called 'Ziwa lawanyássa,' or the lake of the tribe of Nyassa; and 'Ziwa lawanyamwézi,' or the lake of the tribe of Nyamwézi—Mr. Rebmann's 'Uniamesi.' The distinction between these two lakes, he says, is perfectly well known to the Sawáhilis of Zanzibar trading with the interior. The tribes on their shores are different, and their boats different: those on the southern lake being small, while those on the larger lake are vessels capable of holding from seventy to eighty persons. The roads to the two lakes are likewise quite distinct, and in different directions; that to the Nyassa lake starting from Kilwa (Quiloa) and proceeding to the southward of west, and that to the Nyamwézi Lake leading either from Buromáyi, or from the mouth of the river Pangáni, in a direction to the *north* of west."

Dr. Beke then observes, with reference to Messrs. Rebmann and Erhardt's information, that should there prove to be two separate lakes, "then the northern limit of 'N'yassi' . . . will have to be curtailed, and perhaps considerably so, to make room for

the Monomwézi lake;" or should there be but one lake, then the extension of N'yassi to the north runs far beyond the limits which he had ever ventured to assign to it.

His letter concludes with the following paragraph—

"In either case I cannot but have reason to be satisfied. The country of Monomwézi, and its lakes, will have been brought into the immediate vicinity of the head of the basin of the Nile, in which same direction snowy mountains, such as Kilimandjárá, Kénia, and those seen by Capt. Short, have been discovered. And when (as we may hope it now soon will be) the mystery of the sources of the Nile shall be disclosed, I entertain not the slightest doubt that their position will be found to be in general accordance with the description of Claudius Ptolemy, as interpreted by myself."

The statements of the Missionaries, and the objections urged against them, are before our readers. Without pledging ourselves to the accuracy of all their views, and making due allowance for the uncertainty connected with native reports, enough remains to arrest the attention of scientific men. Is it impossible to ascertain what is the fact? Have not geographical problems of much less interest and importance elicited repeated expeditions, and persevering efforts at discovery? That there is some great collection of waters in the interior is, we think, undoubted: it may be one great reservoir, or there may be two. The existence of such a medium of inland communication completely changes our view of this continent. The great mass of land which so prolonged itself, as we conceived, from east to west and north to south, is interrupted, and provided with unexpected facilities for intercommunication. Tribes and nations are separated, not by deserts, but by a navigable sea. The toilsome journeys of Galton and Livingstone, with wagons and oxen and numerous attendants, across vast plains and rivers, in order to reach some populous and cultivated country, would not be necessary in such a region. Let it only be ascertained that such a sea exists, and the bark of the adventurous European will not be wanting to traverse its waters, and hold communication with the numerous tribes along its banks. Commerce will open for itself a new channel; Kiloa and the Gnombo ferry will become emporiums of traffic; Christianity will not be slow to avail itself of every opportunity, and will hasten to extend its peaceful influence to new lands; and this very sea will eventually become a grand centre of persevering efforts for Africa's improvement.

RECENT ORDINATIONS, &c., IN THE TINNEVELLY AND TRAVANCORE MISSIONS—LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF MADRAS.

SINCE the publication of our last Number we have received from the Bishop of Madras an account of his recent visit to the Tinnevelly and Travancore Missions, and of the confirmations and ordinations of native Christians in which he has been engaged. How interesting such a document! What an evidence in itself of the advancing state of our Mission churches! How different from the pioneer work of the early Missionary, when, amidst discouragements of no ordinary character—a new language, whose sounds were uncouth to his ear, as he strained to distinguish the rapid utterance—a new climate, whose peculiar influences enfeebled him with sickness—he toiled to remove some few of the prejudices which grew so thickly around him! Now it is as when the forest has been cleared, and the ungainly roots have been removed, and the sunshine breaks in, and the fresh air circulates, and the cultivated fields are verdant with the springing crops. So there are cleared spots amidst the tangled maze of India's idolatry, and Christian churches rise to view; and as we regard with thankfulness these harbingers of more extensive changes, we may say, with the inspired poet, "The winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; the fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell."

The Bishop's letter, which we now introduce, will be found confirmatory of the statements contained in our previous Number, as to the encouraging aspect of our Tinnevelly Mission.

"Ootacamund, May 17, 1856.

"You will have heard of my third visit to your Missions in Tinnevelly and Travancore during the months of February and March; but I must give you a brief account of it myself before the delightful impressions which have been made upon my mind are supplanted by other duties and engagements.

"I would premise that I have never made a tour in which I have felt so fully the importance of the work which is going on, and in which I have reason to believe the hand of the Lord was more visibly put forth in manifestations of mercy and goodness, than on the late occasion.

"We visited all the principal places in your Missions, with the exception of Dohnavúr, Nallúr, Surandai, and Pavúr, in Western Tinnevelly. In this journey my domestic

chaplain (the Rev. A. H. Alcock) and myself travelled, in the two months, about twelve hundred miles; visited more than thirty stations; and addressed at least sixteen thousand native Christians. I confirmed between two and three thousand converts; held two ordinations, in which there were seventeen candidates for orders, eight of whom were natives; gave addresses at all the stations to the native catechists; examined the schools; and consecrated two churches. We often travelled through the nights, and held services in the day. But amidst the fatigue and heat (for the weather became very hot before we had finished our journey) our spirits were refreshed by seeing how great things the Lord was doing for the heathen; and we forgot our toil in the glorious work which we were permitted to witness, and, in some measure, to share in. It must indeed have been a cold heart that could see such things and not rejoice in them.

"I shall now proceed to give you a statement of the confirmations and ordinations connected with your own Missions.

"We entered Tinnevelly on the 10th of February, and were comforted and refreshed with the presence of your valued and devoted evangelistic Missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Ragland and Fenn (we saw their no less devoted colleague, Mr. Meadows, the next day) who came and spent the day with us at a public bungalow. They gave us an interesting account of the first-fruits of their labours, in the baptism of a number (sixteen) of converts, who had been received into the church a short time before our arrival. The Rev. J. Thomas, who had examined them previous to their baptism, had expressed himself much satisfied with their clear and simple views of the way of life, and their cordial reception of the truth of the gospel. Thus a church was commenced, which I hope will gather many within its circle who shall be to the praise of redeeming grace.

"When we left our friends our work commenced. The following are the places where Confirmations were held, and the numbers confirmed, in connexion with your Society—

Jan. 17, 1856.	Vepery	57
Feb. 20 "	Pannikúllam	173
" 22 "	Paneivilei	202
" 24 "	Palamcottah	110
" 29 "	Kadachapúram	159
March 1 "	Mengnanapúram	334
" 4 "	Suvisheshapúram and Dohnavúr	154

March 16, 1856,	Cochin	38
" 17 "	Allepie	43
" 18 "	Mavelicara	152
" 19 "	Tiruwalla	16
" 20 "	Pallam	49
" 22 "	Cottayam	95
" 25 "	Trichūr	52
" 26 "	Kunnankūllam	32

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"I would observe that the solemnity of manner with which the candidates at the different places took upon themselves their Christian obligations; the earnestness with which they repeated their replies to the question of their responsibility, and the voluntary dedication of themselves to the service of God; the intelligent manner with which they listened to the exhortations of the bishop, and replied to his questions as to how far they understood his admonitions—convinced me that the service was not a mere form, but that, in numbers of them, it was the willing offering of themselves to that Saviour whose they were by redemption, and whom they were anxiously desirous to serve in all dutiful and loving obedience.

"I was informed, too, by the Missionaries that they had had considerable satisfaction in their preparation for the rite; and they believed a large proportion of them were sincere in their profession, and desirous to be the soldiers and servants of the Lord Jesus.

"I would add that a larger number of them were able to read, and there were far more young people, than on any former occasion.

"May God follow with His rich blessing the numbers who have thus come forward and avouched themselves to be on the Lord's side, and may they be faithful unto death!

"I would only say that I never felt my heart more enlarged than in addressing them at the different places.

"I now pass on to give you an account of the Ordinations which I have been permitted to hold.

"I have held four since I last wrote to you; and have admitted, from your Society, nine to the order of priesthood and six to that of deacon, viz.

"*Priests*—The Rev. Messrs. R. R. Meadows, J. Whitchurch, Every, A. Dibb, H. Dixon, Paramanathan Simeon, Abraham Samuel, H. Andrews, and R. H. Vickers.

"*Deacons*—Messrs. Whitchurch, Paul Daniel, Oomen Namen, Koshi Koshi, George Curien, and Jacob Therian.

"It will be observed, of these no less than seven are natives. May God keep them humble, spiritually-minded, zealous, and

faithful, and make them able and successful ministers of the New Testament!

"The last two of these ordinations were so important and interesting—viz. the one at Mengnanapúram on the 1st of March, and the other at Cochín—that I may be permitted to dwell on them for a few moments.

"On the 1st of March we held the ordination at Mengnanapúram. We had eleven candidates; but only ten were finally admitted after examination. Seven of them were from your Society, of whom three were natives.

"I and my examining chaplain were fully satisfied with the result of the examination of all your candidates. Their views were clear and correct, their attainments very considerable, and their piety, so far as man can judge, very decided and exemplary.

"Almost all the Missionaries and catechists throughout the province of Tinnevely were present on the occasion. The large church was full to overflowing: there were more than eighteen hundred present.

"On entering the church it was a solemn sight to see the assembly, with the candidates ranged at each side of the chancel in their surplices and gowns. My domestic chaplain, the Rev. A. H. Alcock, presented them; and having been commended to the devout prayers of the congregation, the Rev. J. Thomas read the Litany. We felt it an appropriate service; and I believe prayer was answered, and blessings vouchsafed to those who were about to be set apart and devoted to the service of the sanctuary. They were next addressed by the Secretary of the Society, the Rev. W. Knight, in an appropriate sermon, setting forth the duties, responsibilities, and encouragements of the candidates, from 2 Tim. ii. 15, 'Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.'

"I am happy to say that the sermon has been printed, at my request, for the benefit of those who were afterwards ordained.

"We proceeded to the communion service. The Rev. E. Sargent read the Commandments, and then came the solemn act of the ordination. The pause for secret prayer for the candidates, and afterwards the invocation of the Holy Ghost in singing of the *Veni Creator*, previous to the imposition of hands on the heads of those to be set apart to the priesthood, were most thrilling. Indeed, a more sacred and edifying service I have never before been permitted to witness. The large gathering of ministers from almost all the stations in the Missions; the great number of catechists, schoolmasters, and students, from

the seminaries; the large and fine church crowded with deeply-attentive black faces; the melodious singing, led by the rev. pastor of the church; the deep and hearty responses from every part of the building; rendered the scene a most instructive and impressive one. It is a day which will be remembered in Tinnevely when many of us who were present on the occasion shall have done with the things which are seen and temporal.

"I must not omit to mention that the Rev. Mr. Cammerer, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, preached on the occasion a sermon in Tamil, which, I am told, was most striking and effective. It is also to be published at my request. The interest was considerably increased by the service being previously translated into the vernacular language, and the most striking parts of it read on the occasion, thus enabling all to join in the services in an intelligent manner.

"The service lasted for four hours; but no signs of weariness were manifested, although the heat was very great. The deep interest felt in the services absorbed every other consideration.

"The next day being the Sabbath, we had an early service, and confirmation of between three and four hundred, mostly young people; and at mid-day another service, at which fifteen hundred were present, and the holy sacrament administered to two hundred and forty of the native flocks. The Rev. A. H. Alcock preached an appropriate and effective sermon on this occasion. What things to record! What reason for gratitude! What encouragement to proceed in our Missionary work! Oh, that all England could have witnessed the sight! It would have been an answer to all objections, and a motive and incentive to more liberal and enlarged offerings to the Lord in the work; to more earnest prayer and dependence upon God. And it would, I believe, have called forth from many a youth in our Universities the exclamation, 'Here am I, Lord, send me' to a scene of duty which so well recompenses the labourer's toil.

"An interesting account of the ordination and confirmations at Cochin, and the stations in Travancore, has been forwarded to one of our weekly publications by a friend who witnessed them; and I content myself with forwarding them to you for the Society's information on the subject.

"I would add to the above, that my firm belief is, that the work of God is rapidly advancing in the Missions; that not only is there enlargement on every side, by continual ad-

ditions to the church, as the statistics of the Missions abundantly show, but the converts are increasing in intelligence and spirituality of mind; in growing love to the Saviour and to all their fellow-Christians; in more extended benevolence, as the charity of all abounding more and more testifies; and, as a natural consequence of all this, their orderly conduct and sober habits, and improved condition in life, are attracting the notice of the heathen around them, and leaving the impression that 'godliness alone is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.'

"The catechists continue to render most efficient aid to the Missionaries. They are indeed a class who are the very life of the Mission, and are growing in knowledge and usefulness. It was delightful to hear the enthusiastic manner in which our old and revered friend, John Dewasagayam, spoke of a sermon delivered by Paul, one of the catechists who was ordained at Mengnanapuram, and who preached to a large congregation the day after his ordination. 'It was real eloquence,' he said, 'not spoiled by any of the English idiom: so pure an exposition of the doctrine of salvation by Christ, and the work of the Holy Spirit, as I never heard.'

"I believe that the catechists are exercising, under the Missionaries, a blessed influence over the vast body of the native Christians, now more than thirty-three thousand, in connexion with your Society, including the ten thousand two hundred and twenty-one under Christian instruction for baptism. It is delightful to me to state, too, that, as far as I could judge, this large class of men are free from the pernicious, selfish, and soul-destroying influence of caste, which is shedding its baneful effects through the same class in Trichinopoly and Tanjore. I am also happy to add, that I know of no class of men more free from selfishness and covetousness. They have shown how the grace of God has corrected these characteristic vices (I may so call them) of the Shanars, by the large sums which have been raised, through their influence, for the different religious and charitable Societies. The amount in Tinnevely alone, last year, was no less than 6775rs. 1a. 8p. It is impossible to regard this feature of the change which has taken place amongst them without feeling that nothing but the Spirit of God could have effected it.

"I only refer to your schools. When it is considered that there are more than eleven thousand boys and girls in your institutions receiving instruction founded upon the blessed Bible, who can estimate the amount of good

that is going on in them? This fact alone is a reason for inexpressible thankfulness to Almighty God. It is true, that in many, if not in most of these schools the instruction imparted is very elementary; but at the same time it is also true, that along with it are conveyed truths which make wise unto salvation, and which those of higher pretensions are often utterly ignorant of.

"I am thankful to find that you have determined to accept the 'Grants in Aid' now offered by the Government to all schools, on the basis of requiring a certain standard of secular education, without interfering with the religious knowledge imparted by your Missionary agents. However much we may regret that a Christian Government has not taken higher ground, and felt it their bounden duty to promote the highest welfare of their Christian subjects, by giving them the best boon which God has given to men, viz. the revelation of His will, and which alone has raised the British nation to its eminence above other nations, yet I am persuaded that this concession will be a great blessing. Re-

ligion has nothing to fear from secular knowledge; on the contrary, she has every thing to hope from it, where it goes hand in hand with her own teaching, as it will do in these schools: and it is no small triumph of the truth, that a clergyman of the Church of England, who professes to take an interest in the progress of religion, is appointed an inspector of the Government schools.

"But I must stop. I rejoice in being able to testify to the marked improvement in all your Missions. There never was a time in which the hand of the Lord was more manifest in owning and blessing the labours of your Missionaries in India; and there never was a time in which the people of God should more earnestly and zealously show their grateful sense of His mercy, by more fervent prayers, by more generous and liberal offerings in the glorious cause of the gospel, and by more cheerful confidence in His grace and love, than at present."

We have received the communications to which the bishop refers: we would preface them by a brief sketch of

TRAVANCORE AND ITS MISSIONS.

"The Principality of Travancore, situated at the south-west extremity of Hindústan, may be considered as included generally between the eight and tenth degree of north latitude: it is bounded on the north by the territory of the Cochin rajah, on the south and west by the sea, and on the east by the high range of ghauts which divide this state from the districts of Tinnevely, Madura, and Coimbatore.

"The extreme length, measured from Pyraukoo-Cottah in the north to Kannea-koomaury (Cape Comorin), would amount to one hundred and seventy-four miles, while the utmost breadth, from Cochin on the coast to Doodaval Peak on its eastern border, is seventy-five miles: the northern boundary, however, is so intersected by the territory of Cochin, that the superficial extent is rendered very disproportionate to that which these dimensions would give. The medium breadth inland is reckoned at about forty miles, and the area comprised within the total limit of Travancore will thus amount to about six thousand six hundred and fifty-three and a half square miles; but of this extent the greater portion consists of hills covered with dense and impenetrable forests, and is lost to human industry. If so irregular an outline is referable to any particular figure, its form may be called triangular, Kannea-koomaury being the apex."*

"In general it may be said that the whole riches, population, and cultivation of Travancore are confined to a narrow strip along the coast. In the south the breadth does not exceed sixteen miles, while to the north it expands to something less than double this measurement: two-thirds of this amount, or about twenty-four miles parallel to the coast, may be considered as including the inhabited part of Travancore.†

"The high chain of ghauts, that form the eastern boundary of Travancore, is composed of a succession of bluff ridges and conical peaks, presenting in general a very irregular outline, the highest of which, at the greatest estimation, cannot exceed four or five thousand feet: amongst the most remarkable eminences are those of Myandragerry, Agasteesuer, Kootanaad, Nedumbara, Palpanaubapuram peak, Unmurtamalay, Kodiatur, Martamamalay, Peermode, Chowkanaad, Payraymalay, Thairathemda, Shoolemalay, and Auneymalay. Some of the above lofty mountains are seen entirely detached, except

According to the statistics of the Native States of India, published from the Statistical Office, East-India House, the total area of Travancore embraces at the present time 4792 square miles. If to this be added the area of Cochin, 1988 square miles, we have 6710 square miles, which is very nearly identical with that given by Horsley.

† Ibid. p. 7.

* "Memoir of Travancore," by Lieut. W. H. Horsley, Engineers, pp. 5, 6.

near their bases, from the neighbouring heights, falling precipitously, and followed to the westward by a succession of low hills, which continue to diminish in altitude as they approach the coast. From Quilon southward these secondary ranges are softened down into undulating slopes, intersected by innumerable glens and valleys, which dilate in width in proportion as the elevation of the hills diminishes, and are cultivated invariably with paddy, and found to be most productive. Amongst the labyrinth of mountains there are some rough elevated table-lands to be found; but the transition from hill to dale is in most cases too rapid to allow of any large extent of plain surface. The above remarks refer to the country west of the Perryaur river, between which and Dindigul is an immense mass of hills, crowded together in endless confusion. They are, however, distinguished by similar characteristics: their gloomy summits, either broken into projecting cliffs, or thickly shaded with wood, fall generally with precipitous abruptness, and present a variety of wild but magnificent forest scenery.

"These solitudes enclose within their recesses some elevated plains, occupying about one-twelfth of the whole area, which afford fine pasturage for the cattle of the neighbouring country, and enjoy a good climate for a portion of the year. It is in these parts that the principal cardamom gardens are met with, the produce of which is annually transported to Allepie, and sold by contract for the benefit of the Travancore Government. The finest teak timber is also to be found in this mountainous tract, but cannot be felled to any purpose, except when in the vicinity of the Perryaur or any other large tributary stream, by which it could be floated down to the coast.*

"Travancore is bounded on the west by an ample extent of sea-coast, which measures in its whole length one hundred and sixty-eight miles, but is not indented by a single harbour, or even a bay of any capacity: it offers, however, a safe and clear roadstead from October to May, nor is it, during this period, liable, generally speaking, to any sudden squalls or storms, except in the neighbourhood of the Cape, which has always been remarkable for continued violent winds." Allepie is the chief seaport, other places so enumerated being frequented only by small native craft, and having comparatively but little trade. The line of coast "is intersected by fourteen rivers, besides numerous subsidiary streams and rivulets." Of these, "the

Perryaur is the finest river in Travancore, and most probably the principal one throughout the whole of the western coast. It has its source in the highest range of ghauts, and flows, first in a northerly and afterwards a westerly direction, a total distance of one hundred and forty-two miles, till it mingles its waters with the sea at Pallypuram, near Kodungalloor." Increased in its descent to the low country by innumerable streams, it is navigable for sixty miles from its *embouchure*, small craft ascending as far as Nareamungalum, above which point its course is impeded by rocks and narrow gorges in the hills, with occasional falls.

"The back-waters of Travancore present a peculiar and interesting feature. A succession of these lakes, connected by navigable canals, extends along the coast for a very considerable distance, promoting materially the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants. The extreme length may be reckoned at nearly 200 miles, that is, from Chowghaut to Trevandrum inclusive; but between the latter place and Quilon there still exists a high promontory of land of about six miles in breadth, which it would be necessary to cut through to make this line of water-communication complete. The total area occupied by the surface of these lakes amounts to 227½ square miles, of which 157½ are within Travancore, 53½ belong to Cochin, and 16½ to the British province of Chowghaut. The principal lake in point of extent is that stretching east of Allepie, and known by the name of Vemba-naad; but, except perhaps during the monsoon, its depth in most parts is very trifling. A narrow slip of land, of a width varying from seven miles to something less than half a mile, serves to separate these back-waters from the sea. There are, however, several outlets: those at Chetwye, Kodungalloor, Cochin, Kayenkulam, Iveka, and Parravoor, are the principal ones, by which the surplus waters from the hills find their way into the sea. As may be supposed, every description of merchandize, as well as the whole produce of the country, is conveyed up and down the coast by the cheap and speedy transport afforded by this water-conveyance, and in consequence good carriage roads are very seldom met with in the country. The boats in use on these waters are of various sizes, but in most instances they are formed from a single tree, the stem of which is hollowed out for the purpose. The ordinary size is about twenty feet in length and two and a-half in breadth: those intended for carrying rice to any distance are larger every way, and made to close in towards the top or gunwale of the

* Ibid. pp. 55, 56.

boat. The oak, angely, and cotton trees are those generally selected, as being more durable, and admitting of greater size.*

"From the variety of aspect and extensive range of territory some diversity of climate might be inferred: dampness is perhaps amongst its most sensible qualities. The hills present every degree of temperature, from beyond fever heat to near freezing point: this rapid transition, however, is only common in the mountains, the climate of the low country being much more regular. The natives divide the year into six seasons. The Wussuntakaulum commences with the new moon in March, and continues to May: during this period it is hot, with rain at intervals. The Grishmakaulum sets in with the new moon in May, and continues to July: the periodical rains are considered as commencing with this period, and continue throughout it. The Prauverie, or Wurshakaulum, begins with the new moon in July, and continues to September, the rains for this period being more moderate. The Sharelkaulum commences on the close of the previous season, and continues to November: the north-east monsoon is partially felt, and the one peculiar to this coast now subsides. The Haymantakaulum next succeeds, and lasts till January: it is marked by strong winds and heavy dews. The Siserakaulum is the last season: it commences as the other closes, and, continuing till March, is distinguished by its excessive heat. But more generally speaking, the seasons may be separated into wet and dry, their vicissitudes being the same as the other parts of the western coast. The monsoon commences about the beginning of June, and ends in September: it is ushered in by frequent thunder and lightning, and a constant succession of showers. During its continuance the rains are heavy and incessant. The three months following their partial cessation are perhaps the most agreeable and salubrious in the year, the air being cool and refreshing, and the face of the country clothed with a luxuriant verdure. The borders of the lakes always afford an agreeable climate. The cultivated parts, particularly the more western, enjoy a favourable degree of salubrity. Receding from the coast, the country becomes less healthy, and the villages along the foot of the hills feel the baneful effects of their vicinity. In the interior of those wild tracts, from December to May, both months included, the climate is quite pestiferous, nor do the mountaineers escape its effects: to Europeans, and indeed to natives of the plains, it is highly injurious; nor

is it easy to say to what cause the fever, common to the hills during this season, must be attributed, though the sudden change of temperature (often varying 40° during the twenty-four hours) and excessive dews doubtless give activity to it. The climate of the hills for the remaining portion of the year is very salubrious, from June to September particularly so; the only inconvenience experienced for this period being the torrents of rain that deluge them, and the multitude of leeches that are generated thereby. In the neighbourhood of the Cape the south-west monsoon is but slightly felt, and the southern districts are, in consequence, often quite parched and dry, while heavy rain perhaps is falling not twenty miles to the north at the very same time: thus Oodeagherry may experience all the severity of the monsoon, while Myladdy has a comparatively dry climate. Notwithstanding the favourable character of the climate of Travancore, the ordinary infirmities of life are more common, at least the less fatal diseases are more numerous here, than in the eastern parts of the peninsula; attributable, possibly, to the warm humidity of climate, constant use of spirits, which are easily obtained and largely indulged in, a wretched diet, and scanty clothing. The term of life does not equal, perhaps, the duration common on the other coasts: those who have reached the middle point of life (and perhaps the number is proportionally greater amongst the Christians, more especially the Sooryauny (Syrian) part of them) are however numerous: the advanced age of eighty and ninety is but seldom met with, and at this period the faculties are always impaired, if not entirely annihilated. A change of climate is always injurious to, and eventually generally destroys, a native of Travancore: such is not the case, however, with an inhabitant of the eastern coast, who emigrates with safety, and is not in the least incommoded by the transition. The natives have but little skill in physic or in the virtues of plants: medicinal simples and embrocations of herbs, added to the imaginary benefit of incantations, are their only remedies. Many Brahmins possess some knowledge of medicine, but are quite devoid of any science; empirics are numerous, but their nostrums are only remarkable for their absurdity; the prescription is frequently directed against some minute demon, who is supposed to cause the disease; and the last resource is to implore the aid or deprecate the wrath of some minor deity (particularly Bagavaty, who is the Pandora of those parts), the petition being always strengthened by an offering.

"The face of the country presents con-

* Horsley, pp. 62, 63.

siderable diversity, although its general character, with the exception of the southern portion, is extremely abrupt and mountainous. The line of coast is generally flat; but, retreating from it, the surface immediately becomes unequal, roughening into slopes, which again gradually combine, and swell into the mountainous range which bounds the view on the east. Naunjynaad, with its collected villages, waving plains, Palmyra topes, and extensive cultivation, resembles in some respect the neighbouring province of Tinnevely, except that it in no wise partakes of its sterile and barren appearance. Approaching northward, this fertile plain is succeeded by the woody and rugged surface of the genuine Malyaalam country. The rich and variegated tract, extending along the coast, flanked by its mountainous barrier, is finely contrasted with the sombre magnificence and desolate solitude of those wilds of which the elephant seems the natural master; and though the landscape may be too much made up of this wild scenery, it still presents many striking localities and peculiar beauties. The eye is arrested by the wild rocky and precipitous acclivities and fantastic forms assumed by the mountains in the more southern parts; but proceeding north, the bold and elevated contour of this alpine chain is less sharply defined, a few rugged cliffs and conical summits alone breaking through the sameness of its rounded and sombre outline. The high range again dissolves into clustering hills and romantic precipices, at the foot of which wind innumerable valleys, presenting (particularly in the middle parts) the most delightful landscapes, embellished and diversified by the prospect of churches and pagodas: indeed the endless succession of houses and gardens, scattered in picturesque disorder over the face of the country, gives it entirely a different appearance from the eastern coast.”*

To complete our survey, a few of the leading towns and villages may be mentioned. Kotaur, in South Travancore, is “a town of considerable extent, to which merchants from the southern parts of India resort, it being the principal mart for exchange in articles of trade and money in the south of India.” “Contiguous to Kotaur is Nagercoil, once the seat of the Travancore Government.” It is now the central point of the London Society’s important Missionary operations among the Shanar population of South Travancore. Trevaudrum, or Tirrú Anandapúram, situated in lat. 8° 29’ 3” N. and in long. 76° 59’ 9” E., is the present capital of the Principality

of Travancore. Within the fort there is a pagoda, “in many respects similar to those in the Carnatic, having an elevated kohpuram, or gateway, in front. It is held in profound veneration by the sovereigns of Travancore, who consider it as the abode of their household deity. The festivals celebrated at this pagoda are too numerous to be here described: that which exceeds all others in splendour and profusion takes place semi-annually, called Moorajubbum, at which feast it is calculated that at least 60,000 people assemble from all quarters to profit by the bounty of the Circar.” The whole length of the town, from N. W. to S. E., is about two miles, containing a population of about 12,000, including all classes and castes, the portion of it within the fort being almost exclusively Brahmin, as no low-caste person is permitted to enter any of the gates. Here is situated the rajah’s observatory, provided with the finest instruments, and sustained at an annual cost of 3000*l*. The English school, supported by his highness at the expense of 500*l*. per annum, is an interesting institution, in which the English Bible is read by all the higher classes, consisting of Brahmins, Nairs, and other high castes. Quilon, or Kolum, “is rendered remarkable from the circumstance of the chronological era of the country being fixed by ancient tradition from the foundation of this town, which, by this account, is now 1015 years ago.” The Arriankaou road and pass leading to Tinnevely proceeds direct from Quilon: this is “among the principal passes of Travancore.” Kotaracara, on the direct road from Quilon to the Arriankaou pass. Patanapuram, ten miles E. on the same road: a fine river runs by this place, which empties itself into the back-water N. E. of Quilon. Ariancoil, a temple of great antiquity, dedicated to one of the five mountain deities, stands about a mile from the summit of the pass. The whole of the pass is about eighteen miles in length, and presents a succession of jungle and grand forest scenery. At its eastern end the town of Shenkottah is situated. Immediately to the south is Courtallum, the general place of resort during the hot months for the residents of Palamcottah and Madura. Kurinagapully, thirteen miles N. N. W. of the residency at Quilon, and three miles from the coast, is inhabited principally by Moormen. Kistnapuram, N. N. W. five miles and three-quarters of Kurinagapully, the most southerly of the Church Missionary Society’s stations, is a place of note, containing a large population, chiefly Nairs. “It has an extensive fort, forming almost a square, and defended without by a strong bamboo hedge. In the in-

* Horsley, pp. 50—53.

terior is a cotaurum, or palace, of modern date, a powder-magazine, and granaries. The inhabitants reside principally on the east of the fort. At the north-east angle is a pagoda, dedicated to Kistnaswamy, at which a thirty-days' festival takes place annually." Mavelicara, the capital of a district, situated twenty-five miles N. from Quilon and eight miles and a-half from the coast, retains vestiges of former greatness, and is still called by the natives "The Eye of Travancore." It was occupied as a Church Missionary station by the Rev. J. Peet in 1838. The difficulties he had to contend with, as well as other particulars respecting Mavelicara, will be found in our Number for February 1850, p. 236, &c. Chenganore, an extensive and populous town, on the west bank of the Kukkúley, a small river or canal, connecting the Achincoil and Pambay rivers. The Achincoil river springs from the foot of one of the passes through the mountainous frontier on the east, which is similarly designated: the Pambay also rises in the mountainous country, and becomes one of the finest rivers in Travancore, forming several islands during its winding course to the westward, the whole extent of which will measure about ninety miles, fifty-two being navigable for boats during the greater part of the year. There is another town of the same name about five miles to the north-east, on the south bank of the Pambay river, which is famous for its pagoda dedicated to Mahadeva. The population consists principally of Nairs and Brahmins: the country around is open and well cultivated, and the scenery exceedingly picturesque and beautiful. Chenganore is one of the Church Missionary Society's stations. Karticapully is on the road from Cochin to Quilon, the population consisting of Brahmins, Nairs, and Moplays. Arripat, in the Karticapully district, "is held in great estimation by all classes for the sanctity and celebrity of its temple, dedicated to Soobramunny, a superior edifice of its kind." The annual festival in April lasts for ten days, when immense crowds assemble to witness the ceremonies. Kayenkulam, eight miles south-east from Karticapully, on the edge of the back-water, is a short distance only from the coast. Tiruwalla, the capital of a district of the same name, and one of the Society's stations, lies nine miles N.N.E. of Mavelicara. It "derives some celebrity from a large antique pagoda, which for magnitude and sanctity is perhaps only exceeded by that at Trevandrum. The foundation of this temple is traditionally carried back to eighty-three years before the Christian era. Previous to the year 1796 this town was a place of commercial note, but in this respect it has

gradually declined since the establishment of Changanacherry, as the general mart for this part of the country. The large pagoda, encompassed by a high wall nearly one furlong square, forms the centre of an extensive and tolerably regular town, inhabited principally by Brahmins and Nairs. The chief buildings are the cotaurum and cutcherry, in front of which is a tank or reservoir faced with stone, having bathing apartments jutting out into the water on the four sides. On the N. W., and contiguous to the high road, are two ranges of Konkaneys and Mauplay shops, separated from the capital by a deep and broad nullah, crossed by a wooden bridge, the private dwelling-houses of the inhabitants being disposed in enclosures on either side of the road. The Syrian Christians have erected a church about half a mile on the north of the pagoda, in place of one that was formerly burnt to the ground. The other public buildings at this place consist of a police choultry, custom-house, and tobacco godown."* Ambalapuley, with its temple, is on the western confines of a broad sheet of cultivation, and has its festival in April. Pooracat, on the coast, was once the chief seaport, but has declined as Allepie has advanced. Allepie, in at. 9° 30' N. and long. 76° 21' E., is now the first seaport in Travancore, and was the first place occupied in this region by the Church Missionary Society. It "lies scattered between the beach and an extensive tract of paddy cultivation, bordering the back-water, which here stretches eastward to a considerable distance, forming an extensive lake," connected by a canal with the Circar timber-yard on the coast. The town is thus divided into northern and southern portions, communicating by six wooden bridges. The Mission church and buildings are situated on the north side of the canal, a short distance from the coast. The southern portion contains "the dwelling-houses of Arab and Parsi merchants, as well as of the better classes of the inhabitants." "The town of Allepie was of little or no importance fifty years ago; but, from the encouragement held out to merchants and settlers of all classes, it has by degrees become most populous, and a place of vast trade. It is here that the chief produce of the interior, such as teak timber, pepper, cardamoms, and other export articles, is collected." Changanacherry, a branch station of the Church Missionary Society, "is the capital of a district, and lies fifteen miles east of Allepie, and thirty-eight miles north of Quilon. The town is built on a rising ground on the eastern border of that extensive delta, called Kootanaad, and is both populous and

* Horsley, pp. 34, 35.

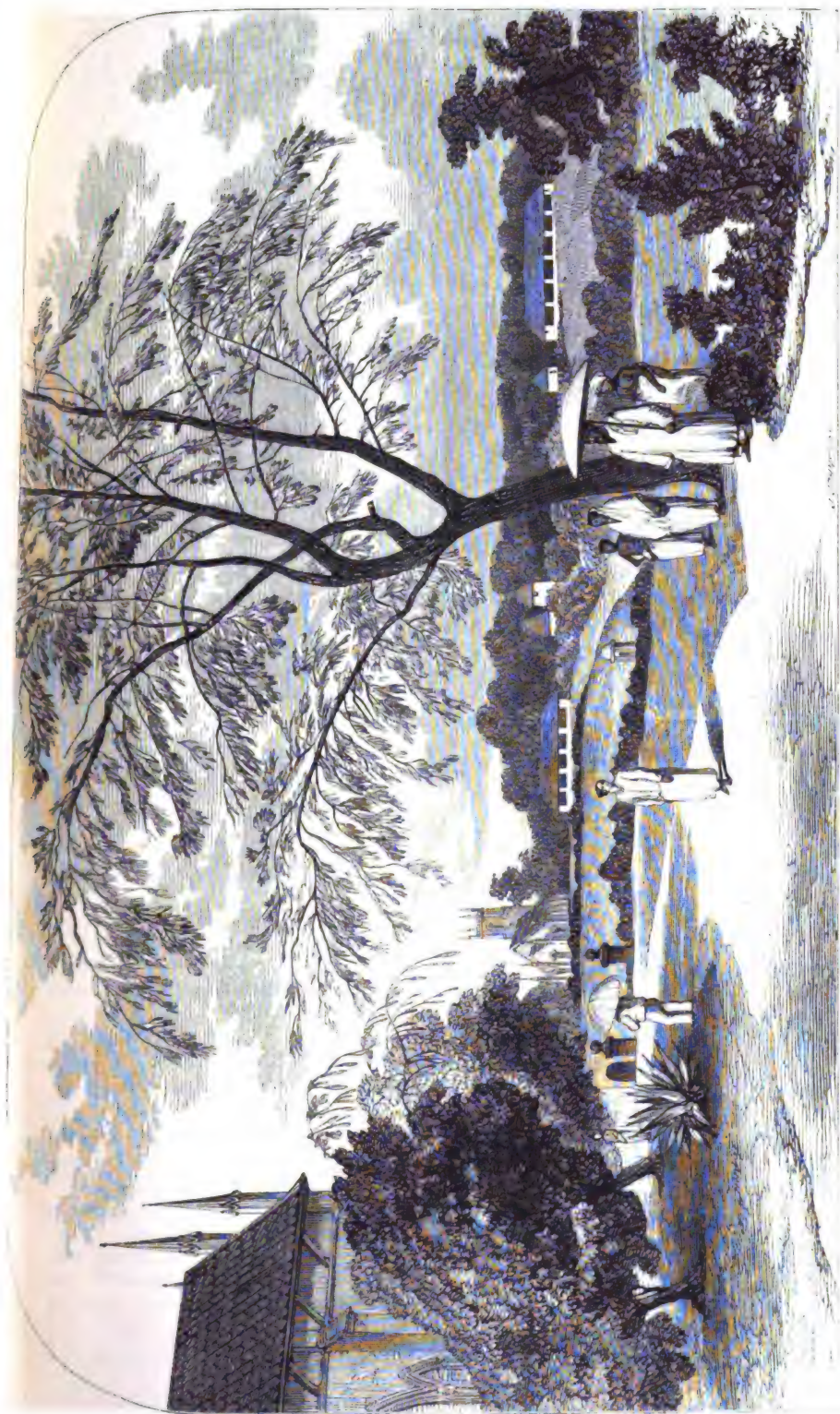
flourishing, being, from its situation, well adapted for trade, and having roads to the interior communicating with the Dindigul valley across the hills, and good water communication to the west, towards Quilon, Allepie, and other intermediate places. A fair is held here bi-weekly, which is attended by crowds of people from the interior and from the west: these latter are at times so numerous, that the canal is quite blocked up with their canoes and boats. The population consists of the usual proportions of Brahmins, Nairs, Syrian Christians, Lubbies, and other lower classes, each portion of the community having its own streets and places of worship. A Kshetry prince, connected with the reigning family of Travancore, resides at this place.* Kaunjarapally, on the east bank of the Chittaur river, lies nineteen miles N. E. by E. of Changanacherry. Sharrattally, at the southern extremity of an inland branch of the back-water, by means of which it possesses free communication with Allepie, Cochin, and other interior districts. The population, consisting of Brahmins, Nairs, Konkarnies, Syrians, and Shanars, is extensive. "About the centre, on the west side of the town, is a Syro-Roman church, one of the largest in the country, said to have been built about 370 years ago." "This is one of the many places of celebrity in the province: the annual festival occurs in April, and continues for eight successive days, during which time the place is thronged with spectators, chiefly Nairs, from the neighbouring districts. Cottayam, though a place of some note, is not a very large or regular town: it extends for some distance along the edge of the river, and at the northern extremity, near a small fort, is a small square of bazaars, where a weekly market is held, and some little trade carried on, chiefly by the Syrians, amongst whom there is here perhaps more wealth and property than they are generally found to possess. The population of Cottayam is principally composed of Syrian Christians, who possess several large churches in the neighbourhood, and consider this as the principal seat of their religion. The usual district authorities also reside here. The scenery around is exceedingly picturesque: churches and pagodas are seen dispersed here and there amid the rich foliage of fine forest-trees that skirt the river in its course through a beautifully undulating country; vegetation also is most luxuriant; and the addition of a few neat and well-constructed European houses gives the place an air of novelty and interest. The Church Missionary Society has long oc-

cupied this spot"† "Echamanur, the capital of a district, lies about thirty miles S. E. from Cochin. It is only remarkable as having a large temple (the usual point of attraction) dedicated to Siva, whose various retinue, together with the officers of the district cutcherry, constitute the chief part of its population." Laulum or Lallypetta, the capital of the Meenachel district, is situated thirty-five miles S. E. from Cochin, on a fine navigable stream, remarkable for the areca trade, which constitutes the chief article of traffic. Ahloowye, on the southern bank of the Perryaur, on account of its cool temperature and the salubrity of its waters, is considered as the watering-place of Cochin, from which it is distant about sixteen miles. Paravúr, the chief town of a district of this name, lies north thirteen miles from Cochin. The fortified lines intended to defend the northern frontier of Travancore pass for three miles and a-half through this district, and, although utterly decayed, still avail to mark the boundary between this province and Cochin, a little State which, like its southern neighbour, although not under the direct rule, is within the limits of the political supremacy of the East-India Company. Within this rajahship, in its climatorial and territorial features closely resembling Travancore, the Church Missionary Society possesses two stations, Trichúr and Kunnankúllam.

The town of Cochin had been the *point d'appui* of our Missionary operations in this little principality until the year 1842, when it was transferred to Trichúr, fifty miles to the north-east of Cochin. This was esteemed to be the more eligible position, Cochin being situated too far south, and therefore inconvenient for purposes of general visitation. In the vicinity of Trichúr are several large towns, inhabited by Roman Catholics, Syrians, and heathen. About fourteen miles to the north-west is Kunnankúllam, the largest Christian town in Cochin, with about 10,000 inhabitants. About thirty-six miles to the north-east is Chittúr, the capital of a district of the same name, where there is a very large heathen population, chiefly of the higher caste of natives. To the south, about fifteen miles distant, stands the far-famed pagoda of Iria-

† Ibid. pp. 39, 40. Our Frontispiece (from a sketch by the Rev. W. Knight) gives a general view of this station. In the left-hand corner is a portion of the College Chapel; in the distance the Mission Church, built by the Rev. B. Bailey; to the right of it, the Printing-office; then the Syrian Church; and still further in the same direction, Mrs. Johnson's Normal School. The casuarina-tree in the foreground, though now so large, has grown from a seed sown by the Rev. J. Chapman.

* Horsley, p. 38.



CHURCH MISSIONARY STATION, COTTAYAM, TRAVANCORE.— *Vide* p. 202.

nakudi, which also contains a large heathen population; and a few miles further to the south-east, another large town, Shalagúdy. Out of the seven districts into which Cochin is divided, these four—Trichúr, Chittúr, the Talapillay district, in which Kunnankúllam is situated, and the Mokundapúram district, in which Shalagúdy is situated—contain together a population of 169,045: the other three districts—Cochin, Kuneanúr, and Crainganúr—118,531. The Trichúr district is a stronghold of idolatry, the heathen pagodas amounting to 347, besides 301 places of worship for inferior castes, thus making a total of 648 Hindú temples. The town, with a population of 11,845, contains many pagodas, which invest it with an air of sanctity in the eyes of natives. The temple of Wadakanaden, which occupies a central position, is the principal. It is situated on a low eminence, surrounded by a high wall, concealing from public view a number of smaller temples that crowd the area of this enclosure. The turrets marking its entrance, said to have been built by four different princes of Travancore, Cochin, Calicut, and Palghaut, are the most remarkable parts of this mass of buildings. The temple is surrounded by a grove of teak-trees, while the richer foliage of the banyan helps to conceal much of it from public view. There is also at Trichúr a Sanskrit college, where Brahmins from different countries are initiated in the mysteries of their religion through the medium of the Sanskrit language. The instruction is said to be entirely oral, as it is not allowable to commit these mysteries to writing, lest they should come to the knowledge of the uninitiated. There is also in the Trichúr district a large Romanist population, with fifteen churches, ninety-four large and well-built Romish churches having place within the limits of the little kingdom of Cochin.

Among the many fields of labour occupied by our Society, there is none, perhaps, which has presented more varied difficulties than that of Travancore. In Tinnevely the Missionaries have had chiefly one element to deal with—Shanar heathenism—one not possessed of so large a measure of resistance as the more elaborate caste system of the Brahmins. By caste the Shanars are very slightly affected; and to embrace Christianity does not doom the convert to excommunication from his friends. Their religion is a demon-worship, one of dark, ferocious, and debasing influences, but not so astutely adapted to the sinful propensities of our fallen nature, nor so tenacious in its retention of the enslaved mind, as Hindúism. The demon god of the Shanar is feared, because he is thought to pos-

sess the power of inflicting evils upon man, one which he is by no means indisposed to exercise; and all the worship which is rendered him is to propitiate his wrath; but the Hindú god is the *fac-simile* and patron of the corrupt propensities of the human heart, and he rules by the power of enslavement which is in vice. Moreover, in Travancore, instead of one form of superstition, we have to contend with a hydra monster raising its many heads in opposition to God's truth. The rude Hill-man has his demon-worship; the dominant Hindú of the plains has his elaborate idolatry, with more than an usual infusion of Brahminical influence; the Moplay his Mahomedan fanaticism; while, most disastrous of all, the Syrian bears the name, without the living influence and power, of the gospel of Christ, and protends a cold and formalizing system, as injurious to the heathen as it is benumbing to himself. After all, there is nothing so obstructive of Christian truth as that corruption of itself, which, while retentive of the name, eschews the virtues of the gospel, and, by a disastrous misrepresentation, disparages it in the eyes of nations, and causes it to be despised. There is another point which has aggravated, to a considerable extent, the difficulties inseparable from such a position of affairs—In Travancore the population live not under British rule, which, whatever may be its shortcomings, does seek to establish just relations between man and man; but under a native government of a peculiar character, in the administration of which Brahminical influence is more powerful than in any part of India.

It may be well to glance briefly on the history of Travancore: it will enable us better to understand its existing circumstances.

Malabar, as inclusive of the portion of the western coast between Cape Comorin and the Chandragheri river, in lat. 12° 30' N., which divides it from the country of Tulava, misnamed Canara, and the Tulava language, was formerly designated Kerula, or Kerala: it is now commonly known as Malayalam. By some means the Brahmins possessed themselves of it, and secured it as their heritage. They account for it by a legend—that when “Parasu-ráma, one of the incarnations of Vishnú, having conquered all Bharata-khanda, had destroyed all the Kshatri caste except the families of the sun and moon, and had divided the whole of their dominions among the Brahmins, these favourites of heaven were still dissatisfied, and continued to importune the god for more charity. To free himself from their solicitations, which he could not resist, he created Kerala, and re-

tired thither; but he was followed by the Brahmins, who extorted from the god the whole, also, of this new creation.* The domination of this rapacious priesthood appears to have been any thing but a golden age. So distracted did the country become under the misrule of the Namburis, as the Brahmins of Malayala are called, that they were fain to place themselves under the sway of the Sholun rajahs, at that time the most powerful princes of the south, jealously restricting, however, the rule of each viceroy to twelve years, when a new election became requisite. This mode of government was terminated by Cheruman Permal, who, casting off allegiance to the Sholun princes, assumed the sovereignty. He is said to have been converted to Mahommedanism by the Arabs, who, shortly after the Hejira, settled on the Malabar coast; and, having resolved on retiring to Mecca, divided his dominions among twelve principal chiefs, of whom five were of the Kshatri caste, and seven were Nairs; to whom was subsequently added a Nair chief, the progenitor of the Zamorins, or Tamúri rajahs. Certain it is, that, on the termination of his reign, there occurred a subdivision of the Malayalim empire, which continued, amidst endless wars and confusion, to the time of Hyder. So broken up was the country into petty rajahships as to originate the saw, that in Malayala a man could not make a step without going out of one chief's dominions into those of another. Hyder subdued the northern portion, or that which is now Malabar, while the Kerit Rama rajah, or rajah of Travancore, and the Cochin rajah, reduced to vassalage the petty chiefs of the southern portion. The rule of the Mysore sultans was an iron one to the Namburis. Many of them were seized and circumcised; others retired into forests, or fled into Travancore. Tippú prepared to pursue them into this their last retreat, and advanced with his troops to possess himself of that kingdom. The Malayala in vain endeavoured to defend the weak frontier on the north; and Tippú, breaking in, was laying waste all before him, when he was arrested at Veraupolay by the British forces under Lord Cornwallis. On the overthrow of Tippú, and the establishment of British ascendancy, the rajahs throughout Malabar were, in general, placed in authority over the country that had formerly belonged to their families; but their government having been found such that it could not be tolerated, they were gradually deprived of all authority, the

Cochin and Travancore rajahs excepted. In Cochin the misrule of the rajah necessitated eventually a similar interference; and the affairs of that state, since 1839,† have been conducted by a native minister in communication with the British Resident. Travancore, under native rule, presented also an agitated scene of intestine commotion; so much so as to necessitate, in 1805, the assumption by the British of the entire management of the state. In the year 1813, however, the administration was restored to the then rajah on his attaining his sixteenth year; and the province remains under the same subsidiary system with Cochin, the British Government providing a regular military force, special or otherwise, for the protection of the native State, while the native government defrays the cost. Cochin, with an area of 1988 square miles, and a population of 288,176, pays an annual subsidy of 24,000*l.*; and Travancore, with an area of 4722 square miles, and a population of 1,011,824, an annual subsidy of 79,643*l.*

It is evident from this brief sketch that Brahminical influence has been less interfered with in Travancore than in any other portion of Kerala. In the north the conquest from Mysore interfered with, and in a great measure destroyed, the Namburi proprietorship. Many of the families perished, and the farmers and Kanumcars who held the land on mortgage for money advanced by them, giving the surplus of produce, if any, to the proprietor, after the deduction of their 10 per cent., rose to be jemcars, or proprietors of land. But Travancore, through British intervention, was shielded from the aggression of Tippú, and there the Brahmin still rules. "The whole state is out and out Brahminical: the whole warp and woof of its constitution is composed of Brahminism. The whole framework of the State and its institutions, the entire fabric even of social life, has been organized for the aggrandizement of the Brahmins. The occasional positive and direct interference of the British Government, through its accredited Representative or Resident, in its internal affairs, and the absolute control which it exercises with respect to all external relations, have tended in many ways to mitigate and modify this awful Brahminical despotism. Nevertheless, the whole country is still fearfully engloomed under its chilling and oppressive shade."‡

In our next Number we propose to institute some further inquiry into the usages and

* Francis Buchanan, "Journey from Madras through Malabar," vol. ii. p. 348.

† *Vide* Statist. papers relating to India, printed for the Court of Directors, p. 23.

‡ Dr. Duff, July 1849.

customs of Travancore. We shall then be enabled more thoroughly to understand how admirably fitted the whole polity has been to exalt the Brahmin, and to place the other

classes in an inferiority of position; so that "the real masters, the real sovereigns, the real legislative and executive body, are the Brahmins."

MISSIONARY WORK IN CHINA.

Narrative of a Tour in the interior of Chekeang Province, by the Rev. R. H. Cobbold.

A NARRATIVE of a very extensive tour from Ningpo throughout the province of Chekeang has been forwarded to us by the Rev. R. H. Cobbold. At all times such a document must be interesting, but especially at the present time, when there is so much uncertainty as to the progress of Tae ping wang's insurrection, and the state of the respective belligerents, and when there exists amongst the friends of China so earnest a solicitude to be well informed as to the prospects of Christian Missions in that land. Of the internecine warfare we have no very definite information: even on the coast the intelligence is vague and uncertain. This much, however, may be collected, that the insurrection has withdrawn its main efforts from the provinces lying northward of the Yang-tze-keang, and is concentrating itself in the southerly provinces, and that, by the last advices, having possessed itself of the capital and nine fuh cities of Kiang-sh, it threatened Fokien, and its capital Fuh-chau.* This civil strife is marked by atrocities on both sides, the population in the districts where it rages severely suffering amidst the fluctuations of the conflict. The territory through which Mr. Cobbold and his companions journeyed, has, so far, remained unmolested, thus affording them the opportunity of itinerating in safety, which in the disturbed districts cannot be done.

The narrative is not only deeply interesting because of the graphic view which it gives us of the interior of this remarkable country, but because of the satisfactory evidences it affords of the friendliness of the people, and the readiness with which they listen to the Missionaries, receive books at their hands, and visit them for conversation. Temples, inns, monasteries, nay, even private houses, were freely open to them: sometimes they were guests in the house of a private gentleman, at other times they were lodged in an ancestral hall, or the principal temple of the town. Surrounded by immense crowds, in places which had never been visited by a foreigner, they found that a

little firmness was all that was requisite to render the people perfectly manageable. The authorities, aware of their presence, caused them to be observed, but offered them no serious interference. Now in sedans, now in boats, they visited no fewer than thirteen walled cities, only three or four of which had ever been visited by Missionaries before, besides numberless villages, and found before them, in the providence of God, "an open door." Everywhere they had proofs, both how urgently China needs the gospel, and that there is abundant opportunity for its communication.

It would indeed appear, that, at no distant period, China, throughout its vast interior, will open to unrestricted intercourse with foreigners. The *prestige* of the literati and mandarins is waning, and the great body of the people gaining power. Already there is a facility of entering the interior which presented itself at no previous period. Two American Missionaries recently travelled overland from Fuh-chau to Ningpo, a distance of 450 miles, without interruption, although the journey was performed in their foreign garb, and, except at the ports, without attempt at concealment.

Oh, for labourers—sowers of the good seed—the presence of willing evangelists, whose feet should be beautiful on the mountains and plains of China, as they publish glad tidings of good things! Surely some, as they read this narrative, must have their hearts stirred within them to go forth to such an enlarged field of glorious labours, where souls in countless thousands are willing and waiting to be taught. Surely some who have hitherto repressed the moving of their hearts to Missionary work, and have tried to deaden such feelings and convictions, as they read what our few pioneers on the coast of China are effecting, will no longer be able to restrain themselves; and men's minds will be so wrought upon, that there must be some to offer themselves. Who that has that youth, and health, and fitness for Missionary labour, if, having tasted in his own experience the graciousness of Christ, he be thus qualified to communicate it to others, shall refuse to give serious consideration to the inquiry whether the Lord is not calling him to enter on this great work of China's evangelization?

* An able *resumé* of the progress of the insurrection, from the pen of an American Missionary, will be found in the "Record" Newspaper of August 18th and 20th.

Departure from Ningpo. Arrive at the city of Funghwa. Travel along the great highway from Ningpo to Fuh-chau. Reach Si-tin. Chinese inn. Villages of several thousand families without a second surname. Domestic life in China. Arrive at the city of Nying-hai. Description: beauty of site. The tallow-tree. The Pass of the folding-doors. Alpine scenery. Terrace cultivation. Village of Fi-jü, and opium of native growth. Reach Teen-tai. Intercourse with the people. Visit to a Buddhist monastery. Service on the occasion of a novitiate devoting himself to the service of Buddha. Conversation with the priests.

"Oct. 16, 1855—Having determined, some time since, to take a longer trip than ordinary into the interior of this province—Che-keang—I set off last evening, in company with Mr. Rankin, one of the Missionaries of the American Board, and one well qualified, both by natural temperament and by devotion to his work, to engage in such an undertaking. We made our start from Ningpo last evening, and arrived at the city of Funghwa this morning. In the spring of the year I had hoped to see some Missionary work begun at this spot in the establishment of a native school; but various difficulties have hitherto prevented the realization of my wishes.

"On the occasion of our present trip it was already so far advanced into the forenoon that we had no more than time to get our baggage all arranged, and our sedan-chairs made comfortable, in order to arrive at our first halting-place before night should set in. We took with us one native teacher, who is an earnest Christian, and is gifted with considerable powers of persuasion. Two burdens of books were sent down direct to Tai-chau, as we purposed to spend sometime upon the road in the prosecution of our work. As it was, our books, portmanteaus, and bedding required five porters, and we had two sedan-chairs between three of us.

"This road I had travelled before, in the early spring: it is the great highway between Ningpo and Fuh-chau, which may be reached in about three weeks, travelling only by day: the native post takes letters through in twelve days. The road, which is uninteresting at first, assumes a varied and pleasing aspect toward the close of the day's journey. A deep inlet of the sea shows like an inland lake, and the green and wooded hills rise up from its borders, and are reflected in its clear surface. We did not use our chairs much, and so reached our halting-place sooner than we had anticipated. Having yet an hour of daylight, we gladly left the precincts of the dusty, smoky inn, and its opium-smoking inmates, to get a walk on an artificial bank raised to prevent the ingress of the sea. Here we found, in abundance, pebble-stones encrusted with oyster-shells: not being able to spread themselves out flat, both from the shape of the stone and the proximity of other com-

panions, the shell of the oyster is turned outward, and assumes quite a different shape from our oysters in England. The encrusted stone, having had the upper shell of each oyster removed in order to extract the fish, and being thrown aside to wait its turn of becoming an oyster-catcher again, whitens in the sun, and forms quite a pleasing and interesting ornament for the mantle-piece and cabinet. All the oysters which supply the plain of Ningpo are taken in these mud-flats. After a portion of the flat, over which the tide water daily flows, is covered with the large round pebbles before spoken of, three years have to expire before the stones are taken out, when they are found covered with oysters in the way described above.

"Having made no acquaintances at Si-tin, we were obliged to put up with such accommodation as the so-styled inn afforded. There are probably very few lodging-houses in England so utterly destitute of comfort, and full of vermin and dirt, as these roadside inns are. The fares may perhaps show the style of accommodation which might be expected—a supper, bed, and breakfast, for about fourpence; or, if you are respectable enough to have a chair, as it requires standing-room, sixpence. Guests of importance would give something more if mine host paid any extra attentions to them, and provided any extra food. The whole village is but a row of the same sort of inns; and all of them are supplied with the means of enjoying the luxury of the opium-pipe. Here it was quite in our way to see and watch the effects of the opium. I have never seen any varying from the ordinary, which is a stimulant to rouse from the torpor that the want of the pipe had caused. The immediate effect of the pipe is restoration of all those powers of mind and body which had begun to fail from the absence of the stimulant.

"Oct. 17—The fine weather with which we had started had changed into a pouring rain, which did not disconcert us much, as we had determined to go and call on a friend of mine, who lived about six miles off, and spend a day with him. His name was U, and in his village there was no second surname. In the place itself there were but a thousand families of this name,

but in the immediate neighbourhood three thousand more; while at a place half a day's journey from Ningpo, called Si-u, there were about five thousand more. What should we do to distinguish a colony of Browns, or Joneses, or Smiths, of this extent? Only think of twenty thousand Smiths all living in the same town, with hardly another surname among them. I found this singular circumstance at another place besides Si-u, where twenty thousand persons of the name of Dzing resided. The various branches of the family are distinguished by some patronymic, which gives at once the part of the clan to which they belong. Just as if the father, of surname Smith, should have chosen Wellesley, then all his children would be Wellesleys—George Wellesley Smith, John Wellesley Smith, &c. Another would be Harvey; and so there would be James Harvey Smith, Philip Harvey Smith, and so on. Names in China being illimitable in number, as a rule no two names of any Chinamen being alike, the distinctions are still more easily made than they would be in England. There are probably at least a hundred million different names in China, while the surnames amount to but about a hundred. The head member of the family we visited was not at home, but his two sons readily did the honours of the house in their father's absence. He was gone to the neighbouring city of Nyinghai to call upon the che-heen, or chief magistrate, who was an old schoolmate. The continuance of the rain confined us within, and we had a succession of visitors, who came from various parts of the village to see us. I was pretty well known there; for in the spring U teh-kwóng sin sang, or 'U virtue bright Mr.'—so do the Chinese and we delight in contraries—had taken me all over the place, to show me, as the first specimen of the kind who had paid them a visit, to all the inhabitants. Our domestic and personal habits of cleanliness make a visit to even a gentleman's family—for such this was—very trying to flesh and blood. It is hardly possible to imagine, without personal contact, such a state of discomfort as this family presented. The reception-room, about twenty feet square, was only about three parts boarded over, the other quarter being left for the stowing away of boxes, packages, &c. In this room was a square table, which would dine four, or, at a pinch, eight; and half a dozen old chairs, too much used to be dusty, lined either side of the room. Adjoining this was the apartment for guests, which had one table, loaded with account-books, abacus, ink-pallet, and tea-tray, leaving a small space of

two feet by one for reading or writing at. It matters not which room we are in, that in front or at the side: any member of the family, or indeed any stranger who has business with the family, has a perfect right to go in and out, to sit, stare, smoke, spit, &c.

"The women of the family are not dressed nearly so neatly as a cottager's wife at home, and their habits of dirt and smoke make them look more wretched still. They may be found in the kitchen, or in some outer room that they have access to, idling away their time. Useful needlework among the ladies of a family is almost unknown: men tailors are generally hired to do all the work that the mother and daughters, or the women servants, would, with us, easily accomplish. As to books, they are quite out of their province. A woman able to read would be a wonder, even in a place of ten thousand or twenty thousand inhabitants. The education of the masses has not yet so much as touched them. In this, as well as in many other respects, they retain the characteristics which belong to the nations of the East. We had with us some copies of a valuable work on the Evidences of Christianity. One of the sons, himself a scholar, begged a copy, and then gave it to a little nephew of six years old, who could not even read the title of the book. I knew the book would have but little chance in the young urchin's hands, and would gladly have recalled the present; but such a step would have been rude, and done more harm than good, so I could only hope that his uncle might take it from him, and put it on his bookshelf. In this family, as in all others with which, during my sojourn in China, I have become acquainted, there is an utter absence of all useful reading—reading for pleasure, to instruct the mind, awaken the right feelings of one's nature, and enlarge one's views. Books of this kind are of course rare, but the habit of reading is rarer; which is evidenced in all family arrangements, where no books are seen lying about to tempt the visitor; and also in travelling arrangements, where it is a very rare thing for a scholar to take any books or implements of writing with him on his journey. There was a cousin of my host's, whom I had seen on a former occasion, who showed considerable acquaintance with geography and history, and who seemed an exception to what is stated above, reading for information, and gladly making use of such books of general science as came in his way. He had also shown some interest in the subject of religion, and had written a few lines of congratulation on the occasion of my former visit, concluding

with a few stanzas of poetry expressive of his joy at hearing from my lips the way of salvation. He was supporting himself by the proceeds of a small shop, and, in the course of the afternoon, made his appearance. With him I had half an hour's sensible conversation, which was a welcome change after the empty ceremony of the rest of the family. Unless some important business is in hand, the hour of retiring to rest is earlier than with us, and we were not sorry to be left alone about eight o'clock. The rats over our mat ceiling kept up a constant rioting; but as they did not come near us, we did not experience such annoyance from them as from the vermin the night before.

"We rose the next morning with the prospect of a fine day, which was not fully realized. The occasional showers did not, however, do us any harm, and made the sunshine, when the sky happened to clear, doubly welcome. We passed through one market-town on our way to Nying-hai. Unfortunately it was market-day, and so it was impossible to stop by the wayside and speak. I tried it once, but the entreaties of those who were marketing their goods, which were nearly crushed by the throng, caused me to desist. Even in the shops little could be done, on account of the press of business. We arrived at Nyinghai about four P.M., and went at once to the house of a friend of Mr. U, expecting to find him there, but they had not even heard of his arrival, and, what was worse, the master and mistress of the house were both ill of fever. I sent a person to look for Mr. U, who soon sent word to say that he would come immediately. Mr. Rankin and the Chinese assistant took the opportunity of going about the city distributing books and preaching, while I waited the arrival of my friend. He came at length; and, having arranged that we should sleep where we were, took us to dine with a friend of his, a man of good reputation, who was engaged in the laudable work of circulating native books on morality. He had a friend with him on a visit from another province, who seemed much interested with the books we had brought, and made the remark, on the first verse of Genesis, that we, too, like the other great religions of China, spoke of 'the beginning.' I allowed this, but showed him that we spoke also of Him who was from the beginning, and who, in the beginning, had brought all things into existence. We were glad to find so intelligent a company here, and renewed our acquaintance with them the next morning before we started, leaving with them a copy of each of the books we had

brought with us. To gain the confidence of men of this class is a great step. If they were won over to the truth they would make a great impression in their own neighbourhood. When I once appealed to Mr. U as to whether he believed or not, he said he did, otherwise he should not receive and give away our books as he was doing. His faith is rather in the great moral principles of religion, and so a world-wide faith, than in the distinctive teachings of Christianity.

"Our native assistant found some friends in the city, and spent a profitable evening with them, sitting up till past midnight, talking over the subjects of Christian truth. The services of such men are most valuable, as they can answer native objections, and satisfy doubts, much more satisfactorily than we can hope to do.

"The city of Nying-hai is oval in shape: from east to west the distance is about a mile and a half; from north to south only half a mile. There are hills surrounding it on nearly every side, and, as is usual in such cases, pagodas crown some of the summits. They are considered to exert a favourable influence on the city over which they stand as sentinels; and where the faith of former ages has not erected one, there will sometimes be found a rude cairn of stones, which the superstition of the inhabitants has raised in its place.

"We left the city on the morning of October 19th, about nine o'clock, by the west gate. Immediately on leaving the city walls the beauty of the situation of Nying-hai became still more apparent. The scenery is of the same character with that of Teen-tai, a little further south, with the addition, in this district, of large quantities of the tallow-tree, from the berries of which all the candles used in this part of China are manufactured. These trees, though somewhat spoilt by the lopping of their twigs, in which way the seeds are gathered, yet present a very beautiful appearance in the autumnal season. The leaves put on a bright red tint, and the dark clusters of berries open, and show the snow-white seed within. Large quantities of hemp are also grown, and those kinds of grain which love a light soil and dry situation. Owing to the beauty of the scenery I did not trouble the bearers much, but walked most of the distance of twenty miles. At a place called 'the fork' our bearers made a desperate attempt to call a halt, saying they could go no further that day—there was no place to sleep further on; but as the arrangement of spending the night here would have caused the delay of a day in getting to Teen-tai, and also interfere with our plan of spending Sun-

day there, we would not hear of remaining, and ourselves led the way beyond the confines of the village. Its name of 'the fork' is given to it because the main road branches here in two directions, one to the right, leading to Teen-tai, and that to the left to Tai-chau: a deeply-carved milestone at the stem of the fork told us this.

"In the village we met with two literary graduates, who had received a New Testament from our colporteur when he travelled this way a few months ago. They asked us to come and spend the night with them when we passed that way again. Such offers show the kindly feelings of the people, and we everywhere found, directly our object was ascertained, similar friendship. The opium drug was taken freely in this village, and in most, indeed all, others through which we passed: even women were said to be slaves to the evil habit.

At a small village some way further on, a beautiful stream crossed our path: there was a ferry-boat, but no one to manage it. The only other means of crossing was by a very narrow wooden bridge half way, and the other half by a ford of stepping-stones. Not knowing how long the boatman might be in coming, we did not hesitate, but made preparations to walk across, and the cold water, as it rushed over the smooth stepping-stones, was not otherwise than pleasant to us. Owing to the extreme narrowness of the planks which composed the bridge, the chair-bearers dared not carry us over, and our native assistant, after walking over the bridge, was taken across the ford on a man's back. After crossing this stream we commenced a steep ascent, called the Pass of the folding-doors, which I suppose to be about fifteen hundred feet high. Fresh and more distant views opened at every turn of the winding ascent. We were delighted with the scenery, the river immediately beneath us, winding its way to the distant east, and probably entering at length Nimrod Sound. Other points of view were very wild and mountainous, and the sunshine and cloud made all such scenery peculiarly striking. At about halfway up the pass, on facing round, you see a hill standing in front, and dividing the scene into two parts, the river, besides its eastern branch, being seen running in among the embrace of the hills to the west. At the top of the pass was Kao-dông, our halting-place for the night. We expected to see at least a village, but there were but two houses by the roadside, one a small shop, and the other the inn. The latter consisted of two rooms, one the kitchen, and the other

the guest-room, with seven beds in it, a mud floor, and every thing indescribably dirty. There seemed to be no help for it: here were the only quarters to be had. It was useless to endeavour to push on further for we could hear of no prospect of better accommodation, and our baggage would probably not be here before dark. Before, however, committing myself to this inn, which I knew would be occupied by our five porters, four bearers, servant, and teacher, besides our two selves, and any other stray travellers like us, I determined to go out, while daylight yet remained, and see if some other place, if only to lay down our mattresses, could not be found.

"There were some roofs of houses visible a short way off the road, which consisted of two dwelling-houses, and one ancestral temple, of large extent, but in bad repair. After some little delay I found the person to whom the family hall belonged, and, after stating to him the object of our visit, and mentioning the very limited accommodations of the inn, asked if we might be permitted to bring our bedding, and sleep there. Permission was readily granted: a broom was borrowed and set in action; an old table was found that had four legs to stand upon; and when our porters came up, which they did not do before dusk, we had our bedding and boxes taken there direct. We woke in the morning much refreshed, and, after a hearty breakfast, fully prepared to start on our journey, and enjoy the bracing air of this hilly region.

"The scenery was quite alpine in its character, abounding in rugged hill sides and dark masses of pine, enlivened frequently by softer features, where the hand of man had brought some steep hill-side under cultivation. From fifty to a hundred terraces rose one after another in most regular order: these were planted with rice, and watered by the streams from above; while the highest elevations showed a growth of the Indian corn, for which, as it is a foreign importation, each district has its own particular name. After keeping the summit of the range of hills for some way, we were obliged to follow our path down into the plain, which looked very tempting with its clustered villages, and a small brook which ran by them until it expanded to the dimensions of a river at the city of Teen-tai. At one place, called Daleo kyli, we crossed the brook at a very quiet, pretty spot, and learnt that about two miles off the road was a famous waterfall, two hundred feet high. We had no time to follow our inclination to pay it a visit, so contented ourselves with the description

given us. Several small waterfalls we passed in our walk, which would have been more worthy of note had the body of water been larger. Both to-day and yesterday we met numbers of men bearing iron rice-boilers, made from the iron which the district yields. On my visit with Dr. Medhurst to Teen-tai monasteries, in the spring, we passed the place where a quantity of the iron ore is extracted and smelted.

"At a village called Fi-jü we stayed to distribute books and talk awhile. We found that opium had its hundred victims in this place of two thousand inhabitants, which will give at least ten per cent. among the male population. The drug was chiefly of native growth. Large quantities are raised a little further south: the soil was being prepared for the casting-in of the seed. If we were to travel this way in the spring we might be able to see for ourselves the amount of land planted. Streams of water were constantly crossing our path, which, if our chairs were not at hand, we had to walk across. Sandals would be much more convenient than shoes and stockings for this country. At one ford one of the chair-bearers offered to carry me on his shoulders, but my weight was too much for him, and I had an unexpected dip in the cold stream as high as my knees. A bright sun and a brisk walk soon removed all sense of inconvenience, and the incident only served to enliven the day's journey.

"We entered Teen-tai about 4 P.M., and went at once to a Buddhist establishment, where we hoped we might get quarters. In this we were not disappointed: the priest in charge of the place provided us with rooms which served very well for our purpose. The only difficulty, as usual, was to restrain the curiosity of the people within due bounds. As our motives in coming to any place are nearly always misunderstood, I took a good opportunity which was afforded me of telling the people we were not retailers of the opium drug, but were come to exhort them to renounce this and every other evil habit. My opportunity to day was when all the people were pressing in at the entrance door, and I stood on the threshold; and, seeing unmistakeable marks of the use of opium in one immediately before me, I said, pointing to him, 'Before I address you, gentlemen, on the object of my visit, permit me to make a few remarks to this one of your countrymen. You, Sir, are ruining your health with the use of the opium-pipe, and I would recommend you, for the sake of yourself and of your family, to give it up.' This had the desired effect of causing all present to know

that we did not come to sell them opium, and I afterwards explained to them more fully the purport of our visit. The visit of Dr. Medhurst, Mr. Edkins, and myself, in the spring, was well remembered, and some medals of little Samuel praying, which Mr. Edkins had given away in the monasteries, were eagerly inquired after. They were very nicely finished in Britannia metal or some other bright substance; and had they the Lord's prayer, or some simple portion of Scripture, in Chinese, on the reverse, would be quite valuable as presents. At first the noise and crowding in and out of our rooms was very annoying; but, as the evening set in, all left us for their supper, and, with a few exceptions of idle boys, our callers were those who came for rational conversation.

"Oct. 21.—We secured our morning service with greater quiet than I had anticipated, the only interruptions being noise from without. By ten o'clock we were both ready to start on our respective errands. Mr. Rankin, with a porter to carry his books, went to the principal streets of the city; and I to seek a native gentleman, a private tutor to some young men of the place, who had treated me with great attention on my last visit, and for whom I had this time, according to eastern custom, brought a present. I was sorry not to find this person at home. Some of his family, however, I saw, and left my present in their care. One of his sons is master of a firework manufactory in the city, but did not appear to be doing business on a very large scale. I had attached to me, how I know not, a very pleasing-looking person, who had accompanied me in this search after Mr. Tsiang, and who invited me into his shop, which faced the street, where, with him and some of his acquaintances, who dropped in, we had some very interesting conversation. The native assistant was with me, which I was glad of, his services being most valuable in clearing up certain points, of which we, perhaps, do not see the difficulty. The ching-wang-meau, or chief temple, I found in a retired part of the city: very few persons followed me thither. I would not allow myself to be discouraged by this, but made a general statement of all the essential principles of divine truth. The effect that this short address had became visible in the evening, as will appear from what follows.

"It would be tedious to recount separately our varied labours this day. We were both employed in different parts of the city, while our native assistant remained for some hours at our rooms, to receive any callers who

might come. We learnt afterwards that he was very busy, very many having come in, either from motives of curiosity or politeness.

"In the afternoon, in order to get away from the crowds of the city, we took a walk to one of the far-famed monasteries, situated about two miles from the city walls. It is the most pleasant of any of them for beauty of situation, and, for its internal devotion, the most celebrated. The rules of Buddhism are kept here very strictly, and more earnestness is found than among the majority of the others. There is just as much difference, in fact, in outward appearance, as between a nest of lazy monks and a body of earnest, self-denying, strictly disciplined Romish priests. Our walk, after the turmoil of the day, was most refreshing: the green hills, covered with the bamboo, or the darker but graceful fir and cypress; a fine pagoda, standing as a guard to the monastery entrance, a ruin, indeed, internally, but in its outward structure of stone and brickwork unimpaired; the mountain path winding into a cleft in the hills, and which holds the side of a brawling and dashing torrent till it leads over the heights to other fair scenes of nature; the quietude of the place, shaded by large camphor and pine-trees; all was most grateful to us. Not so, however, what we saw within. How gladly would we have turned those devotees of the huge gilded Buddha into worshippers of the living and true God! But this power is not of us. What we could we did, and again, in the large hall of the monastery, were stated the great truths of the Christian faith. We could not complain of want of intelligence in the person who was on this occasion, as on the last, our conductor round the monastery: the only cases where his intelligence did fail was where it came in contact with his faith, as is the case sometimes nearer home. Thus this 'intelligent' man showed us a large iron rice-boiler which would let sand run through it, but not water. We left this miracle, and others about the monastery, to his faith: only the possession of the truth could cause him to yield them up. We were, fortunately, just in time to see a service, performed by about fifty priests, on the occasion of a novitiate devoting himself to the service of Buddha, and giving up all connexion with the objects of this life. His bowings, prostrations, evolutions, manipulations, &c., were as unintelligible to us as similar outward gestures by a Romish priest would be to the Buddhist worshipper. Our guide would not at all allow that it was an empty ceremony that he was performing,

but one significant only of what was going on within; and he advocated, with the usual arguments employed by Romanists, the use of outward gestures, and showy accompaniments of divine service. It is only an appreciation of the spirituality of the Christian dispensation that can convince either of them that such things are the 'beggary elements' of a former age. Indeed, our guide seemed to allow this, when he said that the more perfect way of worship was without the use of any image; 'but,' he added, 'how few are there who can so worship! We could never get the women to understand us, and maintain a devotional spirit, if they had not some outward figure to assist them.' On the same principle he maintained the desirableness of retaining the string of 108 beads used in prayer. He said it was to help devotion, by keeping up the attention. The effect, as we see it, is directly the contrary, being made a matter of the hand and not of the mind: the latter is at liberty to wander off to any object, while the former is busy. We could not withstand our host's solicitations to partake of a slight repast. We were neither of us hungry, but, when the food came on the table, it was prepared in so tempting a manner that our appetite was quite awakened. The priests, or rather the priests' cook, shows often great skill, and the variety of dishes of vegetable food is quite wonderful. To-day we had only a little flour-vermicelli, which for flavouring had by its side a saucer of hemp-oil, mixed with bean-soy, the flavour of which is much nicer than the description of it would lead one to suppose. During our slight repast, the conversation turned on the eating of animal food, in the advocacy of which, after exhausting other arguments, I said, 'The principle of right is implanted by nature in the human heart, and in transgressing this principle man always feels conscience-smitten. Now all over the world animal life is taken for food, and no such compunctions of conscience are felt: it cannot, therefore, be wrong.' To this he had no answer ready, nor indeed could he well have: he could only shake his head, and shut himself within the stronghold of his own faith. In order to bring my words home to those present, I mentioned the great inconvenience caused to the individual, in personal comfort, if small animal life should be allowed to propagate freely. They all of them appreciated this argument, and no more was said on the subject. After a small present to the priest, we took our leave and returned to the city.

(To be continued.)

ABYSSINIA.

(Conclusion of Dr. Krapf's Journal.)

Departure from Chartum. The regions to which the White River affords access as yet untouched by Protestant Missionary effort, and left to Romanists alone. Remarks on this point. Importance of Missions towards the sources of the White River. Facilities of reaching by water the inner African countries.

Reach the confluence of the White and Blue Rivers. Intention of an English captain to go up the White River with a party of armed natives. Arrival at Etummiat, and at Shendy. Reminiscences of Burckhardt. Pass the mouth of the Tacassie, and arrive at Berber. The Berbers, or Barabra, and their language, which is spoken from the confluence of the Blue and White Rivers as far as to Assuan, the southern frontier of Egypt. Preparations for crossing the eastern Nubian desert Atmor to Korusko, on the Nile. Serious indisposition of Dr. Krapf. Sufferings on the way to Abu Hamed. Desert transit. Route traceable by the carcasses and scattered bones of camels. Arrival at Korusko. Thankfulness. Embark, and proceed to Assuan, and thence to Cairo.

"June 19—As nothing but a change of air could relieve me, we made our best endeavours to get away from Chartum with all speed. We therefore hired Mr. Petherick's boat to carry us to Berber, on the Nile. I departed from Chartum with peculiar feelings and thoughts. How is it that no Protestant Missionary is sent to the interior of Africa on the waters of the White River? How is it that the Missionary field of the heart of Africa is left to the Romanists alone? If they have money, and sacrifice their lives, why cannot Protestants have the same, and do the same? If they brave all dangers and difficulties in the strength of unregenerated and natural man, why can or will not Protestant Missionaries, who have experienced the power of God in their own hearts, dare the same for the honour and glory of Christ crucified, the only Mediator between God and men, whilst the others have only the exaltation of creatures in view? Well might the Romanists tell us, '*Hic Rhodus, hic salta*, if you Protestants have the apostolic spirit. We have Missions in the heart of Africa, and you are content with occupying the coast; and even there you shun the difficulties, and are inclined to retreat.'

"With such thoughts I started from Chartum. May the Lord grant that Protestant Missionary Societies be stirred up to commence without delay Missions on the Sobat, on the Baher-el-Ghasal, on the White River, and at its fountain-head under the line! May I live to see Protestant Missions branching out from the fountain-head of the Nile to the east and to the west, and thus the African Mission chain, proposed in 1850, be formed and realized! Indeed, the establishment of Missions towards the sources of the White River would lead to incalculable results, and form at once the medium of the proposed Mission-chain. I confess this idea has never struck my mind more forcibly than during my stay at Chartum, where I observed the facilities of reaching the inner-African coun-

tries by water, whereas formerly my idea was that these must be reached from Mombas by land. And what additional facility will accrue to the Missionaries if the existence of the great inland lake be confirmed!

"I hope and most earnestly wish that the Church Missionary Society will take these matters into serious consideration, as the Lord's hand is evidently upon Central Africa for good (Isaiah xviii.).

"We embarked at five o'clock P.M. and set sail, but anchored after a short time at the point where the White River joins the Blue. The colour of the White River is indeed of somewhat whitish nature, whence the term is not merely nominal or accidental. Its water does not for a considerable distance mix itself up with that of the Blue River, which had reddish water from the rains, which affect this river earlier than the White. On this account I cannot tell what the real and natural colour of the Blue River is when it is not influenced by rain. But the natives told me that it has a blue, or rather black-blue-like colour at the time when there is no rain in the interior; and, judging from the black soil, I think this report may be tolerably correct.

"Before we left Chartum, we learned that a wealthy English captain intends to go up the White River with a party of fifty armed natives, to force his way through the interior by land, if necessity should compel him to use force.

"June 20—We sailed with a fair wind as far as to Etummiat, where our sailors intended to buy their provisions.

"June 21—At noon we reached the point where the channel of the Nile gets more narrow, running between hills. We passed a swelling. I felt considerably better than at Chartum. The river, air, and change of climate, did me greater good than all the physic of the doctor. I knew this from experience.

"June 22—We reached the town of Shendy, where we stopped for the night. I remem-

bered poor Burckhardt, when he was compelled to return from Shendy to Egypt, and to abandon his plan of discovering the Niger by starting from the Nilotic regions. How unsafe was it at that time to journey in these countries! How different are things now, Muhammed Ali having removed the petty independent chiefs who formerly obstructed the road to travellers!

"June 25 — Near the village Dámir we passed the mouth of the river Tacassie, which the natives of this region call 'Atbara. The river is, at its estuary, as broad as the Rhine near Bâle. About noon we arrived at Berber, whence we could not proceed any further, as the water was not yet high enough for sailing safely over the rocks which are in the Nile's channel beyond the town of Berber. The proper time will be in August, September, and October. Since we have left Char-tum we heard nothing but the language of the Berbers, or Barábra, a set of people very different from the timid and slavish Noba in Sennar. The Barábra are courageous, active, and undertaking, and even the Egyptian government dares not treat them slightly. The Berber language has nothing common with the Arabic. I could not understand a word of it. This language is spoken from the confluence of the Blue and White rivers all along the Nile, as far as to Assuan, the southern frontier of Egypt. I was told that there are many dialects of the Berber language. In the evening we went, weak as I was, to call upon Mr. Lafargue, a French merchant, who kindly arranged for the prosecution of our journey by land.

"June 26—Mr. Lafargue introduced us to the governor, who charged his secretary to look out for camels and drivers to convey us from Berber to Abu Hamed, and thence through the eastern Nubian desert Atmor to Korusko on the Nile. Besides, we had to provide ourselves with twelve leather bags to carry water, and with provisions for fifteen days, which the journey from Berber to Korusko takes on quick march.

"As I was still harassed by fever, and felt extremely weak, I could not conceal from Mr. Flad, my beloved brother and companion, that I looked upon the desert as becoming probably my grave, and I made my private arrangements accordingly.

"We stayed in the boat till our departure from Berber should take place, as the heat in town was more oppressive, and as we would not become a burden upon Mr. Lafargue, who kindly invited us to his house.

"June 27—Having recommended ourselves in prayer to the Lord, we started from Berber about seven o'clock in the morning. Our

guide had provided me with a good donkey to ride upon as far as to Chor, the village of our guide, who prepared a room and slaughtered a goat for us. From Chor I was to ride upon a camel, like Mr. Flad and our servants.

"June 28--July 3—The journey from Chor to Abu Hamed was painful to me in the extreme. The camel-drivers have but little regard to the sick: they only wish to earn their money as quick as possible. We generally travelled along the Nile, and encamped at night either in villages, or, as circumstances required, in the open air, or among date-trees. The village Abu Hamed is situated near the point where the Nile makes a circuit and turns to the west, as it could not break its course through the desert of Atmor, owing to the rocky hill of Mokrat, which is at the entrance of the Nubian desert, which appears considerably more elevated than the Nile, and is, in its interior, intersected by rocky hills.

July 4—Departure from Abu Hamed, and entering into the Nubian desert of Atmor Bela Mai. Our departure took place about three o'clock p.m. In the evening we rested near the rocky hill of Mokrat, placing our beds upon skins spread upon the warm sand. A strong wind blowing from the north the hot sand into our eyes was most troublesome. What may happen to us in this desert, which extends from Abu Hamed to Korusko, about one hundred hours, and which we must traverse with all speed, as there is only one water station at Murat, the Lord knows.

"July 5--14—During the first days of our march we travelled over extensive level plains of sand. We observed now and then distant hills to our right and left. Afterwards we passed through connected ranges of rocky hills, through which there is often only a small passage admitting a camel road. These hills are several hundred feet high, but there is no vestige of verdure or trees upon them. They appear entirely bare and burnt. Volcanic action has done its destructive work in this desert. We observed often burnt sandstone. In the plains there is now and then a spot where the camels find some coarse grass. At a few places we found acacia trees, which supplied us with fuel for the prosecution of our journey. A traveller must supply himself with wood at Abu Hamed. The more we entered the interior of the desert, the better was the air we breathed, so that I wonderfully felt my strength return. The dry air of the more elevated desert is evidently superior to the atmosphere of the Nile; and though the heat was great, yet it did not affect me so much as on our journey between Sennar and Char-tum. Fortunately we found, on the fourth day since we left Abu Hamed, some water

preserved in a pit from the rains which had fallen in June. This discovery was the more pleasing to us, as our water, brought from the Nile at Abu Hamed, had got a bad smell from the tar which the owner had rubbed into the leather bags before we bought them at Berber. At Murat, which is about half-way between Abu Hamed and Korusko, we found also water, but this was of a brackish taste. At Murat we found a kind of hut constructed by the postmen, who wait there for the mail which comes from Korusko and Abu Hamed. The pasha has established a regular monthly post between Chartum and Cairo. The postmen convey their letter bags on dromedaries through the desert, which they traverse usually in six days. We generally travelled from two o'clock in the afternoon till seven or eight o'clock in the evening, when we rested till ten o'clock. We then travelled again from ten to two or three o'clock after midnight, and slept till five o'clock in the morning, when we rose to continue our march till ten or eleven o'clock A.M. Our guide was often much dissatisfied with our slow progress, but even this was too much for me, owing to my weak state of health. Just when I was able to sleep, I was to rise and get upon the camel again, which is most painful to a sick traveller. During the greatest heat—from ten A.M. till two P.M.—we rested under a kind of tent, which we constructed by laying an Abyssinian bullock-skin over four spears which we fixed into the ground. After we had passed Murat, we found caves and rocks which sheltered us during our halt.

"On our road we saw a dead camel every 100 or 200 yards, so that a traveller would not require a guide, but needs only follow the traces of carcases and their scattered bones. Also many bullocks and cows perish annually on this road. There was with us a native of Abu Hamed, who drove a number of cows through the desert. Before we reached Murat he had lost two cows from the fatigue and want of food. Cattle are cheap at Abu Hamed and beyond, but fetch a good price at Korusko; wherefore the natives run the risk of bringing their cattle through the desert to Korusko, and other places on the Nubian Nile.

"With what delight we hailed our arrival at Korusko I cannot describe. Mr. Flad, with his powerful and sonorous voice, sang the German hymn "Nun danket alle Gott," but I was too weak to join him. On our arrival at Korusko, which is a small village, in which provisions are got with great difficulty, and therefore should be brought from Egypt by travellers who intend to traverse Atmor, we were so fortunate as to find immediately a boat ready to take us to Assuan.

We entered, and set sail. We arrived at Assuan on the 16th of July. On our voyage along this part of the Nile we often were surprised at the small tract of land which the Nile has left to the inhabitants for cultivation. The land fit for cultivation is often only sixty or 100 yards in breadth, which reminded me of the nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled (Isaiah xviii. 2.) These Berbers, or Barabra, are poor people, living principally upon durra and dates. Date-trees are numerous all along the Nile, at least from Berber downward. Now and then we saw some cows and goats between Korusko and Assuan. Soon after our arrival at Assuan—by water we could only go as far as to Philac; from Philac we had to go by land about one hour to Assuan, donkeys being always ready for travellers—we called upon an Italian merchant named Nikola, who assisted us in hiring a boat, which should take us to Cairo.

"July 17--28—I was in hope of improving my health by our voyage from Assuan to Cairo, but the result did not correspond with my expectation. However, I arrived alive at Cairo, and this was more than I anticipated at Abu Hamed, where I saw nothing but death and a lonely grave in the desert before me. At Mr. Lieder's I found that brotherly home and hospitality which I have so often enjoyed, but which was at this time doubly acceptable and valuable.

"May I never forget what wondrous things the Lord has done unto me during the past six months, by sea and by land, and how He has saved my body and soul from destruction! 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless His holy name! Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits!' Amen."

In concluding Dr. Krapf's narrative we have to remind our readers that the object of this journey was to ascertain the practicability of recommencing Missionary efforts on behalf of Abyssinia, Mr. Flad, the companion of Dr. Krapf, being one of six pious Germans who had offered themselves for such an undertaking, and who had been for some months resident at Jerusalem, engaged, under the superintendence of Bishop Gobat, in the acquisition of Amharic. The plan proposed to be pursued was that of an industrial lay Mission; but before it was finally decided upon it was thought that an exploratory tour would be in all respects desirable. On the return of Messrs. Krapf and Flad, after much and anxious deliberation, it was decided by Bishop Gobat that the conjunction of affairs was such as to encourage the proposed effort; and four of the young men have proceeded to

Abyssinia, *viâ* Egypt and the Nile, taking with them eighteen camel-loads of Bibles and New Testaments in the vernacular language, the gift of the British and Foreign Bible Society. They have been instructed to travel about the country and disseminate the word of God before they begin to preach, in order that, if the Mission should prove unsuccessful, and they be constrained to withdraw, a seed might be planted in the land, which, when least expected, may bring forth fruit. To this plan of procedure the Bishop felt himself the more disposed, because he had received information that the new king, Theodoros, daily reads the Scriptures in the Amharic, or vernacular language. On the 28th of January they had arrived within about twenty-five days' journey of the frontiers of Abyssinia.

The selection of the route *viâ* Egypt and Chartum, in preference to the old way of access by Massowah, is to us full of interest; and if Dr. Krapf's journey had been productive of this result alone, it would have been well repaid. Not only is this line of communication in every respect preferable, as regards facility of access to Abyssinia, but because it brings us into direct communication with countries to which we have long felt the attention of Protestant churches ought to be directed. In 1852 the White River, and the tribes on its banks, more particularly the Bari, were referred to in the pages of this periodical. Since then researches have been going forward: more particularly those of M. Brun-Rollet, a Sardinian merchant, and vice-consul of Sardinia at Chartum, have attracted attention. He has established on the White Nile a station called Belenia, in 5° N. lat., beyond which he has reached 3° N. lat.; and a map of his explorations has been published by the French Geographical Society, which we have now before us. His attention has been more particularly directed to the Bahr-Keilak, first discovered by M. d'Arnaud, and which, in 9° N. lat., unites in the lake Nu with the waters of the Bahr-el-Abiad; as also to an affluent of the Keilak from the south, which is thus noticed in the Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, Octobre 1854—

“M. Brun-Rollet, d'origine sarde, qui voyage sur le Nil Blanc depuis dix années pour des opérations commerciales, a su mettre à profit toutes les occasions favorables pour faire des observations sur le pays, le climat, les habitants et sur la géographie. Il vient d'arriver à Paris avec un mémoire étendu et une carte qu'il a mise sous les yeux de la Société; on y remarque, pour la première fois, un grand cours d'eau presque parallèle au Bahr-el-Abiad (à 60 ou 80 lieues de distance

à l'ouest, entre les 9° et 10° degrés nord, et qui se jette dans le Bahr-Keilak, rivière appelée aussi Misselad par M. d'Arnaud). L'existence en est affirmée par les indigènes avec lesquels ce voyageur s'est mis en relation; on n'en connaît pas la source, mais elle est fort reculée dans le sud, d'après tous les rapports; ses rives sont très peuplées; les habitants sont d'humeur paisible. Toute cette contrée, qui paraît destinée à fournir un nouvel aliment aux relations commerciales, ouvre en même temps un champ entièrement nouveau et d'une immense étendue aux découvertes géographiques. M. Brun-Rollet se propose de la parcourir au moins dans sa partie la plus orientale, c'est-à-dire qu'après avoir remonté, en barque, le Bahr-Keilak, il remonterait la branche dont je viens de parler jusqu'à ce que la rivière cesse d'être navigable; acclimaté comme il l'est, habitué par une longue expérience aux difficultés que présentent les hommes et les lieux, il peut espérer de réussir dans cette nouvelle excursion.”

In a letter to his own Government, dated from these regions in February last, he states, that after a month's exploration he had succeeded in reconnoitering the lake by which the waters of the Misselad and the Modj, or Loth, communicate with those of the White Nile (Bahr-el-Abiad); and that, having found the mouth of the Misselad, which opens into the lake, he had, under the escort of twenty-three Egyptian soldiers, penetrated the river, and had ascended it to the height of forty leagues. He expresses his conviction that, from its height and depth, it must be the true Nile, and his intention to push onward his researches as far as possible. From native information it would appear that in the rainy season it overflows, and covers an immense extent of country. The vegetation on the banks was magnificent; and the reception given him by the natives, though not always favourable, yet not hostile.

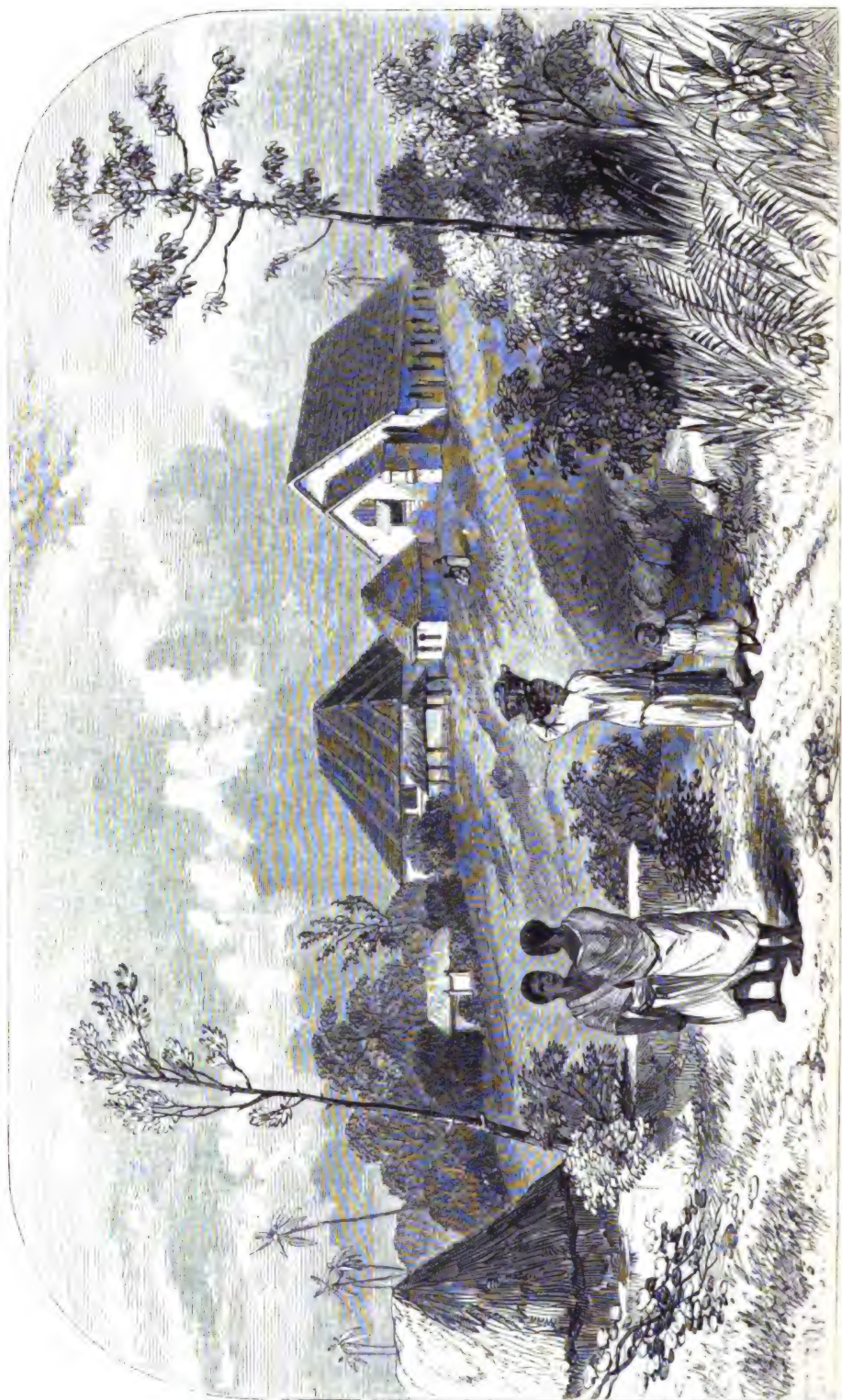
In the Bulletin for January and February of the present year we are informed that the Count d'Escayrac de Lanture had been invited by the Viceroy of Egypt to take the command in chief of an expedition to discover the sources of the Nile, and, if possible, solve the problem which has so long engaged universal attention. We shall earnestly look for its results. New regions and new races are about to be revealed in this direction, and the church of Rome has already provided herself with a *point d'appui* at Chartum, and is ready to enlarge her efforts as opportunity presents itself; while nothing has as yet been done by Protestant churches with a view to the evangelization of this part of Africa.

To refer to the progress of discovery in other parts of Africa—our readers will be gratified to learn that an expedition is about to be sent forth by the Royal Geographical Society of London, with a view to the exploration of the East-African countries, and the solution of various interesting uncertainties in that region. Our Missionary Rebmann has been invited to join the expedition; and so far as the Church Missionary Society is concerned, every facility will be afforded him, should he feel disposed to do so. The object is of great importance, and he would have the opportunity of rendering services similar to those so effectively discharged by the Rev. S. Crowther on the Tchadda expedition.

Looking further south, we learn that Dr. Livingstone had succeeded in reaching the Portuguese settlement of Tete on the east, having re-traversed Southern Africa from St. Paul de Loando on the west coast, and re-conducted the faithful natives whom he had converted to Christianity to their own homes, these men having acted as his guard throughout his perilous journey. A map of this vast unexplored region, originally constructed by Dr. Livingstone, and determining the longitude and latitude of many places, has been for sometime in preparation by Arrowsmith. The new intelligence will render certain changes necessary as to the direction in which some of the central rivers flow. Sir Roderick Murchison, in presenting these details to the members of the British Association convened at Cheltenham, referred "to certain passages in Dr. Livingstone's letters, which confirmed, by actual observation, a theory he had formed in 1852 respecting the probable physical condition of the interior of Africa in ancient as well as modern times, as deduced from an examination of the geological map of the Cape Colony by Mr. Bain, and the earlier discoveries of Dr. Livingstone and his associates around Lake Ngami, viz. that high crests of hard rocks constituted the eastern and western flanks of the great continent, through which the rivers escape by deep transverse fissures from a comparatively low and flat marshy region, intersected by a profusion of rivers and lakes. In the central region the water-sheds are determined by slight elevations only, some of the rivers flowing northward into the Congo or Zaire, and others into the Zambesi, down the banks of which Dr. Livingstone travelled. The chief geological features of the eastern and western flanking ridges of the continent are described, the principal altitudes being approximately estimated by the ebullition of water. On approaching the tract where he was once more to be in communication with civilized beings.

Dr. Livingstone gives a very striking account of the scenery around the great falls of the river Zambesi, where that broad stream, after rushing over rapids, is suddenly compressed into a narrow gorge, and cascades over a stupendous precipice, fringed on all sides by the richest and most pictorial vegetation. The rocky flanking ridges are very salubrious, and while in them the traveller and his animals were not molested by the tsetse, or destructive insect; and it is suggested that these sanatoria may extend much further to the north. The third and last letter, which was written when the author's perils and labours had terminated, gives a general view of the ethnology and habits of the various tribes of Africans among whom Dr. Livingstone lived, and with whose language he is familiar. He assigns a manifest superiority to the inhabitants of the hilly countries, and particularly to the Caffre-Zulah race. He also states that the Bible has been nearly all translated into Sechuana, or the dialect of the Bechuanas, the most regularly developed of the South-African languages. "Of its capabilities," he adds, "you may judge, when I mention that the Pentateuch is fully expressed in considerably fewer words than in the Greek Septuagint, and in a very greatly less number than in our English version." After a sketch of the zoology and botany of these regions, and an account of the prevalent diseases of the natives, Dr. Livingstone, having given the history of the successive accounts narrated by the Portuguese of their efforts to penetrate into the interior, modestly expresses his belief that he is the first European who has travelled across South Africa in the same latitudes. He then speaks of his intention to revisit Britain, but with the firm resolve to return to South Africa, and prosecute his sacred mission; and concludes in these words—"I feel thankful to God who has preserved my life, while so many who could have done more good have been cut off. But I am not so much elated as might have been expected, for the end of the geographical feat is but the beginning of the Missionary enterprise. Geographers labouring to make men better acquainted with one another, soldiers fighting against oppression, and sailors rescuing captives in deadly chains, are all, as well as Missionaries, aiding in hastening a glorious consummation of God's dealings to man. In the hope that I may yet be permitted to do some good to this poor long trodden-down Africa, the gentlemen over whom you have the honour to preside will, I doubt not, cordially join."*

* "Times" Newspaper, Aug. 13, 1856.



TIRUWELLA CHURCH MISSIONARY STATION, TRAVANCORE.

TRAVANCORE—THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

WE now proceed to consider the various sections of the Travancore population, in order that the position of Missionary work in that country,* and the difficulties with which it has to contend, may be clearly understood. We shall commence with that portion which is denominated Mápillas, or Moplabs, and, more particularly, the Nasráni and Suriáni Mápillas, or the Syrian Christians.

It is undoubted that at an early period Christianity was introduced into India, by what precise channel is uncertain. Between Alexandria and India the intercourse was frequent almost from the commencement of the Christian era, and by this means it is most probable that Christianity extended itself eastward. One of the prelates assembled at the council of Nice, A.D. 325, subscribed himself "*Ἰωάννης Περσῆς, τῆς ἐν Περσίᾳ πασῇ, καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Ἰνδία.*" The Christians of India appear at that time to have been ecclesiastically connected with those of Persia; nor is this difficult to be accounted for, when it is remembered that, on the overthrow, by Artaxerxes, of the Arsacidæ of Parthia, and the restoration of the Persian empire under the Sassanides, the Persians, using the Persian Gulf as a direct channel of communication with the eastern shores of India, became formidable competitors with the Romans in the Indian trade. The overthrow of the Sassanides by the Saracens in the seventh century must have interrupted these arrangements; and although Cosmos Indicopleustes bears testimony to the Nestorian tenets of the Malabar Christians in the sixth century, and their being presided over by a bishop consecrated in Persia, yet for ages past they have recognised Antioch as their patriarchate, and, in their profession of faith, have been Jacobite rather than Nestorian. They would appear, also, to have endured much persecution at the hands of the heathen princes in whose territories they lived, until the time of Cheruman Permal, who, with a largeness of mind beyond his age,

* Our Frontispiece represents the Rev. J. Hawksworth's station, Tiruwellia, from a sketch by the Rev. W. Knight. To the right is the unfinished church, built of the red stone of the country, and covered at present with a temporary roof. It is capable of holding from six hundred to eight hundred persons. The Mission house occupies the centre of the sketch. The other buildings are school-houses. Both men and women wear a cloth round the lower part of the figure, as represented in the engraving. The women wear, in addition, a long cotton jacket, and the men a thin cloth thrown loosely over the shoulders.

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granted equal toleration to all classes of his subjects. To the Christians, in particular, important privileges were conceded; so much so, that they were encouraged to leave the hills, where they had hitherto sought security, and settle in the more fertile portions of Cochin and Travancore. They were placed in the same rank with the Nairs. Caste privileges and a caste position were assigned them, and their charter of privileges was engraved on copper plates,† in Malayalim, Canarese, Bisanagur, and Tamil. "These immunities ensured for them the enjoyment of a long and uninterrupted course of prosperity, during which they became sufficiently powerful to assert their independence of their heathen rulers, whose yoke they at length shook off, and succeeded in raising a member of their own body to the throne. For some time they maintained their independence under their own kings, until one of them, having no children, adopted the Rajah of Diamper for his heir. This man was a heathen, and he succeeded to all the regal power over the Christians in India. By similar adoptions, a practice of frequent occurrence in that country, they became in course of time subject to the heathen rajah of Cochin, and other petty sovereigns of the country.‡

We are disposed to date their deterioration from the time when civil privileges were conferred on them, and they became of political

† These tablets were preserved with care until the sixteenth century, when they were lost, and were eventually recovered by Colonel Macauley, the British resident in Travancore. "The Christian tablets are six in number. They are composed of a mixed metal. The engraving on the largest plate is 13 inches long, and about 4 broad. They are closely written, four of them on both sides of the plate, making, in all, eleven pages. On the plate reputed to be the oldest, there is writing perspicuously engraved in nail-headed or triangular-headed letters, resembling the Persepolitan or Babylonish. On the same plate there is writing in another character, which is supposed to have no affinity with any existing character in Hindustán. The grant on this plate appears to be witnessed by four Jews of rank, whose names are distinctly engraved in an old Hebrew character, resembling the alphabet called the Palmyrene, and to each name is affixed the title of Magen, or chief, as the Jews translated it."—Hough, vol. 1. Book 1. § 8.

Copper-plate fac-similes of the Christian tablets, together with those of two tablets belonging to the Jews of Cochin, were deposited by Dr. Buchanan in the public library of Cambridge University.

‡ Hough, vol. i. p. 109.

importance. In the general declension which prevailed almost universally throughout the Christian church they must have to some extent participated, and were little fitted to sustain without injury the unexpected sunshine of prosperity. The assumption of a caste position must have proved especially injurious. It precluded all possibility of Christian usefulness amongst other sections of the population, and, reacting on themselves with deadening influence, must have materially contributed to reduce them to a cold and formal state. And in such a condition they were found by the Portuguese when they reached the Malabar coast; guiltless, indeed, of that wilful antagonism to the truth of God, which is the great sin of the church of Rome, and happily ignorant of many of its corruptions, yet decayed and formal. No stronger proof of this can be needed than the fact that the Scriptures were locked up in the Syriac, a language unknown by the people, and that their Liturgies were in the same obsolete tongue; public worship, the gospel excepted, which was read in Malayalam, being thus rendered profitless to the congregations. So long as a church is satisfied to be without the Scriptures in the vernacular, and to have public worship conducted in an unintelligible language, it must be in a state of spiritual death, and the heartless, formal services are as requiems for the dead. Revealed truth no longer lives as a vital principle in men's hearts. It has retreated into the letter of the Scripture, awaiting the time, when, with a resuscitation of life, there shall arise a sense of need, and the Scriptures of God, by a faithful translation, be rendered accessible to the people. Nor was it merely that the Syrians were cold and heartless: positive errors were not wanting, like the fungus formations on the trunk of a decayed tree. They had become paganized to some extent. Heathen festivities were attended, and heathenish purifications practised; fortune-tellers were consulted, charms used, and the ordeals submitted to that were in use amongst the heathen. Prayers to the saints were customary, although they had not as yet learned to attach to Mary, the mother of Jesus, the extravagant notions attributed to her by the church of Rome; so that Menezes found it necessary to enunciate them at the synod of Diamper; to entitle her *Θεοτοκος*, or Mother of God; to affirm her freedom from actual sin; and "that it is pious to believe that she was also conceived without original sin; it seeming most agreeable to the dignity of the Mother of God that it should be so, though it is true that holy mother church has not as yet de-

termined any thing about the matter." Holy mother church, having taken a long time to deliberate, has at length, after two centuries and a half, affirmed the dogma of the immaculate conception, and thus completed the conglomeration of absurdities heaped upon the memory of one, whose thoughts of herself, as a dependent sinner saved by grace, are well expressed in her own words—"My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."

Prayers for the dead were also offered among the Syrians, and an error in great activity of operation at the present time, the concurrence of the new birth in all cases with the administration of the outward sign, was a settled and undisputed point of their orthodoxy.

We have endeavoured to present as faithful a transcript of the actual condition of the Syrian church, at the period when they were discovered in their isolation among the heathen, as the wanton destruction of their manuscripts by the see of Rome, and the scanty measure of reliable information left us, render possible. What an interesting and important crisis in their history when first brought to light! Had it been the Christianity of the Reformation, instead of the corrupt admixtures of Rome, which were introduced to them at that period, when it was not so much that they preferred what was erroneous, as that they were ignorant of what was true, how different the results that might have been produced. But unhappily it was Rome that met with them—Rome, that had refused to be reformed, and that had not hesitated to place herself in that position of avowed antagonism to the truth of God which she still retains. She proceeded not to improve, but to deteriorate—to foist in new errors, and, mischievously developing those already in existence, to remove these unhappy churches to a greater distance than before from the Sun of Righteousness.

We cannot be surprised at the anxiety displayed by the church of Rome to break down their distinctiveness. She claims to be the mother of all churches; but were these her children? Where then were the proofs of parentage? They had never known her. They recognised her not. How came it to pass that they were so unlike the parent from whom they sprang? for in many points they differed widely from her. Nor, indeed, has Rome exhibited much of parental affection towards these strangers, whom, on their discovery, she claimed as her own. Rather, in her conduct, has she betrayed the spirit of her, who, before the tribunal of Solomon,

proved herself not to be the true mother of the disputed child, when she said, "Let it be neither mine or thine, but divide it." If she could not subjugate them, she was determined to destroy them.

It must indeed have proved startling intelligence to the Pope and his cardinals, when tidings first reached them that ancient churches had been discovered, on the coast of Malabar, which had never heard of Rome, and were utter strangers to the jurisdiction which she claimed to exercise; for how was this to be reconciled with the favourite dogma of supremacy vested in Peter over his fellow-apostles, and transmitted by him to the bishops of the see of Rome? To put out of sight as quickly as possible a phenomenon so utterly irreconcilable with the pretensions of the papacy, was considered to be an object of first importance; and hence the appointment of Menezes to the see of Goa, and the extraordinary powers with which he was armed for the projected crusade against the independence of the Syrian churches. Nor did he disappoint the expectations which were formed of him; and Rome, ever unscrupulous as to the means by which so desirable a consummation as the interests of the holy see may be promoted, found in him precisely the instrument which she needed in carrying forward a procedure of mingled cruelty and fraud, which is well worthy of a prominent position in the sanguinary annals of that apostasy. Unhappily for the Syrians, in the degeneracy of their Christian life they knew not how to meet him in the simplicity of faith and prayer. The weapons which they selected were those of evasion and subterfuge, in the use of which he was far superior to them; and thus he either baffled all their measures by his more crafty policy, or beat down their vain resistance by the strong hand of power; until at length the Synod of Diamper was convened, on July 20, 1599, to seal the doom of these ancient churches, and degrade them into perpetual servitude. The proceedings of that Synod bring out very clearly the discrepancies between the two systems, and the points in which, according to the estimate of Romish ecclesiastics, the Syrians were defective. They rejected the supremacy of the Pope; they acknowledged the supreme authority of the holy Scriptures; they held no traditions as of co-ordinate rank with the Scriptures, and necessary to their just interpretation; they did not hold the monstrous figment of transubstantiation; they knew nothing of purgatory, and the sacrifice of the mass, as available for remission of the sins as well of the dead as of the living;

they allowed no images in their churches: when that of the Virgin Mary was first exhibited, in 1580 or 1590, by a Jesuit priest, the whole congregation rose up and cried out, "Away with the idol! we are Christians." At the time of Menezes they had only three sacraments, baptism, orders, and the supper of the Lord; they had no knowledge of extreme unction; of auricular confession they had never heard, and, when first proposed to them, manifested towards it much repugnance; their clergy were allowed to marry with all the freedom the laity enjoyed; they administered in both kinds to communicants, dipping the cake in the wine; they admitted to communion the members of other churches; however numerous the errors and superstitions which had crept into their Liturgies and ceremonies, they had not been drawn out into canons and articles of faith, as by the church of Rome at the council of Trent, nor bound by anathemas on the consciences of men.

On all these points the Synod of Diamper proceeded to enforce conformity to the church of Rome. Its proceedings were long, protracted into nine sessions, from which emanated two hundred decrees, addressing themselves, with great minuteness of detail, to every point of dissimilarity, and laboriously introducing every corrupt principle and practice of the church of Rome into the new constitution which was to be placed, as an oppressive yoke, on the necks of these unhappy Syrians. The proceedings of the Synod did not pass over altogether without disturbance. More than once resistance was attempted, but was overborne by the menacing and haughty deportment of Menezes, who, after the signing of the decrees, completed the mockery of the proceedings by dismissing the assembly with the words, "Let us depart in peace."

Immediately on the conclusion of the Synod, Menezes entered on a visitation of the diocese. During its progress his anxiety was directed to one object, the destruction of all documents, which, if permitted to remain, might serve at some future period to disprove the pretensions of the see of Rome. At Angamali, where the archives of the bishopric were kept, "he burned all that he could meet with, besides vast quantities of ancient manuscripts, for no other reason but because he suspected their orthodoxy, not deeming it necessary to ascertain whether there were grounds for his suspicion. It is supposed that at this time every authentic document relating to the origin of the Malabar church perished in the flames, so ardent was the prelate's zeal to burn whatever tended to prove the dependence of this church upon the Syrian

patriarch at Babylon.”* “If any thing can consign to perpetual infamy the name and progress of this barbarian, surely it must be the destruction of so many ancient and invaluable documents of the Christian church. It is indeed painful to follow a man thus carrying misery and destruction along with him, and dispensing them on the right hand and on the left, as his ambition or his ignorance might suggest; and, what is worse, for the propagation of a spiritual tyranny, which it was hoped would reach to the utmost boundaries of the earth.”†

Menezes, as he conceived, consummated his victory and the subjugation of the Syrians. Before his departure for Europe he had the satisfaction of seeing a Latin bishop placed over them. But a retributive justice followed him and his nation. Returning home, he rose to eminence only to fall by a more signal disgrace. The Syrians, unable to endure the yoke of the Jesuits, again awoke to resistance. “A few Nestorian priests found their way into their midst, and, animated by their presence, many churches in recesses among the mountains refused to follow the Romish ritual, and placed themselves under a bishop of their own selection. The Romish ecclesiastics resumed the same course of unscrupulous coercion which Menezes had inaugurated. The heathen princes placed their influence at their disposal, and ecclesiastical censure was enforced by the arm of the civil power. The unhappy Syrians were again in suffering; but the season of retribution at length arrived. The Dutch, by the capture of Cochin in 1663, crushed the power of the Portuguese, and decreed forthwith the expulsion of all European ecclesiastics of the Romish church from the places they had conquered. The Carmelite bishop was compelled to retire; and although, before his departure, he succeeded in securing the appointment of a native bishop, yet a considerable body of these Christians, to the number of 10,000, persisted in rejecting his authority; and renewing their connexion with Antioch. These people, designated by us Syrians, and by the people of the country New Christians, became exposed, on their separation, to powerful enemies and serious dangers. The Roman Catholics, regarding their secession as an act both of apostasy and rebellion, persecuted them with unrelenting animosity. The princes of the country, seeing their defenceless state, considered them as fit subjects for plunder and insult. They were destitute of religious books, pastors, and instruction;

they had suffered deterioration, both in religious principles and morals, by their union with the Jesuits; and “the Dutch, whose conduct was marked by perfidy and meanness, abandoned them to their fate.”

It was to these independent Syrians the attention of Buchanan was directed, and, through his efforts, the Christian sympathies of this country were elicited on their behalf. The cruel oppression to which they had been subjected by the Roman see, more grievous and tyrannical than any they had ever experienced at the hands of the heathen princes around them; the memorable struggle which, amidst so many disadvantageous circumstances, they had sustained for their independence, increased the interest which was naturally felt on behalf of churches so ancient, and localized, too, in a country of all others the most elaborately heathenized, and the least likely to afford them shelter. It was hoped that, subdued and softened by affliction, they would lend a docile ear to those who came amongst them in a friendly and disinterested spirit, with a view to their reformation and improvement. Their condition was indeed deplorable. The total disregard of the Sabbath, the profanation of the name of God, drunkenness, and to a considerable extent, especially among the priesthood, adultery, were very prevalent among them. Yet they did not glory in their misdeeds, like the heathen around, but endeavoured to conceal them, as though ashamed of them. It appeared just the moment, before this sense of shame was lost, and they had become callous, to attempt a cure, otherwise, their Christian distinctiveness being obliterated, after a brief period they must have been absorbed into the prevailing heathenism: and such, no doubt, would have been the result, but for the benevolent efforts which, at this juncture, were initiated, and which have since been perseveringly prosecuted.

It was with this object Colonel Munro erected the college at Cottayam, designed for the education and improvement of the Syrian clergy; and by him the Church Missionary Society was invited to co-operate in this charitable work, so harmonizing with the mind of Him who has enjoined His people to seek that which is lost, and bring again that which is driven away; to bind up that which is broken, and strengthen that which is sick. The object contemplated by the Church Missionary Society in responding to this invitation, and sending forth its Missionaries, was to revive the Syrian church, by introducing into it a leaven of evangelical Christianity, which, however feeble in the first instance, might eventually originate a reforma-

* Hough, Book v. §. 11.

† Professor Lee's History.

tion from within. The effort was commenced with the concurrence and full approbation of the metran; and the Missionaries for a series of years patiently and indefatigably persevered in such measures as, after much prayer and consultation, were deemed to be the most suitable. Copies of the Syriac Scriptures were multiplied; the Scriptures were translated into the vernacular Malayalam; schools were established on scriptural principles; improved means afforded for the education of the clergy; and the gospel preached and expounded by the Missionaries as opportunity presented itself, and at the request of the metran. In December 1818 an assembly was convened by the metran at Mavelicara, attended by the catanars and elders, and also by the Missionaries, the metran himself presiding, in order that such matters might be brought before it as had been the frequent subject of friendly conference between him and the Missionaries. It was addressed by the Rev. Joseph Fenn, who faithfully and affectionately impressed upon them the necessity of reformation, pointing out the idolatrous practices which had crept into their Liturgy, and the necessity that public worship should be so conducted as that it might be to the glory of God and the edification of the people, and exhorting them to a general humiliation of all classes before God, and the offering up of united and fervent supplications to Him for His pardoning mercy, and the outpouring of His Holy Spirit. Thus, at its commencement, the aspect of the work was most encouraging; but, as time advanced, it stood out more clearly in its true character, as one of no ordinary difficulty. Promising appearances faded away. The Syrians, as a body, exhibited a growing distaste to the efforts made for their improvement. Gradually and painfully the conviction was forced upon the Missionaries that the corruptions of doctrine and worship were much more extensive, and had penetrated far more deeply, than had been at first supposed; so much so, that little prospect remained of permanent good being effected, if those idolatries continued to be retained and defended. They comprised, in fact, the supremacy of the church of Rome excepted, all the essential elements of Popery, namely—transubstantiation; the sacrifice of the mass for the quick and dead; prayers for the departed; the worship of the Virgin Mary; the adoration of saints; prayers in an unknown tongue; extreme unction; the attributing to the clergy the power to curse and destroy men's bodies and souls; pictures in the churches representing God the Father; prayers to the altar and chancel;

connected with which were the elevation of the host, the burning of incense, the ringing of bells at the time of elevation, the priest receiving the mass alone; and, connected with this last usage, that which is represented by Bishop Middleton as being held with peculiar tenacity by the priests, and constituting an absolute barrier against any union with the Church of England as a Protestant church—auricular confession. It was but too evident, that, although the church of Rome had not succeeded in establishing her supremacy over these Syrians, she had successfully inoculated them with all other errors and corruptions. It was the duty of the Church of England, as once herself involved in similar corruptions, and as having experienced, in the merciful providence of God, a happy reformation, to afford to the Syrian church like opportunity, and to bring the light of Scripture to bear upon its errors of doctrine and practice, in the hope that, their unscriptural character being detected, they might be repented of and renounced. This was the object proposed, and no one can allege that it was given up lightly, or without sufficient trial. For twenty years it was persevered in. At the end of that period a review of the work, and of its progress, became necessary, and the results were found to be *nil*. "It is a melancholy fact," write the Missionaries, Bailey, Baker, and Peet, conjointly, under date of December 28, 1836, "that, after twenty years of labour, not the least change or alteration for the better has been effected, either in her discipline or services. . . . The catanars in general are strictly opposed to scriptural reform, supposing their own interests to be at stake in it." Two from amongst them, the best disposed, and willing to go much further lengths than the rest, yet conceived that the exterior of worship should remain the same; the people to be entertained with sights; the feasts to be allowed; the women in particular not to be suffered to perceive any alteration in the rites and ceremonies; the bells, the incense, the elevation of the host, to be continued. In fact, the Syrian church, after so much expenditure of labour, presented the following picture, as delineated by one well qualified to express an opinion on the subject—"Her metran and priests keep the people in ignorance; divine service is performed in a language which the people cannot understand; the clergy are unable and unwilling to preach; they have taken no steps either to translate or distribute the Scriptures, or to teach the people either orally or by writing, or to educate their children. They encourage their people in their vain superstitions, of which

the effect is to dishonour Christ and to ruin souls, such as private masses for the dead ; extreme unction ; the multitude of genuflexions ; three priests at three different altars in the church celebrating the Lord's supper at the same time, themselves only receiving it, as in some way or other a propitiatory sacrifice."*

Under these circumstances the position of the Missionaries became an increasingly painful one, and very embarrassing to their own consciences ; for while the metrans and catanars evaded every thing like decisive action as to the removal of the superstitious and corrupt practices, they took advantage of the intercommunion existing between the Missionaries and themselves as a sanction given by the former to the Syrian system. Thus the Missionaries were in the habit, at the close of the mass service, of going into the churches, and giving instruction to the people. True, they preached faithfully, but they did so at the close of a service unequivocally at variance with all which they advanced, and in buildings which sheltered the emblems of idolatry, perhaps a statue of the Virgin placed over the altar, or the car on which, on saints' days, images were carried about to bless the people's houses. The conclusion drawn from this, by the Syrians generally, was, that these emblems were considered by the Missionaries as unobjectionable, and such was the misinterpretation which the catanars took pains to put into circulation. The necessity of disembarassing the Missionaries from this false position became increasingly evident, and matters were brought to a crisis in 1835.† In

* Minute by the Rev. J. Tucker, Feb. 17, 1838.

† The following extract of a letter from the Rev. V. Shortland (now Archdeacon of Madras) to Captain M. J. Rowlandson, dated Quilon, January 25, 1837, is confirmatory of what we have said as to the painful position of the Missionaries, and the urgent necessity there existed for some decided change—

"I visited the college, the college chapel, two Syrian, and a Syro-Romish church. The first I saw under disadvantageous circumstances, as it was the Christmas vacation ; but in the college chapel I gazed with wonder on the table surmounted by the cross, of course moveable, on which the mass and the Lord's supper have alternately been celebrated by the Syrian and English clergy. Again and again I asked the question—for I could hardly credit what was told me—only more positively to be assured that Divine service had regularly been performed in this chapel, and the Lord's supper administered, by the Missionaries, while at other times it was used as a mass-house of the Syrian church. I could not write this so patiently had I not the satisfaction of knowing that our brethren, and, I hope, your Committee, have seen their error,

that year the Bishop of Calcutta, in the course of his episcopal visitation, reached Travancore ; and at the metran's request, and, as was supposed, with his approbation, offered to him some advice having reference to the original arrangement made with the Missionaries under Colonel Munro's auspices. We shall venture to introduce the Bishop of Calcutta's own statement of this matter, as embodied in a charge delivered to the Travancore Missionaries in February 1843.

"The points I suggested were simply matters of advice, as from one brother bishop to another ; and such as the best information I could obtain from the long experience of the Rev. Missionaries led me to think were easy of accomplishment. I distinctly stated that I was a stranger, and had no authority but amongst my own people. But that his most reverend predecessors and himself had invited and welcomed the aid which Dr. Buchanan first offered to the Syrian church, and which the Church Missionaries had for twenty years been rendering it ; and as I had come, as bishop, to visit the presbyters of my own episcopal church, I conceived it to be my duty, as it was my pleasure, to consult him and his clergy as to the measures which might be thought most expedient for further carrying

and that an entire separation is expected to take place between them and the wretched system they have so long been upholding. I cannot, however, regret the effort that has been made—though certainly it was too long continued—to reform this ancient and interesting church by co-operation with it, as its recent failure justifies, even in the estimation of the most scrupulous, the independent plan on which it is desired henceforward to carry on the Missionary operations."

To this we may add the conviction expressed by the Resident, Colonel Frazer, at a meeting convened by him of the metran and his friends, and the Missionaries, accompanied by the Rev. J. Tucker, Secretary of the Corresponding Committee, Madras, February 20, 1838. On that occasion the Resident observed, "that the experience of more than twenty years had led to the conviction that no possible advantage can be anticipated by a prolonged connexion with the Syrian church ; and that the report which the metran had given of the Synod at Mavelicara confirmed him in this conviction. He stated this not lightly, but with deep regret and sorrow that matters were now arrived at that juncture, that it was necessary to pronounce a separation : that he was not speaking in his character as Resident, nor as a friend of the Rev. the Missionaries, but as a Christian, with reference to the present state of the Syrian church. The Resident further observed, that both the metran and the Missionaries, and, in short, all parties, appeared agreed on this point. To all this the metran agreed."

on these good designs. I added, that I came also as a friend whom he had, two years before—which was the case—invited by letter to visit and help him. My suggestions were (1) that the College should be considered generally as the place of education for the clergy, according to the plan agreed upon by himself and his predecessors with the Resident of Travancore and the Church Missionaries, in order that a learned and pious clergy might thus be gradually formed. (2) That the accounts of moneys, lands, and property belonging to the Syrian churches should be audited by the Resident, as complaints of malversation, whether true or not, were universal. (3) That means should be devised for the support of the clergy, instead of their being maintained chiefly by the fees for the prayers of the dead. (4) That schools should be spread all over the Syrian parishes, as had been long commenced, as funds allowed. (5) That the catanars should expound the gospel to the people each Sunday, in Malayalim, as the Church Missionaries had been doing. Lastly, that the public prayers should be interpreted in Malayalim, in which language a liturgy should be framed from their various Syrian ones, for general use, the Syriac being now a learned language, and not understood by the people. To these points the metran, malpans, and catanars promised their best consideration, approving generally in the strongest terms, and thanking me for my counsel. I added, that my only object was to see that the Syrian church should shine as a bright star in the right hand of the Son of Man, holding forth the faithful word, the light of the Holy Spirit, the atoning blood of Jesus Christ, the pardon of sin through faith in Him, and the Holy Scriptures as a divine, inspired word, and the foundation of all faith. As the metran and catanars rose to go, the senior Church Missionary reminded them of the plan formed some years before, under the auspices of Colonel Munro, the then Resident, for the benefit of the Syrian church, which plan had been acted upon up to the period of the then metran's death, and some time after, with the full approbation of the Syrian ecclesiastical authorities. On this the metran and catanars, being appealed to by the senior Missionary, confirmed it, and said it was so."

After the Bishop of Calcutta's departure, a Synod was convened by the metropolitan, to decide upon the suggestions which had been submitted for the reformation of the Syrian church. A translation of the paper signed at that Synod is now before us, written, as is stated in the body of it, "at Mavelicara,

in the church dedicated to the Virgin mother of God, in the year of our Lord 1836, corresponding with 5th Magaram 1011." It refers to the alterations proposed to be adopted—"That whereas, at a meeting held between the Metropolitan and the Right Rev. Daniel, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, at Cottayam, in the month of Vrichagam last, it was proposed by his lordship that certain changes should be effected in the ceremonies, rites, and liturgy of our Syrian churches; and whereas it was then stated, in reply, that the same will be determined and made known after a conference on the subject with the whole of the Syrian community"—it then proceeds to affirm the decision arrived at by the metropolitan, vicars, priests, and parishioners belonging to the Angemáli and other churches. "We, being the Jacobite Syrians, subject to the Patriarch of Antioch, and observing the church rites and rules established by the prelates sent by his command, cannot, therefore, deviate from them: and as no one possesses authority to preach and teach the doctrine of our religion in the church of another, without the sanction of their respective patriarchs, we cannot permit the same." It concludes by commending the church to the protection of the Virgin. "We seek the prayers of her who is the ever blessed, ever holy, ever hailed, the redresser of all complaints, and the mother of God; and the prayers of the saints; and, that we may obtain salvation, we cannot acknowledge or embrace any other rule of faith or doctrine, but the rule of faith and doctrine of the ancient Jacobite church." The signing of this instrument was followed by a solemn oath, imposed by the metran on the clergy, to have no intercourse whatever with the Church Missionaries, and a prohibition on the deacons from attendance on the College; and thus the acts of separation were concluded.

Thus the opportunity of self-reformation had been afforded, and refused: the Syrian church had formally announced its determination to abide by all its former customs. Were they of such an innocuous character—merely a few vain and frivolous addenda—that the use of them might have been conceded as not incompatible with the reception of the saving truth of the gospel? and, in urging their abandonment, were the representatives of the Church of England too rigid? We can conceive, without difficulty, the existence of defects and blemishes which do not absolutely obstruct the action of scriptural truth, although, no doubt, disadvantageously affecting it. We should bear with such, in the persuasion that they cannot long co-exist with the better and

superior influence, and would be eventually removed; but the corrupt forms of the Syrian church were the exponents of principles militating against the truths of the gospel, and directly obstructive of their action. As in the church of Rome, so in the Syrian church as corrupted by that of Rome, elements irreconcilable with scriptural Christianity had been introduced, and, through the corrupt action of the human heart, placed in a position of superior influence, had neutralized the action of those Christian verities, which, although admitted and nominally retained, were thrust aside into obscurity, and reduced to practical insignificance. This is the insidious method which has always been pursued in adulterating the gospel. The fundamental articles of Christianity are formally professed and retained; but on these are gradually superinduced various superstitious usages and ritual additions, which it is pretended are only alterations and improvements in the mode of worship, and not at all affecting the essentials of faith. Yet are they covertures of serious errors, which, thus disguised, are privily brought in, and, speaking in the first instance through forms and ceremonies, until they have laid hold on men's hearts, begin then to be avowed more undisguisedly in words. The rituals of the Syrian church were, in fact, the exposition of an anti-Christian system. Of their incompatibility with the truth of the gospel, as presented in its purity and simplicity on the page of Scripture, the Syrians could no longer be in ignorance. For twenty years their attention had been directed to this discrepancy, until at length they were called upon to decide. "Choose you this day whom ye will serve." The decision to which they came pledged them, as we have seen, to a continuance in error, and to a more deliberative rejection of the truth than they had yet been guilty of. The Syrian church had now, for the first time, placed herself in open antagonism to the rule of Christ.

There were amongst the Syrians some who had derived benefit from the instruction of the Missionaries, and were desirous of being more perfectly instructed in the way of life. What course was to be pursued with reference to these persons? Was the aid they sought to be refused them? They wanted the gospel as the one thing needful, that which could alone meet and satisfy the deep necessities of their souls. Where were they to find it? Their own church had it not to give them. She had avowed her hostility to that pure light of revealed truth, which, if alive to her proper office, it was her duty to reflect. She

had abused her authority to obstruct its free progress, and had prohibited its reception by her people. Was her right to exercise such a power to be conceded? and were the Missionaries to say to inquirers, "We were willing to have instructed you, but as your church interposes her authority we are precluded from so doing?" If a parent be so unnatural as to interdict food to his child, neither giving it himself, and forbidding others, how should we act? By a denial of his power to interpose such a prohibition, and a prompt impartation of what might be necessary to the preservation of life. A church is designed to help, not hinder, the salvation of souls. So long as it fulfils its office by a faithful exposition of the gospel, and a due administration of the sacraments and other edifying ordinances, let it exercise a becoming influence; but when it would interpose its authority between a soul and God, let it be disregarded, and let that which God has commanded and sanctioned—"preach the gospel"—be done without its sanction. Church organization is well so long as it subserves the gospel; but when it becomes an obstruction it had better be removed; and that eventually will take place, in the providence of God, unless it be corrected in its action. If souls be perishing for the lack of knowledge, let them have that knowledge, at whatever cost, and at the price of whatever apparent irregularity. During the late war there was a general outcry against the stupid adherence to official formalities, which, when a great emergency arose, retarded the supplies so painfully needed by suffering men. More worthy of condemnation still is the heartless spirit, which, rather than violate church rules and points of order, would suffer men to live and die in ignorance of God. Let bishops and clergy teach and preach Jesus Christ, and duties faithfully discharged will not fail to invest them with becoming influence; but to exercise the authority of an office against the very purpose for which the office was designed is indeed preposterous, and will not fail eventually to meet its due reward.

Some, perhaps, might be disposed to think, that, the Syrian church having declined the aid which had been proffered, the Church Missionary Society had fulfilled its duty, and might, and indeed ought to have withdrawn. But was Travancore to be deprived of the gospel because the Syrian clergy loved darkness better, and wished the light to be put out? Had the Church Missionary Society withdrawn its testimony at such a juncture, it would have been *particeps criminis* with the Syrian church: nay, then indeed its

testimony became more than ever necessary.

But as individuals began to discriminate between truth and error, and, distinguishing between the genuine and its counterfeit, desired to disembarass themselves of the superstitions which had so long ensnared them, and to honour God with a pure worship according to the simplicity of His gospel, what was to be done with them? Their own church would not suffer them to remain in her communion, except on one condition—a renunciation of Christ: for to join in her ritual was to give His glory to another. When such a crisis comes, and either Christ, or the church with which we have been in communion all our life, must be surrendered, the man who has tasted that the Lord is gracious will not long hesitate. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me: and he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me." So it was with the first Christians: they were cast out from the Jewish church and polity, and they went forth, "bearing their reproach."

What was to be done with these separated members? Children, when cast out by their own parents, have a claim on all; and he who first meets them in their destitution, by the constraints of charity is bound to take them up. Our Missionaries have done so. They have taken up these converts, and, in default of affection and sympathy on the part of their own people, have provided them with all which may be requisite for their spiritual growth. They have not been left in a wandering and restless state, but, placed under affectionate discipline and wholesome subordination, they are fed with the sincere milk of the word. The Church Missionary Society has been to them *in loco parentis*, and she holds them in trust, if so be at some future time the Syrian church may come to a better mind, and, willing to be reformed, may welcome back these once-disowned children, to be her guides and instructors in the way of life.

We should not, perhaps, have entered so fully on this subject, but that we happened to meet, in the columns of the "Guardian," a letter on the native Christians of the East, in which the Society's mode of action in Travancore has been impugned in no very measured terms. The shaft has evidently been thrown with much rough force, but it is not one of those polished and accurately pointed weapons that wound most keenly; and the unacquaintedness of the writer with the facts of the

case has caused him to project it beside the mark. He speaks of the Rajah, the Resident, and the Parent Committee, as all united together in a conspiracy against the Syrian church, and harmoniously co-operating in the effort *to dig it out of India!* All well-informed persons are aware, that, amidst the other difficulties with which our Missionaries have to contend in Travancore, they certainly are not embarrassed with an undue measure of Court patronage; nor, if they be instrumental in bringing forth some from amongst the various sections of Travancore's dark population to the pure faith in Christ, do they owe this to the approbation of those in authority. All they have is toleration, and barely that; for in various matters of detail, such as obtaining sites for churches, and in the solution of the question as to the social position to be assigned to Christian converts from the lower castes, they find themselves much thwarted.

The distinguished rôle, therefore, which the writer assigns to influential persons at the Court of Travancore, when he describes them as puppets, the strings of which are pulled at Madras, and the pullers inspired from Salisbury Square, is a little imaginative dream, which belongs exclusively to himself. To bring political influences to bear upon the work in which we are engaged is furthest from our thoughts. Results produced by such contrivances are nothing worth.

But the writer proceeds to contrast what he is pleased to designate the preservation policy of Bishop Heber, and the extirpation policy of the Church Missionary Society, with each other; in other words, the theory which Bishop Heber recommended, under imperfect information, and with an imperfect knowledge of the real facts of the case, and that unavoidable course of action which the experience of many years has necessitated. We need hardly add, that the conclusions which the objector draws from that contrast are disparaging to the Society and its Missionaries, some of whom are introduced, by name, as little better than evil-doers, to the notice of the British public. Is the writer aware, that for twenty years the preservation policy, which he so approves of, was the policy of the Church Missionary Society; nay, that it was pushed so far, as to bring our Missionaries into such close proximity with existing corruptions as to be misinterpreted into an approval of them? We are told that "these churches must reform themselves, and the part of the English church must be to show the way." And is this, indeed, a new and happy solution of a great difficulty, which it has been reserved for the writer to impart to

the church—an invaluable experiment, which has never been tested? Assuredly, the Society's Mission in Travancore was commenced on that very principle. Our Missionaries descended into the low and noisome places where the Syrian church had taken up her abode, and sedulously occupied themselves in persuading her to try the upward path, and fix her habitation on the more healthful heights, where they themselves had been accustomed to dwell. For twenty years they showed the way, and, just in proportion as she was advised and counselled for her good, did the Syrian church exhibit an increasing indisposition to the effort, until at length it became an angry and obstinate refusal. Our objector would perhaps have been pleased had the same vain effort been perpetuated to this day, and our Missionaries continued to discharge the duties of a finger-post to an immovable body, which, with the lapse of time, was becoming more tenaciously imbedded in its original position. The Syrian church, however, by its own act, relieved them from the painful drudgery, for the doors of the churches were closed upon them; and, determined to disembarass themselves of persuasions and entreaties with which they had resolved not to comply, the metran and his clergy shut them out. "The Syrian church must reform herself:" very good, but the Syrian church has refused to be reformed, and has preferred Antioch and its corruptions to Christ and His gospel. And when a corrupt church, deeply and dangerously sunk in superstitious practices, rejects friendly persuasion and instruc-

tion, and, assuming a position of avowed antagonism to the truth of God, not only refuses to be reformed herself, but anathematizes those from amongst her people who desire to "take the precious from the vile," is that church still to be regarded as a sister church, with which we are to hold charitable communion? Is the gospel to be withdrawn at her bidding, because she distastes it, and her right be admitted to coerce the consciences of men, and deprive them of that which God has freely given, and has commanded to be universally published to every sinner under heaven? Has each primate throughout Christendom his limits, within which he is to exercise jurisdiction and be protected in his rights, and in virtue of those rights is he empowered to perpetrate the greatest wrong which one man can inflict upon another, hindering him from such a knowledge and apprehension of the only Saviour as avails to the salvation of the soul? Has each metropolitan in his primacy, and each bishop in his diocese, and each incumbent in his parish, the right to exclude the gospel if he think fit to do so? Then, instead of one Pope, there are in existence Popes innumerable; and the Saviour's command, that His gospel should be preached to all the world, may be contravened at the pleasure of any formally-constituted ecclesiastical authority, and dispensed with altogether. To those who thus bring sinners into bondage, a bondage more cruel, more intolerable, than that to which the slave is subjected, we trust never to give "place by subjection, no, not for an hour."

MISSIONARY PROCEEDINGS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF NINGPO.

SINCE we commenced to publish the Rev. R. H. Cobbold's narrative of an extensive tour throughout the province of Chekeang, we have received a communication from another of our Missionaries at Ningpo, the Rev. W. A. Russell, having reference to proceedings more immediately in the vicinity of the central station. We have as yet received a portion only of the particulars which he is anxious to make known to us. But they are of a deeply interesting character, contrasting pleasantly with Mr. Cobbold's details, which unfold to us an extensive pioneer work, whereas Mr. Russell brings before us special cases of individuals in whom are discernible the operations of Divine grace. We therefore give it to our readers without delay, and in its freshness, intending to continue the publication so soon as the conclusion reaches us. The letter is dated June 20th, 1856, and was received on the 4th of September.

"Several circumstances of interest, in a Missionary point of view, have come under my observation during the past few months, both at Ningpo, and on my itinerating excursions into the surrounding country, which I will now endeavour to embody in this letter to you, for the information of the Committee, and such friends at home as take an interest in our proceedings in this far-distant land.

"Towards the close of the last year, after several unsuccessful attempts to secure a residence in the adjoining city of Z-kyei, where we designed, if possible, to form an out-station, I was induced to accompany Mr. Gough and our catechist, Bao Sin-sang, on an exploratory trip to the 'regions lying beyond.' This we undertook in the latter part of November, and, during our absence from home, visited several large market-towns, many of them probably containing a population of twenty thousand inhabitants each, situ-

ated in a large plain called 'Eo-seen-poh, lying to the north-west of Z-kyei, separated from it only by an intervening range of mountains. While itinerating in this district we had frequent opportunities of addressing large assemblages of both males and females, who congregated in masses at the different places we visited, eagerly desirous of hearing and seeing the foreigners. The addresses given on these occasions were usually attended with much more interest to ourselves and our hearers than is commonly experienced by us in the more immediate neighbourhood of Ningpo, principally arising from the marked difference of temperament which respectively characterizes the people themselves. The people of Ningpo and its vicinity are of a timid, reserved, imperturbable disposition, very much abashed by the presence of foreigners, against whom they secretly cherish deep feelings of jealousy and fear; so that the effect of our addresses upon them is seldom developed in any external exhibition of approbation or displeasure. To every thing we say a polite nod of assent is usually given, as hollow and heartless as it is insincere; whereas the people of the 'Eo-seen-poh district are, on the contrary, bold, communicative, independent, and, I might add, irascible, by no means checked by the presence of a foreigner, but ever forward to question and oppose every thing which did not quite commend itself to their judgments and feelings. The natural consequence was, that during our addresses we were frequently interrupted by one or other of our auditors coming forward in support of any particular form of their superstitions which we assailed, but which they regarded as defensible; and also in opposition to any particular dogma of Christianity which we propounded, contrary to their notions of credibility. Such scenes generally created an immediate interest on the part of all present, however indifferent they might have been before; and, from the unsustainable positions invariably taken by our opponents on these occasions, as commonly resulted in an acknowledged triumph in favour of Christianity.

During one of these addresses we were first brought into contact with a young man of the name of Liu Ah-loh, who, as the sequel will show, proved to be a person of unusual interest. He presented himself to our notice as the catechist and I were speaking to a large assemblage of men and women by the bank of a canal, at a place called Tsóng-kyei-qyiao, on Tuesday, November 27th. We had just concluded our addresses, and, as usual, were inviting those present to start any objections to,

or ask any questions they pleased about, the subject of our discourses, when we observed a man pushing his way through the crowd with much eagerness, and coming straight up to where we were standing on stools, serving the purpose of temporary pulpits. When sufficiently close for his purpose, he raised his eyes towards me, and, in rather an excited manner, asked, 'Loh-si we-to peng?' ('What is the cardinal or primal truth?') The catechist, who, with all his excellencies, is, I am sorry to say, occasionally somewhat too rash in his judgment, and pettish in his manner, prejudging the poor man as a mere captious opponent, whose only motive was to put us down, and not a sincere inquirer after truth, replied to him in rather an abrupt and sarcastic tone, telling him that he was surprised he asked such a foolish question, which even a child could answer. On this the poor fellow seemed quite disconcerted, and quickly shrank back into the body of the crowd. Feeling that an injury had been undeservedly inflicted on him, I endeavoured to repair it as well as I could; but, with all my efforts to do so, I could not again induce the young man to come forward, or say any thing more on the occasion. We were, however, on the evening of the same day, shortly after our return to our boats, agreeably surprised by the re-appearance of the same individual, putting forward his head into the front part of the boat which Mr. Gough and I occupied, and reiterating the question of the morning, 'Loh-si we-to peng?' We immediately invited him into our boat; and, having apologized to him for the uncourteous treatment he had experienced from us in the morning, we then talked to him for a considerable time on the great primary truths of one God, the Father and Judge of all, the universal depravity of man, and the one great Mediator between God and man, the Lord Jesus Christ; after which he left us, apparently much interested in what he had heard.

"Subsequent to this, Mr. Gough, on the occasion of another visit to the same district, in the end of December, in company with the catechist, again met this Liu Ah-loh, and had some interesting conversations with him on the subject of Christianity, such as to leave a strong impression on the mind of Mr. Gough that he was one who was under the teaching of the Spirit of God. Mr. Gough, in consequence, gave him an invitation to come and spend a few days at his house at Ningpo, with the view to his receiving further instruction, which he accepted, promising to come in the early part of the present year. This he accordingly did, coming to us in the month of

January, and remaining a few days with us. On his return, we arranged to meet him again, at his native place, in a short time.

"Accordingly, on the 25th of March, Mr. Gough, the catechist, and I, again started in company for 'Eo-seen-poh, with the specific object, amongst other things, of following up the impression we had reason to believe had already been produced on the mind of Liu Ah-loh on the subject of Christianity, and, if possible, so far as we might be made instrumental in doing so, bringing it to a full conviction. On March 29th we again met him, and brought him to our boats, when he became one of our party for the few days we continued in his neighbourhood. During this time I had more opportunity of close intercourse with him than before. In the intervals between our public addresses to the people generally I read and explained to him different portions of the gospel history, and, amongst others, our Saviour's sermon on the Mount. With this he seemed peculiarly struck, frequently remarking, as I went on, that nothing could be more excellent; yet observing, at the same time, that compliance with such a high standard of morality was impossible, even for the best and most virtuous. When reading to him the sufferings of our Redeemer, and explaining to him the object for which He endured so much agony, he seemed quite affected, and expressed his surprise at the amazing love of God to man therein exhibited. On one occasion, when the catechist, he, and I were alone, talking together upon these things, the catechist asked him why he thought so favourably of Christianity; to which he replied, that, having already had recourse to all the means prescribed by his own people for the satisfaction of his conscience and removal of his sin—such as eating vegetable diet, chanting prayers, worshipping pictures of Buddha, and going through a variety of other ordeals—he still found his conscience unsatisfied, and the burden of his sin unremoved; or, in other words, an inward craving after something which none of these remedies could ever appease. He represented himself as having been assiduously trying them for the last ten years, so as to obtain for himself, amongst his own people, the character of great merit. (He was known everywhere in his neighbourhood by the designations of Ky'uoh-tsee-qo Ah-loh, 'the man who lived on vegetable diet,' also Jün-nying, 'the virtuous man.') 'But alas!' said he, 'though my external conduct has appeared decorous in the eyes of others, and gained for me the appellation of "virtuous," yet from this I can gather but little satisfaction, as I myself know too well the secret

workings of my carnal heart to be any thing but virtuous, so as even to commend itself to my own conscience. No;' said he, 'I know myself to be a sinner, and a great one too; and my chief grief hitherto has been, that I know of no remedy for the quieting of my conscience and the removal of my sin. But,' said he, 'if what you tell me of Christianity be true, then is my want to be satisfied, and my sorrow to be turned into joy.' All this he said with so much apparent sincerity, and such deep earnestness of manner, as quite to affect me; for though I had seen in other Chinese what I believe to be genuine marks of true conversion, yet his was the first case amongst his countrymen, brought to my notice, in which a deep realization of sin, and apparent contrition of heart for it, seemed so distinctly developed, plainly indicating him as a subject in whom the Spirit of God was working a regenerating change.

"When parting from him this time, we proposed his making a second visit to Ningpo for further instruction, preparatory to his receiving the ordinance of baptism; to which he assented, remarking, that no expenditure of time or trouble would prevent him from accomplishing an object which he felt to be so necessary for his present peace and future welfare. He accordingly came a second time to Ningpo; and, having remained about ten days with us, constantly receiving instruction from Mr. Gough and myself, I baptized him, on Sunday, the 20th of April, by the name of Dao-teh, 'The truth obtained,' which had been chosen by himself as appropriate to his circumstances.

"Subsequent to his baptism I learned from himself and others the following particulars of his previous history, up to the time we were first brought into contact with him, which I feel are not devoid of interest and instruction.

"He was born in a very humble station of life, the son of a poor tradesman. At the age of eleven years he lost his mother, leaving a grandmother, his father, and himself, the only surviving members of the family. Shortly after the death of his mother, his father felt constrained, by the pressure of his circumstances, to send out Ah-loh to provide a livelihood for himself by the herding of a neighbour's cows. In this humble occupation he continued to the age of fifteen, when a relative of the family induced his father to have him apprenticed to a cotton carder. About a year after this, his grandmother, who belonged to a sect of religionists called Vu-we-Kyrio—a kind of reformed Buddhism, which is said to have originated about a century or two ago, in the province of Seen-tong—prevailed

upon her grandson to join this sect, and to unite with them in their abstinence from animal food, chanting of the sacred books, recital of prayers, &c. Into all this Ah-loh entered cheerfully, and even excelled his associates in his zeal. He also determined, much against the wishes of his father, to lead a life of celibacy; giving as a reason for doing so, that he might thus be less encumbered by family ties, and so enabled to attend more uninterruptedly to his religious duties. He was, moreover, very assiduous in exhorting others to adopt a similar course, and, by his exhortations, has been, I understand, instrumental in inducing several of his friends to join their sect, and unite in their observances. The leading man of this body in the 'Eo-seen-poh district, Pao Sin-sang, perceiving Ah-loh's diligence and earnestness, and knowing that he would prove a valuable agent in promoting the interests of his party, appointed him to an office in the body called Long-ban—a designation somewhat similar in meaning to our word deacon. This office Ah-loh continued to hold for some years, discharging its duties so diligently as to give entire satisfaction to his superior and the other members of the sect. Yet during this time, as he told me, he had frequent misgivings as to whether he really was in the right road to happiness after all. Indeed, so strong were his inward impressions becoming that possibly, after all, he might have been only deceiving himself and others, that he had actually determined to abandon his sect, retire from the world altogether, and devote himself to a life of entire solitude. His only obstacle was his father, now infirm and unable to support himself; but this he endeavoured to remove by inducing his father to adopt the same course, promising to secure for them both a maintenance for their remaining days in some retired monastery, by means of the money he had already laid by from his past earnings. Just at this juncture in his history, Ah-loh was, as I believe, providentially brought into contact with us, which resulted, as described above, in his discovery of Him who is 'the way, the truth, and the life;' who can alone impart peace to the troubled conscience, and fully satisfy the cravings of the immortal spirit. In Him he is now, I believe, truly happy, and for Him prepared either to live or die.

"A few days after his baptism, Dao-teh—such I shall in future call him—returned to his native place. Before leaving, I intimated to him that I should be glad, if practicable, to rent a small house in a central position in the 'Eo-seen-poh district, to which we might occa-

sionally resort for Missionary purposes, and where, possibly, we might see proper permanently to locate our catechist. After an interval of a few days Dao-teh came again to Ningpo, bringing with him a gentleman of the name of Lin, from Tsin-kô-dôn, a village in the above-named district, well situated for our object. This Mr. Lin expressed a willingness to rent to us a small house of his own for the purpose expressed above. Having ascertained its suitability from Dao-teh, and negotiated the terms with the landlord, we formally concluded a bargain, and had the usual documents signed, &c., on May 14th. On the following day the catechist and I, in company with Dao-teh, left Ningpo for Tsin-kô-dôn, to take possession of our newly-rented premises. We reached the place on the afternoon of the 16th, and found the house quite to answer our expectations, indeed, rather to exceed, than the contrary, what we anticipated. It was originally built as a reception-house, formerly used by the proprietor, then rather a wealthy man, for the accommodation and entertainment of his guests: latterly, however, as his circumstances have been declining, it has been used as a farmhouse for storing away his implements of agriculture, and consequently suffered to get more or less out of repair, as also to accumulate a large quantity of dust, cobwebs, &c. On the morrow after our arrival we were principally employed in getting the implements of husbandry removed from the premises, attending to the necessary ablutions, and also giving directions to carpenters and masons about any repairs or alterations which we judged to be unavoidable. Having got through these preliminaries, we then set about our work of preaching, &c., which proved, during the remaining ten days we continued there, the most interesting, in many points of view, I have yet experienced in my Missionary career. In the mornings and afternoons the catechist, Dao-teh, and I, usually visited in company one or other of the villages or market-towns which surrounded us on all sides, at distances varying from two to five miles. At several of these places we had most delightful opportunities of making known, to unusually attentive and apparently deeply-interested listeners, the precious tidings of the everlasting gospel. In this Dao-teh proved a very valuable aid to us, by being able, from his intimate acquaintance with the different places we visited, to point out to us the most commodious situations for addressing the people, whether in temples, public halls, or large open squares; which experience now leads us to regard as a consideration of much

importance. On our return in the evenings from these excursions, we also had an evening service in our own house, open to all our neighbours who felt disposed to attend. The number attending this latter probably averaged from sixty to a hundred each night, who usually listened with the most marked attention to long addresses from the catechist and me of over an hour's length, generally concluded by free conversation, of a most interesting character, on the topics introduced into our discourses. After this, we dismissed them in an orderly manner, retaining any amongst them who seemed unusually interested, to attend the more private reading of the word of God and prayer amongst ourselves previous to retiring for the night.

"Here I would introduce one or two incidents which occurred during our operations as described above, which, though disconnected in themselves, will yet tend to give you clearer views of the character of our work, and doubtless to enlarge your sympathies and prayers on our behalf.

"When addressing, on one of the days referred to above, a large audience in an open hall in Yiang-veen, the native place of Dao-teh—the weather at the time was exceedingly hot and oppressive, causing the perspiration to flow down our faces in streams—a respectable elderly-looking woman, who was present, observing our pitiable condition, quietly left the place, and in a few minutes again returned, bringing with her two new pocket-handkerchiefs, which she presented to us to wipe away the perspiration. When we had concluded our addresses, and were about taking our leave, supposing the handkerchiefs had been given merely for temporary use, we wished to return them; but to this she objected, stating that she really intended them as a gift, and that they were but a small return of gratitude for the excellent doctrine we had preached to her. The same good lady afterwards called upon the father of Dao-teh to request him to accompany her on a visit to the foreigners she had heard 'speaking doctrine,' which she said was so excellent she wished to know more about it. On the same occasion, during a short absence of Dao-teh from the hall, who went to prepare a luncheon for us at his father's house, the catechist thought he might with advantage refer to him as one who had entered our religion; which he did, asking at the same time if he were not a young man of good character, who would not be likely to connect himself with us, if he did not consider it of great importance. To this an elderly man who was present replied, that he had known Liu Ah-loh from childhood; that as a

boy and young man he had known him to be always active and diligent in his duties; indeed, of a character irreproachable in every respect but one. 'What is that?' said the catechist. 'He has obstinately resisted,' said the old gentleman, 'all efforts on the part of his father to induce him to get married. This is the only fault about him that I know of.' The catechist replied, that the religion of Jesus did not impose celibacy on any of its members; that all were at liberty to act in the matter as they thought proper; and that probably Ah-loh, now that he was brought to see the thing in its true light, might, after all, be induced, even in this particular, to comply with the wishes of his father.

"On Sunday the 18th, after our return to our house from one of the neighbouring villages, where we had been preaching, we were visited by three of the late associates of Dao-teh, two of whom held similar offices with himself, being a kind of under agents for assisting in the ceremonies and propagating the tenets of the Vu-we sect. These gentlemen came to us ostensibly in the character of humble inquirers after truth, but really with all the pride and self-sufficiency of a sceptical Sadducee, and probably not very dissimilar either in their doctrinal views or general conduct. After the usual preliminaries of Chinese etiquette were over, one of the party begged permission to make a few inquiries on points to which he had devoted considerable attention and thought, but about which he had not been able to arrive at entire satisfaction. 'Pray allow me,' said he, 'to ask where is the seat of man's soul, and whether it be larger in an infant or grown person?' Not knowing the precise object of the question, or the motive of the inquirer, I replied in a straightforward way as follows—That after all the attention which the wisest and best of men had been able to give to the subject, very little could be ascertained of the nature and character of spirit. Unlike matter, it eluded the reach of our senses: it could not be seen, felt, smelt, or tasted, and therefore that our knowledge about its peculiar essence or character must necessarily be very defective. Still, that this did not derogate from the certainty of its existence and our actual possession of it, for that the proof of such existence and possession rested on entirely different and independent grounds. Giving a nod of acquiescence to what I said, he then went on to say, 'Allow me, then, to submit to you another inquiry, in which I also feel much interested. You see this table, on which I am resting my arm. Pray tell me whether the wood of which it is composed is dead or

alive?" Finding it still more difficult to conjecture the object of the last inquiry, I thought, however, I would continue to give him the natural replies which occurred to me at the time; so I went on to tell him that before the tree was cut down from which the table was made, according to the ordinary usage of language I should have designated it as alive, but in its present form I should call it dead. 'But,' said he, taking me up here, 'in a short time this table will crumble into dust, and again go towards the formation of another tree, or something else in the vegetable world; and so,' said he, 'it is with all things, man not excepted. Man, the world, and all things, are unceasingly undergoing changes of a variety of kinds, yet never ceasing to exist—only assuming different forms. Such as I am in substance now, such was I a thousand years ago, and such shall I be a thousand years hence. Hitherto I may have been a beast, a reptile, or a bird, and hereafter I may exist in one or other of these species. But whatever I may have been, or may yet become, in substance I always continue the same. I shall never die. There is no such thing as death.' Hearing such sentiments coming from a poor illiterate labourer, I confess, rather surprised me; for the individual who spoke in this strain, though holding an office in the Vu-we sect, yet principally supported himself as a common labourer in the fields. Having now discovered that he was a man of a peculiar order of mind, and of mental powers above the ordinary, as also the peculiar fallacies under which he was labouring, I entered at considerable length into the subject with him, endeavouring to show him that his great error lay in confounding matter with spirit, and nature with God. When he saw the drift of my argument, leading him up from Nature to Nature's God, he interrupted me, and said

that he should like to ask me another question. Having expressed my willingness that he should do so, he then asked me if I would accept the ordinary Chinese illustration of an egg as illustrative of the heavens and the earth, the white representing the heavens and the yolk the earth. I replied, that I would have no objection to do so, with the reservation that no illustration from what is finite could possibly, in all respects, meet the case of Him who is infinite. 'Well then,' said he, 'we will suppose an egg to illustrate the heavens and the earth, and the fowl, from which it has come, to illustrate God. Now,' said he, 'where has this fowl come from? Has it not come from another egg? So that you see, after all, there is nothing but matter—matter undergoing, according to the whim of nature, its ten thousand shapes and forms.' On this the catechist, who could not much sympathize either with the peculiarity of our visitor's mind, or his peculiar line of argumentation, interposed, by saying, that we had really better come to something important, and not be wasting our valuable time on trifles; that we were all great sinners, and conscious ones too; and that the great thing for us was to know Jesus Christ, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. Upon which, much to my gratification, he laid before our visitors a brief but explicit statement of the gospel, earnestly pressing upon them its great importance. When he concluded, our visitors left, telling us they would call again on the morrow; which one of them did, the philosopher above referred to, and in quite an humbled and interesting state of mind. On his second visit I presented to him, at some length, the argument from design of the existence of God, which he acknowledged to be the most conclusive and satisfactory reasoning he had yet heard on the subject.

THE SAGHALIAN ULA; OR GREAT RIVER OF NORTH-EASTERN ASIA.

"THERE are explorations in South America, in the Rocky Mountains, in the Pacific—in Eastern Africa, to discover the long-sought sources of the Nile—in North Australia, for exploring the interior of the country—in Central America, for the formation of a great navigable channel between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans: in short, wherever man's foot can reach, explorers are busy; and probably ere this generation has passed away there will scarcely be a portion of the earth's surface, fitted for the habitation of man, or capable of administering to his necessities, which

will not have been visited and reported upon by one or other of the intrepid pioneers of civilization."* Such is the fact, and we rejoice in it. In this work of exploration we take the deepest interest, chiefly because it increases our knowledge of man, and brings to light portions of the great human family of which we had previously known nothing. As mighty rivers are traced to their fountain-head, the countries through which they flow, and the tribes which dwell on their banks, are laid open

* *Times* Newspaper, Aug. 12, 1856.

to us. The Tchadda river expedition revealed to us much of Africa and its interior; the new expedition about to be sent to the East-African coast will fulfil a similar mission in that direction; and with the increase of intercommunication with distant nations will be the increasing desire, in all whose minds are in harmony with the mind and purpose of God, to use such opportunities for beneficent purposes, and more especially for the promotion of gospel truth, the most beneficent of all undertakings.

Amongst other points to which the operations of the late war extended, our attention was directed to the *embouchure* of the Saghalian, or Amoor, the great river of North-eastern Asia. There Russian power has succeeded in establishing itself, and hopes from thence to command the Gulf of Tartary and the islands of Japan. Western Europe is scarcely aware of the magnitude and importance of this river, or of the encroachments of Russia, in this direction, on the integrity of the Chinese empire. Upon the latter of these points our remarks must be brief. It is rumoured that there has been a cession, upon the part of the Manchow dynasty, to the Russian Government, of that part of the imperial dominion which lies beyond the Amoor, including portions of the provinces of Heh-long-keang and Ki-sin, having an area of 200,000 square miles, and abounding in coal and iron. The Muscovites have therefore at length succeeded in attaining that which has been an object of their ambition for 200 years. The "Pekin Gazette" withholds all information on the subject, nor have we any clue as to the equivalent which Russia gives to China; but we doubt not aid will be afforded in some form or another to the tottering fortunes of the Manchows. As regards scriptural Christianity, the policy of both Governments has remarkably assimilated: it has been a system of stern exclusion, and it has only been through the weakness of the Manchows that the gospel has obtained any scope for action on the Chinese coast. That there should be sympathy between them is not, therefore, astonishing, and in their respective tribulations they can afford a mutual condolence. Thus much we are informed of, that Rear-Admiral Savozjko has been charged by the Russian Government with a private mission to the court of Pekin, his admittance to the celestial capital being secured by one of the clauses of the late treaty of Kiatka between the Russians and Chinese. The last accounts left him at Tchingio, a small town in the province of Petchi-li, about 300 miles from Pekin. We are informed by those who,

from their residence in China, are well qualified to give an opinion on the subject, that Russians, notwithstanding their aggressive and annexing spirit in N. E. Asia, are in higher favour in Peking and Jeddo than the people of any other state. One reason assigned for this is well worthy of our attention—that there is nothing in their commerce which is inimical to the well-being of their customers, whereas a closer contact with other states affords opportunity for opium smuggling, and fosters an evil which jeopardizes the very existence of their Government, and emasculates and demoralizes their people. Russia imports no opium, communicates no gospel—both alike commendatory qualifications to the Chinese Government. England and America impart the gospel, but grievously prejudice their efforts for the evangelization of China by their concernment with the opium traffic.

After these observations, the following article on the River Amoor by the American Missionary, the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, will, we think, be read with interest.

"Black River, or Saghálian Ula, as it is called in their own tongue by the Manchus, is the principal river of their native country: indeed, it is among the great rivers of the world. Through a large number of lesser streams, some of them no inconsiderable rivers, its waters are drawn from an area of country four times the size of France, and more than equal to all the states of the American Union north of the parallel of lake Erie and east of the Mississippi; a region extending over ten degrees of latitude, and more than three times ten of longitude, and diversified with high mountains and deep valleys, with broad plains, and numerous rivers and lakes.

"Regarding this great river, the most reliable authorities within the reach of the English reader are the surveys made by the Jesuits in the last half of the seventeenth century, as given by Du Halde, and an article prepared by Dr. S. Wells Williams, and published in the nineteenth volume of the 'Chinese Repository.' From these, and Chinese statistical books, the following brief sketch is compiled; and the reader who may wish more minute and extended notices is referred to the above-named more elaborate works.

"Judging from what we know of other regions situated in the same latitudes on the opposite side of the Asiatic, and on both sides of the American continent, we may expect the great basin of the Saghalian to be immensely rich in natural productions, mineral, vegetable, and animal; while the country itself, if made accessible to the civilized na-

tions of the earth, may be found capable of sustaining a population not inferior to that now inhabiting other similar regions where arts and industry are producing their legitimate results.

"Aside from and beyond these considerations, which cannot fail to interest the man of science, and all who desire to promote the welfare of our race, there is, at the present conjunction of events, a special reason which is operating to draw attention to this river: 'the Russians, in considerable force, and irrespective of their treaties with the monarch of China, have entered the Amoor, and are fortifying themselves in that great and rich valley.' Now, such a procedure, though it may not be in the power of the Chinese Government to prevent, yet it is such an one as will not, most assuredly, be tolerated by the rival powers of the northern autocrat.

"The name Amoor, by the bye, has been borrowed by the Russians from one of the native tribes dwelling on the northern banks of this river—the Chiliaiks—in whose language the word Amoor, or Yámúr, means 'Great water,' or 'Great River.' On Chinese maps, in imitation of its more proper name—Saghalian Ula—it is usually called Heh-lung Kiang, or Black-dragon river. Near its embouchure, the Chinese call it Kwan-tung, i. e. 'Mingled Union,' or 'Brothers in Union.' In its upper regions it has received, by different tribes, various other names, which it is needless here to repeat.

"Commencing on the east, and ascending up the Saghalian, the traveller passes through two of the most northern portions of the Manchu-Chinese empire, Kirin and Tsitsihar. Proceeding on westward, through a defile in the Daourian mountains, and after passing some low lands, he ascends a lofty range, a branch of the Altai. There, a few degrees south and east of the Baikal lake, he finds the head-waters of the Black River. From the summits of that range, all the waters that make their course to the westward descend to the Selengha, and thence flow into the lake Baikal; while those that flow in the opposite direction find their way down through the great valley of the Saghalian, and so on into the Gulf of Tartary.

"On Williams' map the embouchure is about longitude 142° east and in latitude 53° north; while the exact position of the head-waters, as laid down on Du Halde's large map, probably our best authority in this case, is between the parallels of 48° and 49° north latitude, and of 106° and 107° east longitude, or between seven and eight degrees west of Peking.

There, in those high regions and within those narrow limits, as laid down by the Je-

suits, the Onon and the Kerlon take their rise; and there, too, the historians of the Mongols would have us know that their great chieftain, Genghis, was born, and trained for his career of conquest.

"Of the two above-named streams, the Onon and the Kerlon, the Jesuits consider the first as the veritable source of the Saghalian. After a course, first easterly and then northerly, of about five hundred miles, the Onon unites with the Ingoda at the town of Goroditch: thence it soon reaches Nertchinsk, where it is known as the Shilka, in the local dialect. From thence, retaining the same name, its course is north-east till it reaches fort Baklanova, in longitude 121° east, latitude 53° 23' north. From thence, in a course nearly due east, it forms the line of demarcation between the Chinese and Russian territories to the celebrated town of Nipchu, where the Kerlon, having made a circuitous course southward, formed a lake, and taken a new name, Arguni, comes in and unites with it, and the accumulated waters of the two form the one apparently broad and deep Saghalian Ula.

"Lake Kerlon, or Hulun, would seem to be an expansion of the river, and occupies a bed having a circuit of more than two hundred miles. Other and smaller lakes are found in the same region.

"Nipchu, or Niptchau, is situated about latitude 52° north, and memorable as the place where two treaties have been concluded between the Governments of China and Russia by their respective plenipotentiaries.

"More than two centuries ago, or as early as 1655, efforts were made, by an ambassador of the 'T'ear,' to confer with the plenipotentiaries of the 'Bogdu Khan.' Negotiations were commenced and were broken off; ambassadors were hastened to and fro; troops were marched and countermarched; angry messages were sent and returned; and thirty and odd years had elapsed, when at length, and by the aid of learned Jesuits, a treaty was finally concluded. This was done in the autumn of 1689. And there, too, at Nipchu, on the banks of the Saghalian, a second treaty was concluded between the same high contracting powers in the summer of 1727.

"It is important to notice these renewed negotiations, because they establish a precedent—in China, a law—to which other foreign powers may ere long have occasion to appeal.

"East of Nipchu, in which direction we now turn, the aspect of the country would seem to be far more inviting than that which has been seen on the west. After passing Nipchu, the Saghalian 'rolls on to the Pacific, a

magnificent river, swelled, as it approaches the ocean, by the contributions of many affluents.'

"At first it runs nearly east by north, for about one hundred miles; then, after passing by Yaksa, and forcing itself through defiles in a succession of rapids, it gradually turns to the south-east, descending in a long course to its junction with the Songari, about the forty-seventh degree of north latitude.

"Nearly midway between this junction and Nipchu is situated the capital city of Tsitsihar, called Saghalian hotun in Manchu, and Hehlungkiang ching in Chinese. A few miles above it, on the opposite bank of the river, is the town of Oloussou-mutan.

"Standing at the provincial capital, the traveller has on the west and south, and at no very great distance, the lofty ranges of the Sialkoi or inner Hing-an mountains; while northward, far off at a great distance, the more lofty ranges of the Yablonnoi or Outer Hing-an raise their rugged summits, and, in a long line running about east by south and west by north, mark the boundary between the Chinese and Russian empires in that quarter.

"The southern declivities of the Outer Hing-an, with the plains and valleys below, must comprise, if we may judge from the maps, some of the most valuable and most inviting tracts of country that can be found in all the wide regions drained by the Saghalian and its tributaries. Everywhere well-watered by a great number of rivers, the situation of the whole is such as to indicate a rich soil, and a climate mild and healthy.

"In the opposite direction, southward and westward from the capital, among the ridges of the inner Hing-an, judging in the same manner from our maps, the climate must be no less healthy, the scenery no less charming, though the soil can hardly be so well fitted for agricultural purposes.

"It is in these wild mountainous regions,

south and west of the town of Saghalian, that are found the headwaters of the Songari, the principal tributary of the Saghalian. At or near the junction of these two rivers, in the latitude already indicated, their united waters take a north-easterly direction, for more than five hundred miles, till they reach their embouchure, upwards of thirteen hundred miles in a direct line from their sources, and, by the course actually traversed, probably more than twice that distance, or not less than twenty-five hundred miles.

"In the foregoing sketch of this great valley, as yet almost entirely unexplored by Europeans, no attempt has been made to furnish the reader with any long lists of names of its rivers and mountains, of its various productions, or even of its tribes of savage or half-civilized men. But enough has been said to show that this great area, of not less than 700,000 square miles, seven times that of Prussia, has, as a part and parcel of God's creation, some claim to the attention of the most civilized and polished nations of the earth, opening a field for exploration and scientific research surely no less inviting than the icy regions of the polar seas.

"Lands situated on the opposite side of the Pacific, in latitudes far more accessible and inviting than those here now examined, twenty years ago were as waste and as wild as those of Kirin and Tsitsihar. Twenty years ago, the Sierra Nevada and the rivers and valleys of California were just as much unexplored and as much uncared for as are now the Hing-an and the many waters of the Saghalian. It is passing strange, that, during the last two years, the allied squadron and the U. S. A. exploring expedition, having been sent into the north Pacific, should both have failed to make a close survey of the entrance to the great river of north-eastern Asia."

MISSIONARY WORK IN CHINA.

Narrative of a Tour in the interior of Chekeang Province, by the Rev. R. H. Cobbold, M.A.

(Continued from p. 211.)

Further proceedings at Teen-tai. An interesting visitor. Leave Teen-tai for Taichau. Lovely scenery. The village of Pah-din. Rumours of disturbances at Taichau. Precaution in entering the city. Reach a Taoist monastery. Distribution of books, and public preaching. Numerous visitors. The Missionaries entertained by the head of the monastery. Departure from Taichau. Reach before nightfall a small village, and received into a gentleman's house. Avocations there. Start by boat for the city of Sin-kyü. Take up quarters at the Ching-wang-meaou, and mix freely amongst the people. Curious crowds. Method adopted by Mr. Cobbold to prevent intrusion. Manageableness of a Chinese mob. Journey onward. Desire for a New Testament. Water-wheels. Romantic scenery. Arrival at Wang-ky'i. Ascent of a mountain pass. Dye manufactories. Reach Wudzing. Hospitality of Mr. Li. Sunday employments. Magnificent bridge. Watermills. Funeral rites. Visit to a scholar. The books distributed diligently read. Mr. Li's leave-taking. Enter the district of Kinghwa. Arrival at Uong-K'ang. Lingual difficulties.

During most of the evening our time was occupied by scholars who came to our rooms to call; one, evidently a very clever man, who commenced by finding fault with a sentence in the first page of the 'Evidences of Christianity,' which spoke of the poosah, or idol gods of the Confucian philosophy. 'Now,' he said, 'the writer ought to have known that poosahs are confined to the Buddhists: we have no poosahs, and the phrase is not applicable to us.' It was an objection which, on the first reading of the book, I had felt sure would be made. Our native assistant explained the matter, by saying, that although the Confucian philosophy did not speak of poosah, but of shin ming, yet the two terms were used interchangeably by the people, and the writer therefore took advantage of this use to get a common term to all the religions. This seemed partly to satisfy him, and he went on talking of other points quite in an uncommon way, showing his acquaintance with the native literature, that I could not fully follow him in. After he had talked some time, I said that I had a question to propose to him—what he considered the most important matter in religion? After taking some moments for thought, he replied, in one word, 'Shin,' or 'Spirit,' going on to explain himself by saying that the shin of man must be brought in subjection to the Shin of heaven: a very remarkable answer this, for he had not learnt it from our books, and it seems that it originated from his own thoughtful mind. On inquiring where he had first heard of us and our arrival, in order to get at the motives of his call, he said, that in the forenoon he had heard me speak at the ching-wang-meaou, and had quite agreed with all that was there advanced. This was the case referred to above, and it may serve to show how little we know where our words take hold. Had I been asked the weakest point of the day's labours, I should probably have said the address in the ching-wang-meaou, whereas, in reality, it was the strongest; for not only did this person then receive my words, and afterwards speak of them, as he would naturally do, to his friends, but now, in the presence of many other scholars, he acknowledged the great essentials of our faith. I then told him of the question put to Jesus as to the great commandment in the law, and His answer to it. On mentioning supreme love to God as the ruling principle of our lives, he only remarked, that the perfect character alone could feel and act so. He was decidedly the most interesting of our visitors, though we had others also who gave a patient hearing to the truth; and we had great hope that when we or others came this

way again we should find friends made in various quarters.

"Oct. 22—Having a long journey before us, we were obliged to leave our quarters early, and, after mutual presents between the head priest and ourselves, we set out with our sedan-chairs and porters. There is water-carriage between this place and Taichau, but the long continuance of dry weather made the passage tedious, and we had therefore determined on walking. If we could make twenty-four miles to-day we should only leave a distance of about ten for the day after, and so arrive in Taichau in time to spend a whole day there. The beauty of our walk to-day cannot easily be imagined, hills and streams all the way, continually affording most lovely views. One place, of more than usual beauty, had the poetical name applied to it of 'The embrace of the hills and streams.' We crossed several passes, but nothing occurred of any great importance during our walk. It was five o'clock when we reached our halting-place, and, owing to the unevenness of the road, our baggage did not arrive for two hours after. There was a beautiful moon to light them, so we did not feel much concern; otherwise, these very narrow and winding paths are not pleasant to travel in a dark night. We found tolerable quarters at an inn, and took such precautions as we could against vermin. The situation of the village of Pah-din is good, imbedded in the midst of hills, clothed with evergreens, which lock it very closely in their embrace. We admired it both by the light of the declining day, and by the soft radiance of moonlight, and in the first dawn of a clear morning. In the evening we had a call from one who had passed a military degree, a man of note in the village, and whose son had taken the first step in literary honour. From the occupant of an adjoining room, an opium smoker, we learnt that there had been disturbances in Taichau. A rising of the 'Heaven and Earth Society,' identified with the Kwang-se insurgents, and composed probably of Fokien men, had taken place, and two out of their number had just been taken and beheaded. This had quieted them for the present; but we felt the need of great care in effecting our entrance, where no foreigner had been before, lest advantage should be taken of our presence, by disaffected persons, to create a disturbance.

"Oct. 23—We had the company of our friend of last evening, the military siew-tsai, who was also going to Taichau. We did not keep much together, but kept passing and repassing each other on the road at the various halting-places.

"Our road varied in character but little

from that of yesterday: the ground was, perhaps, more undulating, the green hills descending close to our path. In about five miles we came upon the Taichau river, now a fine stream with tide-water: it disembogues a little way past Wongngan, about sixty miles to the south-east. The walls of the city soon became visible: they run over the ridge of a hill in the northern quarter of the city, and, as the access is steep, have no gate on this face. Owing to the report of yesterday, we took additional precaution in entering the city, keeping close in our chairs; and our bearers, who were well acquainted with the place, took us by bye-lanes to a Taoist monastery, where we had determined to take up our quarters. By half-past ten o'clock we entered this building, which occupies a most commanding situation, on the northern hill mentioned above. The whole city lay before us, and the country was visible for several miles round. The course of the river was hidden from view by the city walls and a small hill to the south. Our arrival so suddenly created a good deal of surprise, and we came at once among a crowd of worshippers who were endeavouring to propitiate the northern or southern constellation—in the hands of one of which is the power of life and death—on behalf of a sick relative, the head of the family. Before our first cup of tea was finished, the object of our visit was explained, and our welcome secured. The Taoist priest placed some rooms at our disposal; and when our boxes came up we proceeded to arrange our books for distribution, and to make ourselves comfortable. Having a letter of introduction to a gentleman of the place from my friend Mr. U, I went with a guide to find out his house. He was not at home, and his wife was so alarmed at my appearance, that she said, when asked, that she did not know her husband's name! She said, however, that he was acquainted with Mr. U, so I felt sure I had found out the right person. From what was said above, of 100 surnames being divided among 200,000,000 of people, it is evident at once that the name, as well as the surname, is of the utmost importance. To ask for plain Mr. Smith in a place where there were 20,000 of them would, of course, be a useless task, and this made the assertion of the wife, that she did not know her husband's name, only the more ridiculous.

"Having left my letter of introduction, I went back to our rooms for dinner, and then set out, with a man carrying our bundles of books: these we distributed all along the chief street of the place. When our books were all gone we took to speaking, and, at different places in the city, found plenty will-

ing to stare at our persons, if not to listen to our words. At the ching-wang-meau there were four Loochooans, who had been cast ashore, and were living at the public expense till means could be found to take them back to their own island. I only saw one of them, a good-looking man of about forty years of age: he looked very well, and did not appear to be suffering from want of proper provision, as is sometimes said to be the case with those who are cast from Japan, or the islands bordering on China, on to her shores. There was no prospect of holding any communication with them. Had we been able to do so, the authorities would, no doubt, have been very grateful for our services, for those cast a-shore were all illiterate, and could only write a few Chinese words.

"Mr. Hyü, to whom we had the letter of introduction, returned our call, and took us about to see some friends of his. He invited us to stay with him, but we thought our quarters at the temple, as being more public, would give us greater opportunities of seeing the people, and we declined his polite offer. After a very busy afternoon in the city, we should have been glad of a little quiet in the evening, especially as many of those who called merely came for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity; but we did not feel at liberty to close our doors, lest, among the hundreds who came for idle curiosity, some one might be a seeker after truth. Besides which, the very gratification of this curiosity is not without its effect. Many mistakes are corrected, and prejudices done away, and we do not seem removed at such a fearful distance from the people. After they have learnt who and whence we are, and what are some of the customs and institutions of our country, they are generally surprised to find that we have so much in common, so entirely ignorant are they of us: our country seems at such an immeasurable distance, that not only do they ask if we have grass, trees, water, &c., but even whether the men or the women bear children, or whether we have girls as well as boys in our country. When books accredited as true by them recount such fables as tunnels in the sea of three days' and nights' journey; load-stone mountains drawing vessels to their shores, and extracting the iron nails; people not so large in size as eagles, or with a hole through their body, by which they are borne on poles instead of in sedans; three-eyed people, one-legged people, &c.; we cannot expect that very sensible ideas should be entertained as to foreign countries and customs.

"Oct. 24.—From an early hour we were beset with visitors, chiefly begging for books. The distribution of these is not an easy matter,

for it is impossible to tell at a glance who is a scholar and who is not, and many may receive them from us to whom they are of no use. One of our visitors this morning asked me the meaning of a statement in one of our books, that the soul of man is immortal. I told him that man's soul was an undying thing, and not affected by the dissolution of the body; and he anxiously asked if I had any thing more on the subject. This, unfortunately, we had not, and I could only put a New Testament into his hands, trusting that, by a perusal of it, this doctrine, as well as others of equal, if not greater importance, would be made known to him.

"We had arranged to start at eleven o'clock, but found that the head of the establishment had provided an entertainment for us, for which we were obliged to wait, much against our will, for it was very important for us to get away from this place without any interference from the authorities; and a very little delay after noon would make it too late to set out on our journey. The head of the table was taken by a young Taoist priest of considerable talent, who showed proficiency as an artist as well as a scholar. The rules of Taoism did not govern his conduct, for he ate and drank most freely of very heretical food. Had we been Chinese gourmands we could have given a much better account of the various dishes than we could as plain, roast-beef-loving, Anglo-Saxons. The endless succession of dishes was most trying to our patience; but we could not stir till the rice had made its appearance. An hour and a half was consumed in this way, and then we left, with an earnest invitation to the young priest to come to Ningpo, and study the doctrines of our books.

"Having found the two burdens of books sent by us from Funghwa, we set out on our journey about one o'clock, and crossed the river directly over against the city. Till lately there was a bridge of boats at this point, but the heavy storm about six weeks ago swept it away: the boats of which it was composed were still lying by the bank. Owing to our late start we were not able to go more than thirteen miles, to a small village, where we were told that accommodations could be had. There was an inn, or rather part of a square of houses that was occasionally used as such; and when we looked rather disconcerted at the accommodations, we were told that the mandarins slept there when they passed that way. I hope, for their sakes, that this was of rare occurrence. I had noticed, on entering the village, a fine large building, which I thought must be a gentleman's house, so I went to look about it. It proved to be a

new-built barn or granary: the owner lived in a cottage adjoining. He did not show any great signs of pleasure on our arrival, but could not well refuse our request to be allowed to place our mattresses on the floor, as the inn was most inconveniently small. When he knew more of us, his strangeness passed off; and it was not long before I was weighing out calomel and rhubarb, and sulphate of quinine, for some members of his family who were ill with intermittent fever; and we had so far advanced into his favour, that the following morning he prepared a chicken out of his farm-yard for our breakfast. We did what we could to make known to him the truth, leaving books, in the hope that some of his family might prove scholars enough to read them. The variations of the dialect, especially in small country-places like this, make it a matter of difficulty to declare at once, and fully and clearly, the doctrines of revelation.

"We started early the following morning, proceeding at first by a boat up the stream, which afterwards we followed all the way to the city of Sin-kyü (Sien-keu). Wherever, along our journey, we could find the residences of scholars, we left some books of a more important kind, and scattered some slighter tracts in the villages we passed through, stopping also, as occasion served, to tell the people things which it concerned them all to know. In the afternoon an old pagoda showed us where the city of Sin-kyü must lie, and about two miles off, crowning the summit of a hill, was a large new temple dedicated to the Queen of Heaven, which showed the superstition of the inhabitants. Sin-kyü had been represented as a very wild place, so much so, that our native assistant had tried to persuade us not to go there: but we thought nothing of this charge; for on our first arrival at Ningpo, the Funghwa people to the south, and the Sze-che people to the north-east, had the same character given them; and intercourse with these has shown, that, while more bold and independent than the effeminate inhabitants of the city, they are, on ordinary occasions, quite as tractable, and, we think, even more likely to receive the truth. We did not find the people of Sin-kyü very different from those of other places, though this same bold and independent spirit was manifest on one or two occasions. We entered the city by the east gate, and for some hundred yards the streets were very quiet: no notice was taken of us beyond a remark on our appearance. Without the slightest tumult, we arrived at the ching-wang-meau, where we were told rooms could be had. We did not find much in the

way of accommodation, but over the stage there was a large upper room, entirely unfurnished. Here we thought would be a good place to stow away all our packages, and make our beds in one corner; so we determined to have our baggage placed there when it came. In the meanwhile we mixed among the thousands of people who had now come together at the news of the visit of the foreigners. Among the crowd were two aged men, of the name of Wang, cousins, both men of note in the city for their learning and their sobriety. To these persons I managed to get an introduction from an old man, who had been much pleased to hear that I was a scholar from the far west. The respect paid to the cousins Wang was everywhere evident, the people not crowding round them, but always making room for them wherever they moved. After a few minutes' conversation, as the throng was so great, and increasing every moment, I moved off to the stage above which our rooms were, which had the command of the large court of the temple, and the two Wang promised to come and call in the evening, when we were quiet. The evening was now closing in; so, after a brief address, in which were repeated again the great truths we came from our distant land to teach, I told my audience that we had had a long walk, were quite tired, and hoped they would permit us to take our evening meal quietly, and, if they wanted books, they could come in the morning for them. All acknowledged the reasonableness of the request, and promised to leave us in peace. But no such good fortune was in store: it was but an empty promise on their part, and it was with the utmost difficulty that we could prevent the people coming to our room by hundreds: their curiosity was excited, and they would have it gratified. Again and again, during our hasty tea, did I escort down stairs a throng of persons clamorous for admittance; and when our own tea was over, the difficulty was how to give opportunity for our servant and chair-bearers and porters to get their supper, for with all their help it was more than we could do to keep the people out. The door on the ground floor was long since battered down in our vain attempts to shut it, and the upper room did not boast of a door at all. So I determined to take the matter into my own hands; bade all our own people go and get their evening meal; and, having a lantern lit and suspended over my head, I went and sat just over the threshold of the broken door. I felt convinced no one would have the hardihood to push by me, and thus our things would be kept secure, and my companion and the

Chinese attendant have a little time for quiet. Here I sat for about an hour, the people coming by relays, with lighted lanterns, to stare at the wonder of the day. In the course of my guardianship of the door, I had a specimen of the spirit of the people, and also of the ease with which they may be managed. Two young men, very respectably dressed, came pushing very rudely along, and nearly thrust the stick of their lantern in my face. I laid hold of it, to keep it from me, which made them very angry, for their idea of me was that I was a sort of wild beast, who had now put myself in their power, and whom, therefore, they had a perfect right to do what they liked with. They told me, in an angry voice, to leave hold of their lantern, they were not afraid of me, cared nothing for me, &c. I said quietly, 'By your appearance and dress I thought you were scholars; and if you like, as gentlemen, to bring a visiting card, we shall be most happy to receive you; but if you like to mix yourselves with this throng, and push and crowd like them, I can only regard you as on a level with them.' 'Very true, very true,' they said: 'we will go and get our cards.' One of the Wang cousins came in the evening, and had a quiet talk, but we did not gather any thing of great importance from him.

"After the uproar had ceased, which it did about nine o'clock, Rankin taking my place for an hour at the staircase, we fastened up our broken door, and set two of our men to sleep at the entrance to our room, which had none, and laid ourselves down to rest.

"Oct. 26.—We were up early this morning, and, as soon as the shops were open, commenced our work of supplying them with books. One of us took the right hand and the other the left, and no shop of importance was passed over. After breakfasting at an eating-house, opposite to our quarters, we set off on our journey, leaving the city by the west gate. Here a person met us with the card of Mr. Wang, and begging for another New Testament. So great was his anxiety to receive one, that he followed us for some way along the road; and then, seeing that we could not expect to overtake our chairs, in which the books were, for some way further, he asked a seller of vegetables, who was going our way, to bring the book in with him in the morning. We still followed the course of the stream which ran by our path yesterday: its course lay in a broad barren plain, sown with pebble-stones. The road was frequently quite difficult to find, and very rough to travel: it repeatedly led through the waters of the main stream, or of its branches. Water-wheels abounded in the district—some placed horizontally, for grinding meal; others

vertically, which raised heavy pestles, and these, falling by their own weight, pounded the rice and cleaned it of its outer skin; others again, similar to these, but fitted with additional cogs, and so made to turn, on occasion, a wheel for grinding the meal. Towards the conclusion of our day's journey the hills were of singular shape, not rising into peaks, but showing a broken level, and then descending abruptly, like a wall, from three hundred to five hundred feet high into the plain. One, more remarkable than the rest, was continually attracting our attention. It was like a cone inclined forwards till one of its sides was perpendicular to the horizon. The cone must have been about two hundred feet high, and must have presented a very singular appearance to one standing directly at its base.

"We did not pass through places of much interest; the country was not very thickly inhabited; and after a hard day's march we arrived at Wang-ky'i, the foot of a high mountain pass, about sunset. Here we slept at a small inn, and early in the morning re-commenced our journey.

"Although Wang-ky'i is called the foot of the pass, we did not begin the actual ascent for about six miles, when the scenery was very wild and beautiful, and a foaming stream, which we were following up to its source, fell over a steep rocky ledge about half-way up the ascent. We saw, to our surprise, that the water was of the colour of iron rust; and the people, pointing to the teen-ting, or blue dye, that grows in patches about the hills, said that this was the cause of the discolouration. This we laughed at as a Chinese fancy; and, believing the colour to arise from the qualities of the soil, I determined to follow the waters, if possible, to their source. After some labour, which I might have spared myself, I came upon some manufactories of this blue dye. The leaves are thrown into tanks, and treated with lime. Their decomposition produces a brickdust-coloured sediment, which, as the people had truly said, caused all the discolouration of the water in the cataract. There were a few houses at the summit of the pass, where we found some luncheon. The most palatable food was plain cakes, made of Indian meal and water, which, with a little sugar, were very satisfying. The pass by which we came is very steep, and must be about three thousand feet high. The descent on the other side is more gradual; and we were not sorry to see the terminus of our journey at the distance of about six miles before us. It was a market town of some size and note; and, as our Sunday was to be passed there, we

were anxious to be in good time to secure quiet accommodation. The entrance to this place, called Wudzing, is ornamented and honoured by eight handsome gateways in stone, commemorating either the longevity or the filial piety of some of the inhabitants. We took up our quarters at one of the inns of the place, but had not been long there when we received a call from a Mr. Li, one of the first families of the place. Seeing that we were scholars and gentlemen, he felt desirous of asking us to his house, and, after consulting with an uncle, sent us an invitation. He said the place prided itself on the number of scholars which it sent forth, and it would be a disgrace if strangers from the far west came, and were left to find quarters at a common inn. We were very glad that the civility was extended to us, as it at once gave us position in the eyes of the people, who would be more ready to listen to us when they knew that we were inmates in the house of one of their most influential families. The house to which we were taken was large, and showed signs of former wealth on the part of the owner: now it was barely maintained in a decent condition. We learnt afterwards that the grandfather of the present occupant had spent the large sum of 20,000*l.* in the erection of several fine bridges in the province, and so had much impoverished his estate. Our room was an improvement on the accommodations of the inn, though there was very little space left to move about in. The Chinese delight in large beds—they are almost rooms of themselves; and often, in a room fifteen or twenty feet square, about five feet by six will be all the space left free: it was so in this instance. One of these enormous beds, for Mr. Rankin and myself, a sofa brought in for the native assistant, two tables, a bookcase, and several boxes, left us hardly room to stir; and what makes it still more disagreeable is the universal habit of smoking and spitting, which the absence of all carpet and matting encourages.

"*Oct. 28 : Lord's-day* — We rose in the morning much refreshed, and ready for the duties of the day. We had already determined on these in the outline; namely, that one of us should always be at hand to receive callers, and the others should be out distributing books and preaching. Till evening came we knew it would be impossible to have any more especially Sunday service; for I had abundantly proved, on former occasions, that even if intruders could be kept outside, their voices could not, nor could the paper windows remain unbroken, and curious eyes kept away. It felt to me to remain at home in the morn-

ing, while Mr. Rankin went out with the assistant. After noon I went out, and mixed as much as possible with the people. Just outside the town is the principal one of the bridges mentioned above as built by Mr. Li's grandfather. It is quite a remarkable structure, very much superior to any thing of the kind I had before seen in China. It is 530 feet long, and 15 wide, with a balustrade on either side, and about 25 feet above the stream. It is built on thirteen arches, and all of solid masonry, and has, no doubt, established Mr. Li's reputation in that district for many centuries. Close by the bridge are water-mills, each of which turns six large pestles for pounding the rice, and two mills for grinding Indian corn into meal. The people at work in them were interested to hear that we had such things in our country. On the other side of the town I found some funeral rites were being performed. As such occasions are always intended for display, and a kind of holiday is made of it, I went in. In the court-yard were two young fir-trees fixed in the ground, and pendant from their branches strings of gold and silver tissue, which gave it something of the appearance of a Christmas tree. There were the usual accompaniments of chanting, drumming, bowing, &c., all outward show, as was, indeed, manifested yesterday, when, on our arrival, these same mummers all came rushing out to see the foreigners. Nothing could be done in such a noisy scene, so I did not stay many minutes, but went to make a call on a cousin of our host's, who lived in a large, solid, and handsome house of his own, in the vicinity of the stone gateways mentioned yesterday. I found him a scholar of some repute, slow to make friendships, though possibly, like men of his character, firmly maintaining them when made. His younger brother was an opium smoker, rapidly ruining his health, wasting his money, and spoiling his prospects in life. One could but pity him, and much more his children, born with weak constitutions, and not unlikely to meet with a premature grave, even if they escape the evil influence of their parent's example. I went into the ancestral hall, where were the tablets of two generations only. It had not been erected many years.

"In my visits to the shops I found that the books which Mr. Rankin had distributed in the morning were being diligently read. At the temple of Kwan-te, or the god of war, I found some Buddhist priests in charge. This is very frequently the case, and shows how ready the Chinese are to amalgamate all the religions.

"The dialect, though differing considerably

from that of Ningpo when spoken among the people freely, yet was quite intelligible by slight modifications of certain sounds, and by the change of some few initials.

"Oct. 29.—On our departure this morning, our host took his scholar's cap with great ceremony out of its box, and conducted us a few steps of our way. We felt that something had been gained in making his acquaintance: we had exchanged presents with each other, and he had the confidence in us to entrust an old watch to the care of the assistant, to get it mended for him. I had proposed to send it to the maker in London, and to get out in its stead one that would be of some service to him, for this was one of the very old 'turnip' watches, as we used to call them at school. A present also came in from the cautious cousin, who sent us a pair of fowls for food by the way. We started about eight o'clock. After crossing the magnificent bridge described yesterday, our course lay westward, over a country less interesting than the previous day's journey. It had one advantage to us as pedestrians, that it was not so fatiguing. We left here the district of Che chau fuh, and entered that of Kinghwa. The character of the people seemed to change with the district: the inhabitants of the plain country showed much greater timidity than we had found in all the hilly region. All seemed very easy and goodnatured, and, directly they realized who we were, were anxious to get a sight of us, and possession of some of our books. The city we were now tending our way towards was called Uong-k'ông, a city of the third class, but which boasted of no walls, only gates at the four cardinal points guarded the entrance. The stream, by the side of which we had descended from the top of the high pass, is here navigable for boats and rafts, one of the former of which we hired to take us at least to Lan-ke, and perhaps to the vicinity of Hang-chau. We found the dialect here very strange: even our Ningpo servant and assistant could make nothing out when two of the commoner sort of people spoke together. It was, however, different with the educated; and we had reason to believe that, by slow enunciation, and occasional questions put as to our meaning, something at least of the truth was conveyed to their minds. The same curiosity was evinced here as elsewhere, and we found, as usual, that the ching-wang-meau afforded standing-room for all who were desirous of seeing or hearing.

(To be continued.)

SLAVE-TRADE OPERATIONS.

In our Number for December last we mentioned the case of an Egba convert, John Baptist Dasalu, who, in the sanguinary conflict of March 1851, when Gezo's troops, male and female, were repulsed from the walls of Abbeokuta, which they had attempted to storm, was taken prisoner, and carried away captive to Abomey. It was then stated that he was in Cuba, an emancipado, one who, having been found on board a condemned vessel, had been pronounced free by the Mixed Court at Havana, but who, by an evasion of solemn treaties by no means infrequent in Spanish policy, continued, with others of his class, to be held, under the pretence of apprenticeship, in slavery, and to be dealt with as a slave. We also added, that energetic efforts would not be wanting to his liberation.

The emancipados who reached England in the summer of 1855, on their way from Cuba to the coast of Africa, were the bearers of a letter from Dasalu to the Missionaries at Lagos, introducing them to their notice. This letter, with a statement embracing the leading facts of the convert's history, was forwarded by the President of the Society to the Foreign Office, and a request preferred that such inquiries might be instituted, through Her Majesty's Consul at Havana, as might lead to his identification and recovery; the Church Missionary Society being prepared to defray the cost of his passage to Africa. That application received immediate attention. Indeed, no one can peruse the correspondence between British ministers and agents abroad and the Foreign ministers at home, on matters relating to the slave-trade, extending, as it does, to so many regions, and through the ramifications of our wide-spread consulate, without recognizing the earnest zeal put forth, not only for the general repression of this barbarous traffic, but on behalf of suffering individuals whose cases have been brought more specially under the notice of our authorities. The necessary measures were immediately adopted by Consul-General Crawford at Havana, and the liberation of the convert was the result. He reached England in August, and has since proceeded to Lagos.

His history, of which the leading points were obtained from him during his brief stay in this country, is a specimen of the sorrows to which tens of thousands of poor Africans are being subjected, but whose sufferings never come to light, and, unlike Dasalu's, have no termination, except in death. The world is full of suffering: "the whole crea-

tion groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now;" but the worst tribulations are those which man inflicts on his fellow. The chastisements which God dispenses are tempered with mercy; but man, when once he has committed himself to a course of action, in which he is to become rich by injuries inflicted on his fellow, how inexorably he steels his heart to pity! The slave-dealer, the opium-trafficker, know no mercy. We have much to say of both; but they must be dealt with separately. It is for this reason we take up Dasalu's history, that we may drag forth into the light the nefarious slave-trade, and hold it up, in all its phases and modifications, to the reprobation of all men, except those whose moral principle is so inverted that their commendation is disparagement, and their censure praise. We wish our readers to look somewhat into slave-trade proceedings, and mark how much of former energy the scotched snake has recovered since the commencement of the war with Russia. We shall deal briefly with Dasalu's story, but largely with the web of cruelty of which it forms a thread. When shall God in righteous judgment cut it short, and utterly destroy this masterpiece of iniquity, woven as it is of human wrongs, the oaths of the oppressor and the cries of the oppressed!

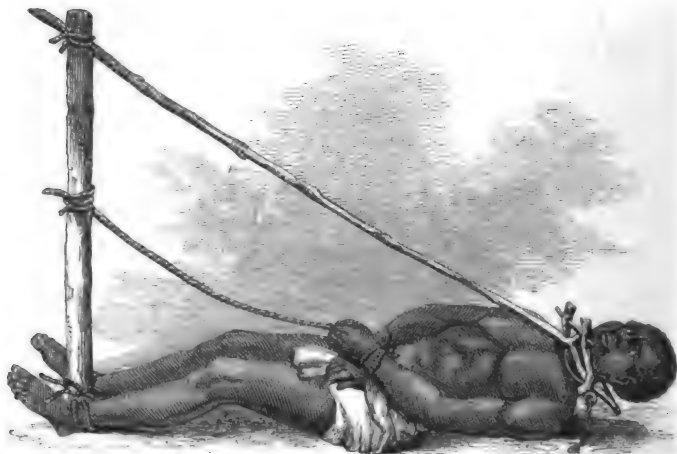
When the Dahomians, baffled in all their efforts, and suffering severely from the fire directed upon them by the defenders of the wall, began to retire, some of the soldiers of Abbeokuta assumed the offensive, and sallied forth in pursuit. Dasalu was one of these; and, while engaged in front with some of the enemy, was suddenly closed upon by another body of the enemy from the rear, and taken prisoner. He was immediately bound, and taken to Aro, a small farm village by the ferry over the Ogun, where the king was. Gezo, on seeing him, viewed him from head to foot, and forthwith began to interrogate him as to the best way of getting entrance into the town; questions which Dasalu was unwilling to answer, and therefore avoided giving him the information which he sought. Then commenced the work of butchery. The Dahomians, on their advance, had surprised a number of people who, unwilling to leave their work, had lingered at their farms until it was too late to escape. Full of wrath at their defeat, and fearful, also, lest they might embarrass them in their retreat, the Dahomians slaughtered all these unhappy persons, as well as other prisoners; and that spot was subsequently found bestrewed with beheaded bodies, of both sexes

and of every age, the heads having been carried away by the murderers—a skull, in their estimation, being of equal value with a slave. That was a moment of great danger to Dasalu. He attributes his preservation, under God, to an English shirt worn by him when he was taken prisoner and bound, and which, being recognised, led to interrogations as to his connexion with the white men at Abbeokuta. However, many others were spared besides himself, to grace, by their captivity, the king's return to his capital.

The retreating army now marched on Ishaga, a town distant some fifteen miles from Abbeokuta, against which the Dahomians had vowed vengeance, as, in consequence of false information received from its people, they had been induced to attack Abbeokuta at the very point where the defences were strongest. They accordingly assaulted it with great vigour, the people of Ishaga as vigorously defending themselves, until the second day, when the Egbas came up, flushed with victory, and the Dahomians, defeated with even greater loss than under the walls of Abbeokuta, were forced to a precipitate flight. In the confusion Dasalu thinks he could have escaped, but that his penknife, given him by Mr. Crowther, was lost, and, unable to break his bonds, he was compelled to resign himself to his fate.

In due time Abomey was reached, that den of murderers, with its hideous decorations of human skulls, to which were soon added the skulls brought back from the recent inroad into the Yoruba country, the usual process of cleansing by boiling and varnishing having been first resorted to. The number of captives was about 128, all of whom, with the skulls, the king, on reaching home, purchased from the ibaloguns, the soldiers receiving no pay except as a reward for the

skulls which they bring home from battle, or the prisoners they capture. All these poor sufferers were in the most despairing condition, so much so, that many of them contemplated suicide, but were dissuaded from so fearful an act by Dasalu, who told them what he remembered out of God's word. In this consisted his own consolation, and he endeavoured to administer the same comfort to his fellow-sufferers. With respect to himself, many and conflicting thoughts passed through his mind. He seemed to himself dealt with as Nebuchadnezzar was, whom, on account of his wickedness, God removed from his place and people. He thought of his past life, and of the evil he had wrought when he was a manstealer—when, at the head of a troop of reckless men, he had gone forth on kidnapping expeditions, killing some, and selling others. Then he had done much work for the devil: now God was afflicting him, to teach him and do him good; but in the midst of his affliction he could trust Him. He called to mind God's dealings with Joseph, David, Daniel, whose history he had a clear remembrance of, the result of instruction given him in the Sabbath-school at Abbeokuta, and specially when under preparation for baptism. Thus he was enabled at all times to stay himself more or less upon his God. He seems to have possessed a hope, although occasionally a faint one, of being some day enabled to return home, and often cried to God for deliverance. Such trust and hope were needed, for his sufferings were great. When the prisoners appeared before the king at Abomey, cowries were strewed on the ground, which lacerated the skin, as they moved over them on their bare knees. For twelve nights Dasalu was fastened down in the position represented in the accompanying sketch. He carried about with him,



throughout the day, a long stick, which, by a natural fork at one end, was made fast around his neck—which was further ensircled by an iron collar, with an eye projecting from it. At night he was constrained to lie down on his back, with his feet on either side of an upright post, to which they were made fast, his head falling back on a stake in the ground, with a natural fork into which his neck fitted. The lower extremity of the long stick which he carried about with him during the day was then lifted up to the top of the upright post, and there made fast: the hands were also bound together, and fastened by a rope to the same post, about midway. He was secured to his fellow-prisoners by a chain passed through the eye of the iron collar, the eye being, for this purpose, brought to the back of his neck. Thus reduced, for security's sake, to utter helplessness, he was left to linger out the night. We cannot be surprised that the men in charge of slaves at Abomey are thus cruel in expedients to prevent their escape, when we bear in mind that, should one be missing, the keeper is placed in his stead, but if more, the keeper is put to death. Besides these tortures—for such they must have been—the prisoners were insufficiently fed, on baked flour and a little vegetable soup without oil. Such, however, was Dasalu's demeanour and resignation, as to gain him favour with the keepers, who began to place confidence in him.

He mentions many things respecting Abomey, which agree with the description given of these head-quarters of cruelty by the late Captain Forbes. It is, in fact, nothing more than a large military encampment, where are quartered the soldiers of the king, male and female. The amazons, who are called the king's wives, are kept quite separate from the others, and it is death for any man to approach their quarters. No children are permitted to remain at Abomey, and it is a special favour for any man to have his own wife.

Dasalu was detained at Abomey three months, when Gezo, hearing that Mr. Gollmer was making inquiries respecting him, sent him down to Whydah, to be forwarded to Badagry. For eight months he was left at liberty, allowed to dwell with a countryman of his own, and to walk about as he pleased; and it was during this period that he forwarded to his wife the symbolical letter described by us on a former occasion. He sent her also a Bible, obtained from a Sierra-Leone man, who did not value it, sewed up in a piece of cloth, intending to convey to her the expression of his strong desire that she should hold fast by God's word.

It is remarkable, that about this time very

diligent search was being made after him by his friends in the Yoruba country. Admiral Bruce and Captain Heseltine, while on the Bights station, made every effort to recover him, but in vain. In fact, he had originally two names, Ogan and Dasalu, and the name Dasalu, which was used in the inquiries that were instituted, was not the name by which he was known in Dahomey. Thus the poor man was left unredeemed, and, at the end of eight months, the Dahomians, disappointed in their hope of obtaining ransom for him, re-committed him to prison. Had he been discovered previously to his shipment on board a slave vessel he would have been saved much suffering, but he would also have been precluded from much usefulness in Cuba, his residence there having afforded him the opportunity of exercising an influence for good on the emancipados, and exciting in their minds a strong desire to return to that fatherland of which they received from him such encouraging accounts. And here at Whydah, as in Abomey, he appears to have won the good opinion of the persons who had charge of him. He was not bound in the prison, but employed in looking after the other captives. He occupied himself in making baskets, one of his fellow-prisoners aiding him in preparing the materials.

As we read this portion of his history we are reminded of Joseph in Egypt, how his demeanour secured the favour of his gaoler, so that he placed confidence in him. Christianity, the full development of that faith which Joseph had in the germ, when duly influential, elevates a man, and invests him, whatever be his station or circumstances, with a holy superiority of character, which the world is constrained to recognise, although indisposed to refer it to its true cause. Joseph in Egypt is a specimen of what every man who bears the Christian name ought to be in his position, whether bond or free: in that way would the gospel be best commended. And if we may be permitted to pursue this train of thought a little further, there does appear to exist, in one point of view, a very remarkable analogy between God's dealings with the family of Jacob and with the population of Africa. Of Jacob's family, one was sold into slavery, and that by his brethren; yet especial blessings rested upon the crown of the head of him who was separate from his brethren. The exiled one became the instrument of preservation to the whole family; and, when they were in a great strait, yielded them the supplies which were needful. "God sent me before you to preserve you a posterity on the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance." Has it not been so

in the history of Africa? A large proportion of her children has been sold into servitude—sold, moreover, by the act of their brethren. Africans have dealt inhumanly with Africans; not merely men of different nations engaged in war, but individuals of the same country, of the same tribe, nay, members of the same family: the closest social ties have been rent asunder for the sake of gain. Yet in how many cases has it not happened that this great calamity has been overruled for good to those who have been thus afflicted and oppressed. They have been raised out of their degradation by a combination of wonderful circumstances. The fetters of slavery have been loosed, and they have been set free; the influences of pure religion have been brought to bear upon them, and they have been instructed, enlightened, and improved. They have been brought to know that which their fathers before them had never known, and to the possession of a chief blessing, the want of which is the cause of Africa's misery and degradation. The slave has been raised to a position of superiority over his brethren, and becomes the privileged instrument of communicating the bread of life to those who are perishing for lack of knowledge. Thus Christianity and its attendant blessings have been introduced into the interior of Africa; and one of the greatest scourges ever inflicted on humanity has been made to operate for its own overthrow, and the relief of the oppressed. Africa's hopelies in the introduction of the gospel within its dark interior. Only let it once, by the good providence of God, lay hold upon the heart of an interior nation, and it will not fail from thence, as from a great centre, to work out enlarged results. It is a great misapprehension to suppose that, in order to the evangelization of a continent, we must needs send out a host of Missionaries, numerically proportionate to the masses of its population. That were indeed a discouraging view, because requiring that, as an element essential to success, which is unattainable. Of European Missionaries we cannot obtain many—only a few. But our work—the work of the foreign agent—is purely initiative. He introduces the leaven, and that of itself will permeate the mass. The infantile church, which he slowly gathers together, by the blessing of God will eventually yield the enlarged agency by which the more extensive work is to be done.

It is not very clear how long Dasalu remained at Whydah: it is probable until the end of 1853 or beginning of 1854. The war with Russia had now commenced. The squadron underwent a diminution, and increased facilities were thus afforded for the

exportation of slaves. Cargoes of slaves continued to be shipped successfully at various points in the Bight of Benin, more particularly Whydah, Aghwey, and Great Popoe; and thus Dasalu, with many others, found himself on board a slave-ship. He was called up, with many others, branded on the right breast with a key, and then shipped for Cuba.

And here we must separate ourselves from him for a season, that we may look abroad on this great continent of Africa, and its existing condition with reference to the slave-trade. It were a great misapprehension to conclude that Africa is now disembarassed of that evil. It still rages; and in all directions, from every part of the coast, the unhappy sons and daughters of Africa are being sold into bondage. A brief review of what has been going forward on the African coast for the last two or three years appears to be needful at the present moment, lest the friends of Africa should precipitately conclude that the slave-trade has been so far crushed that its final extinction is now only a question of time. We must sound the tocsin of alarm. The enemy is on the alert. Slave-trafficers of all descriptions—the man who advances his capital, and the man who adventures his person in the trade; the merchant who identifies himself with it after such a sly fashion as to share the gains, and yet avoid the public infamy that belongs to it; and the reckless bravo, who, amidst fettered slaves, the barracoon, and the slave-hold, and their attendant horrors, remains pitiless and stern, a cold and flinty rock, against which the agitated waves of human suffering and despair may dash themselves in vain—are putting forth increased activity. Cuba wants hands to bring more of her prolific soil under sugar cultivation; for even British markets are open to slave-grown sugar. England has relaxed in her efforts on the African coast, and slaves may be trans-shipped in comparative security. It is a golden opportunity; and Cuban planters, and American shipowners, and Spanish officials, and all the refuse of society, who fill up the ranks of slave-trading combinations, all are eagerly at work, devising new schemes, planning new devices, putting forth new efforts. It is a time, then, for others to arouse themselves—all who pity the African and detest the cruelty to which he is subjected. Our task is not completed. There never was a time that demanded more determination and energy at our hands, if, indeed, we would not witness a new outbreak of the slave-trade on a large scale, and a repetition of all those enormities which once aroused the indignation of Englishmen.

We shall commence our review with the East-African Coast. It appears, from the report of Mr. Commissioner Frere, dated March 27th, 1854, that large numbers of slaves, during the year 1853, had been collected in depôts on the east coast, and yet that Her Majesty's cruisers had not fallen in with any vessels engaged in that trade. This he attributes to the inadequacy of the naval force, and the difficulty of obtaining information. The report for 1854 is precisely similar to that of the preceding year. If the fact that no slave-ship has been captured is to be considered a satisfactory proof that no shipment has taken place, then the traffic may be considered as reduced to stagnation on the east coast; but the admitted insufficiency of the naval force during the year 1854 prohibits so favourable a conclusion, and renders it quite possible that deportation, although it escaped notice, may have existed to a very considerable extent. During the year 1855 there appears to have been an active prosecution of slave-trade proceedings in the Imam of Muscat's territories. Her Majesty's arbitrator at Cape Town mentions, under date of January 1856, that while H. M. S. "Frolic" had been at Zanzibar, on a recent visit, "four vessels arrived full of slaves, intended for the Imaum, from Quiloa chiefly, and other parts of the coast not far from Zanzibar." To this he adds the very significant passage, "it is just possible that a number of these negroes may find their way to the northward by driblets." A sale for the disposal of slaves was held every afternoon a short distance from the town. Indeed, slaving appears to be one of the chief occupations of the seafaring community in the Imam of Muscat's territory. The mortality of slaves in the island of Zanzibar being very great, principally owing to indifferent food and lodging, and to the unhealthiness of plantations in the interior, where a great proportion of them are employed, frequent supplies are necessary. Commander Nolloth, of the "Frolic," during a three months' cruise in the Mozambique channel (latter part of 1855), had ascertained enough to convince him, that along the east coast and Madagascar the slave traffic is not "less active at present than in former times, chiefly by Arab vessels."

But it is not only to Zanzibar that the Arab dhows convey their human freights, but across the Indian Ocean to that part of the Arabian coast where Muscat lies, the Oman States. We rejoice to find that the Persian authorities have gladly co-operated with the British agents in the discouragement and suppression of the traffic. "It was the reproach of Persia, that she had been the last to follow

the example of Turkey and other Mahomedan states in making concessions to Great Britain with a view to the abolition of the slave-trade. It is but justice now to record, to her credit, that, her obligations once accepted, she has been the first, nay, the only one, to conform to their spirit, as well to their letter. The effects of the example made of some of the Persian chieftains during the past three years are already apparent. On my late visit to the Gulf, I was assured, by the agent at Lingah, that he had been unable to trace one single instance of importation of slaves on the coast during the current season, nor did the inquiries generally instituted by myself on the spot permit me to question the accuracy of the inference to be drawn from his statement."* The Oman states, on the contrary, have enjoyed impunity in the prosecution of the slave-trade. The treaties entered into on their part, with a view to its suppression, they consider to be binding only so far as they are forced to observe them; and as hitherto they have had to deal with a mere demonstration of threats and remonstrances on our part, they have not failed to improve to the uttermost the facilities they have enjoyed. We are glad to perceive that the attention of the Bombay Government has been directed to the proceedings going forward in the Indian Sea; and we venture to hope that, in conjunction with the home authorities, such stringent measures may be adopted as the necessity of the case demands. We do not understand why more indulgence should be conceded to the slave-traffic across the Indian Ocean, than to Trans-Atlantic shipments.

We have not yet done with the East-African coast: there are a few other points which need attention. There has been going forward an importation of negroes, as *émigrés*, *cultivateurs*, or *travailleurs*, from the East-African coast and Madagascar to the island of Bourbon. The Comoro islands are the *entrepôt*, and thither the dhows resort, sometimes direct from the continent, at other times they steer, in the first instance, for Madagascar, where an exchange of slaves takes place at the rate of one Kaffir for two, and sometimes three, natives of the island. Thus Magalaches of different tribes, brought down to the shipping-places from various parts, are handed over to the Bourbon agents, and are trans-shipped for that island. It appears also that, occasionally, Belûchis and half-caste Arabs from Muscat are obtained as *émigrés*, so called. Certain stipulations

* Capt. Kemball to the Government of Bombay, June 22, 1855.

are required by the French Government to be made with the *émigré*; the term of servitude not to exceed five, nor to be less than three years; a fixed rate of wages to be settled; and a free passage home to be ensured, if required at the expiration of the engagement. The slaves are supposed to understand the nature of the contract, and, of their own free will, to be consenting parties to it; and therefore no price can legally be paid to other parties for the delivery of the negroes; but it is affirmed that a *cadeau* of 28 francs, or of articles to this amount, per head, is usually presented to the chief or person in charge of the gang. It may well be doubted whether these poor negroes understand any thing about this contract, or whether there be, in the whole transaction, any thing of spontaneity on their part. It is said that the greater portion of them return home with the proceeds of their hire. We should be glad of some more decisive proof of this, than the mere affirmation of those who are engaged in this—we fear we must so designate it—disguised slave-trade. From Comoro the negroes are taken, in French vessels, to “Nos Bé, or Lamoo, where the public works of the former, and the cultivation of simsim and coffee on the latter, occasion a demand for labour, especially as, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, fewer Frenchmen than formerly are now employed at Mayotta and its neighbouring settlements. . . . The reason assigned for the dhows not taking the negroes direct to their destination is, that official inquiries might then be necessitated, which are not so obviously required when they are imported by the authorized French vessels.”* In 1854 there were thus introduced into Bourbon 4120 negroes. We should not omit to mention that treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade have been concluded with the Queen of Mohilla, and the principal chief of Comoro. These empower English men-of-war to seize Comoro and Mohilla vessels with slaves on board, or equipments for the prosecution of the trade.

Let us now look towards Port Natal; and there we discover traces of another kind of trafficking in human flesh and life. The Boers of the Trans-Vaal territory, whose independence has been recognised by Her Majesty's Government, have obtained for themselves a supply of labour, by seizing the children of the natives, when young, whether of Bushmen or other tribes, and subjecting them to an involuntary servitude, which is called an apprenticeship, until the age of twenty-

five for a male, and twenty-two for a female. Of these indentured servants a regular sale takes place, at the rate of 10*l.* or 15*l.* each, although such a proceeding is expressly prohibited by the law of their Volksraad. It is not only as the spoil of war that they obtain these captives, but in the way of traffic; parties of Boers proceeding to Drakenburg, and bartering with the native Bushmen at the rate of a cow for a child. To such a height has the evil grown, that the Commandant-General Pretorius has issued a proclamation against it, bearing date July 30, 1855. Let us hope it may prove successful. But we doubt whether the proclamation of Pretorius will have more weight than the law of the Volksraad. The Boers, however, are not exclusively implicated in these transactions: British subjects have participated in them; and an internal slave-trade exists on a portion of the frontiers of the Cape-of-Good-Hope Colony.

And here it is refreshing to introduce one touching fact, which comes out more brightly when contrasted with these sad details of human cruelty and human suffering. Dr. Livingston, when in Skeletu's country, met two Portuguese traders, who, on ascertaining that he had resolved on endeavouring to reach the Portuguese settlements on the west coast, offered to take him thither. But desirable as such assistance was in other respects, there was one objection—they had come to purchase slaves, and, as their fellow-traveller, he must have been, to a certain extent, identified with their slave-trading proceedings. He therefore preferred braving alone the dangers of the expedition.

In passing from eastern to northern Africa, the Red Sea and its shores meet our eye. There, on the African side, lies the Somali country, a favourite haunt of the slave-trade. The city of Harar, in 9° 20' N. lat. and 42° 17' E. long., is the head-quarters of the traffic. It was reached by the expedition under Lieutenant Burton in January 1855. It contains a population of about 10,000 souls, besides Gallas and other Bedouins. “Harar is the great half-way house for the produce of Esat, Gurague, and the Galla countries. Slaves are driven thence to Berbera, and exported by the subjects of the Imam of Muscat in exchange for rice and dates.” Of Berbera Lieutenant Burton's narrative contains the following notice—“The great emporium of Eastern Africa was, at the time of my second landing, in a state of confusion. But a few hours before, the Harar caravan had entered, and purchase, barter, and exchange, were being carried on in the utmost hurry. All day, and during the greater part

* Commander Nolloth to Commodore Trotter, December 27th, 1855.

of the night, the town rang with the loud voices of buyers and sellers. To specify no other valuable articles of traffic, 500 slaves, of both sexes, were in the market."

Let us now visit the Mediterranean shore of Africa, and consider whether here, in the very presence of Europe, the slave-dealer is audacious enough to prosecute his calling. From three points on the African coast slaves are trans-shipped to the Turkish markets. They are, Tripoli, Bengazi, and Mesurata; and in the two former there has been, during the past year, an increase both in the arrivals and the trans-shipments. From the port of Tripoli the increase has been from 472 in 1854 to 2202 in 1855. At Bengazi there had been only a small increase of 286 in the numbers exported; but at the date of the despatches the Wadi caravan was hourly expected from Djallo, conveying upwards of 3500 negroes. Moreover, the whole procedure has been under governmental recognition and sanction, tariff duties being levied on the shipments, and custom-house permits issued for the embarkation of human beings, as in case of ordinary merchandize. Their destination may be traced to various points, direct to the Albanian coast, or to Candia, Rhodes, and Mitylene, and beyond to Alexandria on the one side, and Constantinople on the other.

The trade to the Albanian coast, which had entirely ceased since the proceedings adopted in 1853, assumed, in the beginning of 1855, alarming proportions. Vessel after vessel continued to arrive. In April, a Turkish schooner, the "Sari Pervas," disembarked at Avlona thirty-nine black slaves, varying from eight to eighteen years of age. Her Majesty's Consular agent at that place thus describes the subsequent proceedings — "The slave proprietor daily disposes of these unfortunate beings, and we stand inactive and look on at such barbarities. Thus far, eight of these slaves have been already sold. The slaves are examined, both male and female, as if they were horses. The goletta when off Malta met with a storm, and would have put in there, but he, the captain, being afraid of being captured by some vessel of war, kept at sea. He intends conveying the remainder of the slaves into the interior, for a similar purpose, by way of Berat and Elbassan." A few weeks after, an Ottoman brig, the "Albanese," reached the same port with forty-nine black slaves. A third landed at Dulcigno, on the same coast, fifty-four black slaves, whereof twenty had been publicly exposed for sale in the bazaar at Scutari (Albania). All these vessels were from Tripoli, and others were expected. The conveyance of these slaves through British

protected territory, the Ionian waters having been traversed, afforded the British consular authorities an opportunity of interfering; and the measures suggested by them for the discouragement of the traffic had been readily adopted by the Turkish governor of Janina. This nobleman, Izzet Pasha, had been governor of Tripoli some years back; and his experience casts some light on slave-trade proceedings in that quarter. He states that he had often been "an eye-witness to the extreme sufferings inflicted upon the unfortunate beings brought from the interior for sale; and that, as a warning to the dealers in slaves, he had caused a considerable number to be set free, in consequence of the shameful treatment to which they had been subjected." He further stated, "that during his many years' residence as governor of Tripoli, he never purchased a single male slave, being better served by hired attendants; but that he was unable to dispense with females for the service of his harem, whom, however, he freed after three or four years' service. The caravans of slaves were continually brought to Tripoli, where they were sold as sheep in the market, at from 800 to 1000 piastres per head.* That breeding establishments for slaves also existed at Tripoli, where the children or the parents are sold, as the case may be."†

Another route of the North-African slave traffic may be traced across the Grecian Archipelago, in the direction of Constantinople. This is not surprising, when it is remembered that, besides "the ordinary incentives which induce the slave-dealers to prosecute their immoral traffic, the authorities at Constantinople hold out to them a premium of 50 piastres per head to convey" the slaves direct to the metropolis.‡ The slave-bearing vessels generally touch at Candia on their way. This is an island, which, if official documents emanating from the Porte had any force, ought not to be approached, a vizirial letter, addressed to the Pasha of Tripoli, having directed him to put a stop to any traffic in slaves between the territory under his government and the island of Candia. Our Consuls, however, have recently had ample experience of the ineffectiveness of such a document. Slave-ships have continued to cast anchor at Canea, and carry on the sale of slaves. In May 1855 the Turkish schooner

* 1000 piastres equal 8*l.* 10*s.* per head. On the Albanian coast the selling price is from 2000 to 2500 piastres.

† Class B. Cor. Slave Trade, pp. 451, 452.

‡ Address on the subject of Slavery in Turkey, and the slave-trade, to Lord Palmerston, from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

"Rahmaniya," of only eighty tons burthen, arrived with 368 slaves, with which she was to proceed to Constantinople, after landing whatever number the slave-owner could find purchasers for. Subsequently a regulation appears to have been enforced, limiting the number of slaves to be carried by each vessel; but, this being complied with, every facility continued to be afforded to the prosecution of the trade. Between June and September 1855 there touched at Canea no fewer than seven vessels with slaves from the coast of Africa. These vessels were bound for Smyrna, Mitylene, and Alexandria; the exportation of slaves from the regency of Tripoli to the last-mentioned port having amounted, according to information received by Mr. Consul Ongley, to 3000, a statement, however, which he conceives to be exaggerated.

Mitylene has always been an *entrepôt* for slaves imported from the African coast, being preferred to Smyrna or the Dardanelles, because the custom dues are not so heavy. Between the middle of April and the beginning of June 1855, there touched at the port of Mitylene four vessels, bearing the Ottoman flag, all with cargoes of black slaves from the African coast — the "Marsala," with 49 negresses and young negroes from Tripoli; the "Mavraga," with 43 negresses and young negroes from Tripoli; the "Rachmanie," with 71 negresses and young negroes from Crete; and the "Masaouh," with 120 negresses and young negroes from Crete. Some of these slaves were sold at Mitylene, the remainder being sent on to Constantinople. From Rhodes, also, similar statistics are obtained of vessels with black slaves on board bound from Tripoli to Smyrna.

We are dealing with Africa, and it may be deemed irrelevant to notice the Circassian traffic. Yet we cannot altogether forbear doing so; for here again are the same sad expositions of human cruelty and human suffering. It is deeply to be lamented that the late eastern contest afforded the Turks an opportunity, which was not neglected by them, of carrying on the trade in Georgian and Circassian slaves with increased vigour. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, under date of September 1854, observes "that the traffic, which was carried on clandestinely before the war, in defiance of Russian prohibitions, has of late thrown off all disguise, and braved publicity without danger and without shame." That traffic has continued since then to be prosecuted with activity; and the result of this influx of slaves, both white and black, has been *the re-opening of the slave-market at Constantinople*. Turkish malpractices in this

respect come out strongly in the following extract from a despatch of Brigadier-General Williams to the Earl of Clarendon, dated from Erzeroum, 6th of February 1855. "The buying and selling of slaves, by the officers of the Kars army, is as notorious as any other malpractices on their part." . . . And until the allied consuls are authorized to demand the restitution of these victims to Turkish sensuality, and are provided with funds to send them back to their families in Georgia; and until the Porte is bound by treaty to send the culprits, so detected, to the galleys for a certain specified time, this infamous traffic will flourish; and all which has been said or may be written about abolitionary firmans simply adds mockery to crime and woe.

"When I saw Mustapha Pasha quit the camp at Kars, and fawn upon the soldiers drawn out in line to salute him who had robbed and starved them, he was closely followed, and that at noon-day, by two Georgian slaves, under an escort of regular cavalry. They had been bought the day previous to his departure, and this traffic was notorious throughout the camp. Your lordship may therefore infer, that, had the Turks penetrated into Georgia last campaign * And I feel bound to tell your lordship my opinion on this most interesting subject, which is, that if England does not effectually repress this trade by a stringent treaty, Russia will accomplish it by her arms, that is, if peace leave her in possession of Georgia."

Certainly nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the action of the Ottoman Government with respect to these slave-trading transactions, whether arising from want of inclination or power it is not for us to decide. Feints have been made to repress the slave-trade, but they have been nothing more. In 1846, the Sultan declared the slave-trade to be illegal, and, in 1854, gave additional force to that declaration, by the issue of two firmans specially directed against the trade in Georgians and Circassians. In the beginning of 1855, a vizirial letter addressed to the Pasha of Tripoli directed him to put a stop to any traffic in slaves between that territory and the island of Candia, a document which, we have seen, is practically a dead letter. In March 1855 the British Ambassador suggested, as instructed by the Earl of Clarendon, to Reshid Pasha the advantage which might result from the conclusion of a conventional agreement between the Ottoman Porte and

* The General here states the moral pollution which would have been consequent on such an event.

Her Majesty's Government, with a view to a more complete suppression of the traffic in slaves from Georgia and Circassia. This the grand vizier declined to do, promising, however, to forward more stringent prohibitions to the functionaries and commanders of the Porte. In July of the same year a grand vizirial order reached Izzet Ahmed, Pasha of Janina, in reply to the representations which he had made to his government on the subject of slave-trading to the Albanian coast. This document appeared to be of such an important character, that Izzet Pasha communicated its purport to the British consul at Prevesa in language such as this—"His Imperial Majesty, my august master, in his sovereign justice, inspired with a natural desire to promote the prosperity and happiness of all classes of his subjects, and anxious to extend the benefits of his paternal care and clemency to those who, from time immemorial, have been bought and sold as slaves, has caused his supreme commands upon this head to be communicated to me by a grand vizirial letter, declaring that this iniquitous traffic is prohibited throughout the empire, as was already the case at Constantinople." The Porte having long before announced its intention of adopting measures for the suppression of the slave-trade, it was natural to conclude that this vizirial letter was, in fact, the general prohibition that had been expected. Eventually, however, it was found to be of mere local application, and that no general prohibition of the slave-trade had as yet emanated from the Sultan. The British Ambassador at the Porte was desired, therefore, by Lord Clarendon, under date of October 22, 1855, in concert with the French and Austrian Legations, to "propose to the Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs that he should point out to the Sultan how greatly he would enhance the reputation which he had already attained as a public benefactor, if his Imperial Majesty should think fit to complete the measures which he has, during the past and present year, caused to be undertaken for the suppression of the slave-trade in Georgia, Circassia, Barbary, and Albania, by issuing an edict entirely prohibiting and abolishing the traffic in slaves throughout all parts of the Ottoman dominion." Representations were accordingly made by Her Majesty's Embassy, partly in concert with those of France and Austria, on the subject of slavery, with reference to the importations of negroes from Africa, the revival of a slave-market at Constantinople, and the continuance of the traffic from Georgia and Circassia, notwithstanding its abolition by the Sultan's firmans; the Sultan's ministers,

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in reply, excusing themselves from the charge of delay, by alleging the incessant occupation devolved upon them by the war and its attendant operations, and promising to bring the matters in question under the deliberation of the Council, with the least possible delay. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's despatch communicating this result bears date October 29, 1855. But the year reached its termination without any action on the part of the Turkish Government. Friends in England, anxious for the suppression of the slave-trade, began to be impatient. In March last an address was presented to Lord Clarendon from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in which they most earnestly "entreat Her Majesty's Government to take advantage of the present opportunity to stipulate, in any treaty about to be entered into with Turkey, not only for the adoption of measures of the most stringent kind for the suppression of the traffic in slaves, from whencesoever they may be imported into the Turkish dominions, but also for the immediate abolition of slavery throughout them." We have no doubt that the Foreign Office is in communication with the Ottoman Ministry on this subject, and that urgent representations are not wanting as to the course which ought to be adopted, now more especially that peace has been restored to the nations. It does not, however, as yet appear that any definite result has been obtained. Meanwhile the slave-trade, as we have sketched it, is being actively prosecuted, the very apprehension which prevails, that stringent measures for its repression are not far distant, stimulating it into unusual activity. Numerous groups of Circassian girls for sale have been introduced into Constantinople, the Circassian dealers having redoubled their efforts to introduce into Turkey the greatest possible number of women, before the re-occupation of the coast of Caucasus by Russia shall have terminated the traffic in white slaves. Such is the abundance of supply, brought over in many instances, it is said, by steam, under the British flag, that a good middling Circassian girl, who in former years would have been considered cheap at 15*l.*, may now be had for 5*l.* It is said that numbers of black women, whom their owners have been anxious to get rid of in order to make room for a newly-purchased Circassian, have been consigned to the broker for disposal, many of them being in a state quite unfit for being sold. The Earl of Clarendon, in a despatch to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, dated March 29, 1856, states that "the Government of Great Britain is entitled to call upon the Ottoman Government

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to adopt some stringent measures, in order effectually to prevent the exportation of slaves from Africa." Undoubtedly this country is entitled so to do. There has been a heavy expenditure of valuable life in defence of Turkey: money, too, to the extent of some hundred millions. Numerous families in England are in mourning for valued friends, who met an untimely death in the Crimean warfare. All have felt, and still feel, the financial pressure; yet all were content to suffer, because all conceived that they were promoting the cause of liberty. In shielding the Turk from the oppressor, England never intended to license him to the prosecution of a slave-trade, of which Africa and Asia are alike to furnish forth the victims; and if, notwithstanding all that has occurred of momentous events, there must still be slaves, we are at a loss to decide whether of the two is the more repugnant—Russian ambition or Turkish sensuality.

Perhaps we have digressed too far from our main subject: the facts we have placed before our readers must be our apology. And now, leaving the north-coast of Africa, on which we have delayed longer than we had intended, let us proceed to survey the western coast. At Sierra Leone there are Mixed Courts of Justice for the adjudication of suspected vessels bearing the flags of nations who have entered into treaties with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade, and a Vice-Admiralty Court for the adjudication of such vessels as are without evidence of nationality. In the Mixed Courts no case had been adjudicated upon during the year 1855, with the exception of one vessel, which was liberated. In the Vice-Admiralty Court, a prize to the "Ferret," taken in the Rio Pongas, fully equipped for the slave-trade, was condemned and broken up, besides several native canoes with slaves on board, captured in their transit from the Sherbro to the Susu country. "The total number of cases prosecuted before the Mixed Commissions since their establishment at Sierra Leone in June 1819, up to the end of December 1855, is 531, whereof 503 were cases of condemnation." In the same period there have been emancipated by these Mixed Courts 64,615 slaves, of whom 56,935 have been registered at Sierra Leone. During the year 1855 no slaves were emancipated or registered. We should, however, err very much in judgment if we therefore concluded that the action of the slave-trade had ceased on this portion of the coast, and that there are no slave-ships engaged in bearing their human freightage across the wide Atlantic, either to die on the passage or live as slaves. The slave-ships have been numerous, but they have escaped our cruisers, not from want of

vigilance, but from their numerical inadequacy to the *surveillance* of so extensive a coast. The fact is undoubted, that, in consequence of the reduced strength of the British squadron, the exportation of slaves during the year 1854 was greatly increased. We fear that the slave-dealers have not been less successful in the year 1855; and we think that this is capable of demonstration. Cuba is, at the present moment, the only certain market for African slaves trans-shipped across the Atlantic. From whatever points along the extended coast of West Africa the lines of slave-traffic may be drawn, they all converge to Cuba as a common centre. If, then, we are enabled to show that there have been large arrivals of slaves in Cuba, there must have been corresponding trans-shipments from the African coast, although they escaped, a very few instances excepted, the vigilance of our cruisers. That there has been such an increase of slaves in the island of Cuba cannot be disputed. According to official statistics, the number of slaves imported into that island during the year 1854 amounted, at the lowest computation, to 7673; and if the usual addition of one-third be made for unreported landings, the total estimate for that year will be 10,230; a number not, indeed, so large as that of 1853, but larger than the number of those imported in any one of the eleven years immediately preceding the year 1853, and exceeding the average of importations during the last fifteen years by 4034. The year 1855 appears, from the despatches of our agents, to have been of similar activity. We find, indeed, a statement from Her Majesty's Acting Commissary Judge at the Havana, dated Jan. 14, 1856, to the effect, that, during the year 1855, 4806 Bozals were got on shore at various places, of which 125 were captured, making, with an addition of one-third for the unreported, a total of 6408 introduced during the preceding twelve months. We fear that the above sum must be viewed as a very low computation. We are disposed to this conclusion from the increased facilities afforded to the slave-dealers. It has been no longer necessary that the expeditions to the coast of Africa should proceed, as formerly, from Cuba. The required vessels have been found in the United States, "where the craft employed are to be met with, cheap and suitable, as well as their fittings and stores much more reasonable in price than in Cuba; added to which they are subjected to less observation, and run less risk of detection; the masters and crews being easily found to proceed under the direction of an agent or supercargo—usually an experienced slave-dealer—their cargoes being ready waiting their ap-

pearance at the given point of embarkation : they arrive there under the American flag, take on board their miserable cargo, and are off so very quickly from the coast that they are very seldom fallen in with by the cruisers, or, if they were, they would be found, like the "Grey Eagle," without papers of any kind, should there be evidence on board of their slaving character."

"Such slavers generally, however, escape capture on the coast of Africa, and they arrive at some place on that of Cuba, where advice is waiting them as to the point of landing their cargoes. The parties here who are interested in the mean time have made their arrangements, and the slaves are introduced safely and with impunity."*

On reading these extracts we cannot discern any grounds for concluding that the slave importations of 1855 have been less than those of the preceding year; but, on the contrary, much to sustain the probability of their having considerably increased. In fact, when we take into consideration the systematic organization which now prevails, the swift-sailing and well-found vessels employed, the experience of the crews, the connivance of the Spanish subordinates, the eagerness at Cuba for an increase of the labour element, and the extent of Cuban coast, affording, as it does, various points of landing from whence a selection may be made, it is impossible even to conjecture the actual amount of importation; nor is it at all beyond the range of probability that it may have doubled that of the preceding year. The Spanish authorities find it possible to adopt such measures as are effective to prevent the landing of filibusteros, but ineffective to prevent the landing of slaves. "*All the slaves that are brought to the coast of Cuba continue to be landed.*" Such is the testimony of Mr. Consul-General Crawford, under date October 3, 1855; and therefore, with facilities of obtaining negroes on the African coast through the weakness of our squadron, and of landing them on the Cuban coast, without hindrance or even difficulty, and with American vessels at their disposal to act as carriers, we may be assured that the slave-dealers have not failed to prosecute their infamous vocation throughout the year 1855 with all activity. In fact, so flagrant have these proceedings been, that they have been made the subject of special remonstrance to the Spanish Government through our Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, Lord Clarendon, in a despatch dated December 21, 1855,

citing the following facts as demonstrative of the unchecked importation of slaves into Cuba, "namely, that the number of slaves employed upon the estates of Cuba have been kept up; that many new sugar-plantations have been formed, and supplied with African labourers; and that, upon the whole, the boasted activity and vigilance of General Concha have failed remarkably in producing any beneficial effect toward the suppression of the slave-trade."

The masses thus imported into Cuba have been deported from Africa, and the slave-trade, at various points along the coast of that continent, must have been intensely active. True, the slave-vessels captured during the year 1855 have been few indeed. During the previous year—1854—there were captured and condemned no fewer than seven vessels engaged in the slave-trade, six of them with slaves on board; but during the year 1855, besides the native canoes already mentioned, there have been captured one brig in the Rio Pongas, and a small cutter-rigged vessels without name, flag, or papers, with a crew of five persons, and having ninety slaves on board, from the Congo bound to St. Thomas, destroyed by H. M. S. "Plumper" as unfit for a sea voyage. But that slave-ships have been numerous on the coast may be collected from the despatches of our agents. When Commodore Adams was cruising off the Bisagos or Bejuga islands, in the early part of 1855, it was reported to him that two Portuguese vessels had succeeded in escaping with cargoes of slaves. The Rio Pongas keeps up its reputation for the slave-trade, and despatches from Sierra Leone, bearing date January 12, 1855, state, that at that time a cargo of Africans was collected there ready for shipment, and only waiting for a vessel to convey them away. One of Her Majesty's cruisers was constantly stationed at that point of the coast, and of the nine vessels captured in 1854 and 1855, two had been in the Rio Pongas. No doubt an equally effective *surveillance* at other suspected points would have been followed by similar results. Towards the end of 1855, an American schooner, the "Alexander Mitchell," after calling at Monrovia with a cargo of American produce, is said to have shipped and carried off upwards of 300 negroes from between Cape Palmas and the Bights. Another schooner, from Havana, flying Spanish colours, Don Domingo Mustich, a well known slave-dealer, master, had been seen, in September 1855, off Sinou, a port of entry in the republic of Liberia, the master coming on shore and making inquiries after slaves. In the following November, a brigantine of suspicious appearance, her copper being painted white,

* Her Majesty's Acting Commissary Judge at Havana to the Earl of Clarendon Jan. 14, 1856.

her bulwarks black with a red streak, and having a greater number of hands than is usual, was seen off the Liberian coast. If we look into the Bights, similar traces are apparent. On January 2d of the present year, Her Majesty's steam-ship "Hecate," being off Appii Vista, in the Bight of Benin, chased a suspicious vessel, which, not being able to escape, was run on shore, and totally destroyed. She was found fully equipped to receive slaves. A board had been nailed over that part of the stern on which the name is usually placed. On this being withdrawn, the vessel's name was apparent—the "Chatsworth," of New York. Consul Campbell—Lagos—under date of February 1, 1856, reports the arrival of Don Domingo Mustich at Whydah, and the active renewal of the slave-trade at that and the neighbouring ports, one of the three vessels forming his expedition having got away with a cargo of slaves. Two other vessels under the American flag were at that time hovering about the slave ports, prepared to take away slaves should the opportunity occur. Several slaves had effected their escape from the barracoons of various slave-dealers, but on their flight to Lagos were unhappily intercepted by the natives, and retained as slaves, or sold. Only twelve of the number having succeeded in reaching Lagos, were liberated by King Docemo, on the interposition of the consul: they were earning an honest livelihood. We regret to say that slaves are not wanting to furnish cargoes for the slave-ships. During the course of 1855 the people of Ibadan invaded a country called Efon, near the Niger; and, after meeting with considerable resistance, succeeded in sweeping off the whole population of the district, to the number, it is said, of 10,000. They returned to Ibadan in September last, bringing with them a number of these unfortunate captives. Finding no purchaser for them in the Ijebu markets, the port of Lagos being now closed to all slave-trading operations, they forwarded them to Whydah. One of our Missionaries, the Rev. J. A. Maser, journeying from Abbeokuta to Ibadan in April last, met some of these poor sufferers, slave boys of about the age of fourteen years, belonging to the Efon tribe, who were being driven down to the coast for sale. It is to be feared that in Mustich and his companions they found ready purchasers, and that, like Dasalu, they have been shipped on board some of the many slave-ships which have been lurking about on that part of the coast.*

We learn from Her Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po, that to the southward of Corisco

the Portuguese and Spaniards are prosecuting the trade in canoes and boats, the slaves being thus transferred, by small instalments, to Prince's and St. Thomas's islands, from which many of them are said to be transported to the Havana. On the Portuguese portion of the coast, looking further south, an American schooner carried off, in the end of March 1855, from a spot called Quicongo, in the neighbourhood of Black Point, 350 slaves, destined for Cuba. Such are the hopes entertained of an active revival of the slave-trade on that part of the coast, that a notorious slave-dealer, Francisco José da Rosa, had clandestinely left Rio de Janeiro for Loanda, by way of Mossamedes and Benguela. The Brazilian Government, convinced, from the known character of the man, that he had slave-trading transactions in view, communicated this information to the British authorities, through our Ambassador at Lisbon.

We may not terminate this review of slave-trading operations on the coast of Africa without reference to certain proceedings in the Sherbro river. The Susu and Mandingo slave-dealers prosecute an active trade in the Sherbro and the adjacent districts, resorting thither in very considerable numbers, and establishing such a system of terrorism, that British subjects, trading in the same neighbourhoods, are afraid to have any communication with the British consul, lest they should be suspected of giving him information as to what was going forward. Thus, in these waters, there is carried on a very active canoe-transport traffic, slaves continuing to be transported almost daily from the Kittam, Gallinas, and Boom countries, to places north of the Sierra-Leone colony. As might be expected, slave-ships hover on this part of the coast, and, no doubt, occasionally succeed in shipping cargoes; but the greater portion of the slaves are transported by canoes to the northward, where they can be shipped in more security. This traffic appears to be so much on the increase, that "whereas formerly the canoes engaged in it usually commenced to come into the southern waters about the end of March and the beginning of April, after the previous year's cargoes had been conveyed away, now, very considerable numbers are reported to be coming in before the old companies have left."† It would be a great misapprehension of the character of this trade to suppose that it is merely for domestic purposes. It is "as really and certainly for purposes of traffic and gain as the trans-oceanic trade, and, in its results, equally calculated to chattelize man and to infringe

* The "shipment" of slaves is the subject of our Frontispiece.

† Mr. Consul Hanson to the Earl of Clarendon, Oct. 1, 1855.



SHIPPING SLAVES THROUGH THE SURF, WEST-AFRICAN COAST. A CRUISER SIGNALLLED IN SIGHT.
(From a Sketch by a merchant on the Coast.)

every right of humanity.”* We are glad to find that several of these canoes have been captured within the British waters—two canoes in December last, about two miles from the Banana islands, with eighty-six slaves on board, and three others on the 14th of January of the present year, in the Sierra-Leone river, about twenty miles from Freetown. No fewer than 119 persons, men, women, boys, and girls, were found packed together in the bottoms of the canoes, as is always the case, in a very confined space, and enduring the torture of a constrained and painful position.

We have thus endeavoured to collect and arrange the various portions of information respecting the African slave-trade which are to be found dispersed in the Blue Books of Correspondence, from April 1855 to March 1856, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. We are free to confess that, to our judgment, the result is any thing but satisfactory. It is evident that a very active trade is being prosecuted by the Súaheli and Arab subjects of the Imam of Muscat; that the Turkish branch on the north coast is in more than usual activity; and that the same may be affirmed of West-African exportation. We are quite aware that the statements of the naval officers in command on the West-African coast are of an opposite character. Commodore Adams, under date of September 26th, 1855, reports that “what little traffic in slaves still continues to exist on this coast is chiefly carried on in American bottoms.” We fear that the American go-betweens find opportunity for much more than a “little traffic;” but the insufficiency of the blockading force accounts for the discrepancy. All the squadrons for the suppression of the slave-trade were diminished on the commencement of the Russian war: the French one dwindled down to a very small number, and our own was greatly reduced. We are informed that it has been reinforced: we should be glad to know whether it be sufficiently so for the exigencies of Africa.

Is the blockading system to be abandoned or otherwise? Some, who unite with us in abhorrence of the slave-trade, pronounce very confidently on the utter uselessness of such a mode of proceeding. The Anti-Slavery Report concludes this to be the case, from the feebleness of the results which have been produced, the number of vessels captured averaging not more than twenty a year. Now, before we pronounce on the abortiveness of the system, it would be prudent, in the first instance, to decide as to what we are justified in expecting from it. What was it intended to do? Let

that point be first decided. It is not just to condemn an instrumentality because it has not answered extravagant expectations. We never dreamed that the squadron would be extirpative in its results; but we believed that, if duly sustained, it would so far repress the intensity of slave-trade proceedings, as to afford opportunity for the really curative agencies to come into action. What are these? Some would reply, Legitimate commerce. But this cannot be extensively and permanently introduced if the native remain indisposed to it, and prefer the slave-trade and its collateral indulgences to the more healthful results of legitimate industry. An influence must be brought to bear on the native mind, which, by imparting light, improving his moral state, and generating new motives and desires, shall afford a basis on which efforts for the promotion of lawful traffic may be based. This is the part of the Christian Missionary. It is the gospel of Christ, and that only, which can thus beneficially influence the native mind. Many, we know, are incredulous of this, and turn away from such a position as unworthy of their notice; but “facts are stubborn things.” Let our readers judge for themselves. There is an interior African town, where, happily, Christian influence has been introduced, and something has been done towards the evangelization of the natives. The chiefs and people of Abbeokuta were once as fond of war and its slave-making excitements as any other tribe on the African coast, and many of them, no doubt, still remain unaltered in this respect; but there are many, also, who are decidedly opposed to slave traffic, as much so as the members of the Anti-Slavery Society themselves. Let us see who they are. Abbeokuta was visited in November of last year by Mr. Consul Campbell. We shall present some extracts from his official account of this visit.

“The vast size of the town, and the extent of the population, appeared to me to exceed all the accounts I had read and heard of it. The town is of great natural strength, being built, in most part, on the sides and at the bases of the range of hills which runs through its whole extent, about five miles, the whole being surrounded by a good wall and ditch, which must have been a work of great labour. The population has been variously estimated at 60,000 and 100,000; but, in my opinion, nearly double the latter number must nightly sleep within the walls. I cannot conceive how a people, having the reputation among the other native tribes of being great warriors, can entertain, as they do, the constant dread of an attack from the king of Dahomey, the extent of whose forces, even during the, to

* Mr. Consul Hanson to the Earl of Clarendon, Oct. 1, 1855.

him, palmy days of the slave-trade, by all accounts never exceeded 15,000 or 16,000 men and women, which the Abbeokutans in the town, reinforced by their brethren from their farms and from the numerous villages around, are able to meet with at least 20,000 fighting men.

"We afterwards rode round to the different stations of the Church Missionary Society, and were much pleased with the neatness, order, and cleanliness of the dwelling-houses, and with the simple and primitive appearance of the churches. It is to be regretted that the chiefs generally do not take the former as a model for their dwellings, which are totally unfit for European habitation. One very intelligent chief, Ogubonna, has made an attempt to improve his house on the model of the Missionaries' houses, and is also not only planting cotton for exportation himself, but encouraging others to do the same: but he is greatly in want of a press, of simple construction, to form it into bales suitable to transport it, in the small canoes of the country, to Lagos.

"In my intercourse with the chiefs, on my private visits to them, and the return visits they made me, they all appeared to entertain the most friendly feelings towards the Missionaries generally. Some of them have sent their children to the schools to remain, and to be brought up by the Missionaries; and it was related to me, that, on one of the bashe-run's wives—a favourite one—becoming a convert to Christianity, the chief sent her two young children to Mr. Townsend's establishment to be reared and instructed. On the whole, a deep impression has been made on the native mind generally at Abbeokuta, and on the chiefs in particular, who appear to feel the value of English friendship. Nothing has tended to make this impression so much as the, to them, inexplicable disinterestedness of England in rescuing their countrymen from the slave-dealers; setting them free in Sierra Leone; the paternal care with which they were treated there; the encouragement given to them to improve their position by trade and commerce; their gratuitous instruction by the Missionaries; the allowing them, at their own will and pleasure, to return to their country with the property they had acquired by their industry, without exacting any portion of it from them; the sending, at great expense, many Missionaries to them, at Abbeokuta and other towns, to instruct and convert them, and all this gratuitously—are circumstances which have not failed to impress a general feeling of respect for the English among the multitude, and the oppressed female sex in particular. In our long rides through various parts of the town,

the streets, and crowded market-places, we were everywhere saluted, in the language of the country, with 'Welcome, white men! Welcome, white men!'

Now, without wishing to exaggerate, it is evident that in this African town there are hopeful appearances, symptoms of a wholesome reaction, which are not to be found, perhaps, in any other native tribe. The liberated Africans of Sierra Leone we do not now speak of: they are in an expatriated state. Here industrial action is abundant, and efforts are being made to carry on commercial intercourse with Europeans. There is hope that the nation will arise from the vast level of misery and degradation in which African tribes and races have been alike confused. What is the nucleus of all this? Mr. Consul Campbell informs us "that the civil government is very weak, and unable to contend with the military chiefs and their numerous followers, who find devoting their time to steady legitimate trade is less profitable, and not so exciting, as going to war and making captives." He recognises the fact, that the well-disposed traders and agriculturists are, in consequence, much interfered with in their peaceful pursuits. There must, therefore, be some strong influence amongst them which enables them to persevere in the face of much discouragement. Let us hear what this is. "These classes are neither so numerous nor so influential as the war-chiefs and their followers; but every convert to Christianity that is made by the Missionary Societies—and they amount now, I am informed, to about 500—is an accession to the number of the peaceful and industrious classes. From accounts which I have received, and in which I confide, the converts to Christianity have given up the slave-trade for ever, and are devoting their time either to agriculture or to trade."* Yes, that is the effective element of improvement. Let Christianity be introduced, and, as it acquires an influence over the people, a firm basis is laid for philanthropic action, and measures for the development of agriculture and commerce may be attempted with every prospect of success.

Now, then, let it be remembered, that, but for the repressive action of the squadron, the establishment of Missionary stations in the interior would have been impossible: the slave-trade, in its imperious ascendancy, never would have permitted it. The earlier history of the West-Africa Mission, before 1816, is demonstrative of this. Moreover, the experience of the two past years is of value. They prove, that if, as some desire, the cruis-

* Mr. Consul Campbell to the Earl of Clarendon October 2, 1855.

were withdrawn, there would be a fearful outbreak of slave-trade operations. Whether our most-advanced Missionary stations are sufficiently matured to enable them to retain their hold amidst the confusion that would ensue, is very doubtful. We trust the experiment will not be tried, and that our blockading squadron, as an instrumentality which as yet cannot be dispensed with, will be strengthened and rendered effective.

Africa and its improvement are well worthy of consideration and effort on the part of England. The commercial capabilities of that continent are vast indeed. Mr. Consul Hutchinson, whose position at Fernando Po is favourable to the formation of a correct judgment on such matters, in a letter dated August 26, 1856, thus expresses his convictions—

“I am very much afraid that up to this time our governmental authorities in England are not aware of the immense extent to which commerce could be developed in Western Africa. This may have originated from many causes—first, from the infamous character of Africa, derived from its slave-trading; secondly, from the deadly name the climate has ever borne, and which, I believe, the self-interest of many merchants—British, to their shame be it said—conducted to keep up; thirdly, from the apathy of officials out here,

being either too indolent, or not penetrating enough, to show forth these advantages. When I state to you that twenty-eight rivers empty themselves into the Bight of Biafra, within my jurisdiction, which extends from Cape Formosa to Cape St. John, a coast distance of nearly five hundred miles, and that from one of these rivers alone above sixteen thousand tons of palm-oil were produced last year, you may imagine what a mine of wealth is waiting development in the interior countries, when I add, that of this number only five are opened for regular trading.”

Let us then persevere, as a nation, in our enterprises of benevolence on behalf of Africa, some in persevering efforts for the evangelization of its people, others in the prosecution of commercial undertakings, the Government continuing to adopt such measures as may best conduce to capture the slave-craft, of whatever kind, and under whatever colours. The efforts of the past have not been lost—nay, they have accomplished more than we could have expected. Only let us persevere. Africa shall yet yield abundant recompense to her friends, commercial harvests to the philanthropic trader, and, to those who aim at higher objects than mere temporal improvement, rich harvests of souls converted to the faith of Christ, for “Ethiopia shall yet stretch out her hands unto God!”

MISSIONARY PROCEEDINGS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF NINGPO.

(Concluded from p. 231.)

We introduce the remaining portion of the Rev. W. A. Russell's letter, the publication of which we commenced in our last Number. Our readers will observe the serious obstruction which the opium smuggling causes to our Missionaries. It is indeed full time that the indignant protest of the British nation should be uttered against a system, in the nefariousness of its proceedings not inferior to the slave-trade on the coast of Africa: “it is desolating China, corrupting its government, and bringing the fabric of that extraordinary empire to a state of more rapid dissolution.”*

“On a recent occasion, when addressing a large number of persons at a village called Sing-ko', just as we concluded we observed an odd-looking character, with a very arch expression of countenance, in appearance and manner not at all unlike one of my own countrymen in Ireland, pushing his way through the crowd, until he came within a few feet of where we were standing, when he com-

menced as follows—‘You have come to exhort us all to be good. Well, exhorting men to be good is a very good thing. But, after all, what is the use of it? Just look round about upon them all. You see they are all opium-smokers; and just think, what is the use of exhorting opium-smokers to be good.’ On this there was a general laugh amongst the crowd at our expense, as they perfectly understood the sly slap therein conveyed to us, for our supposed inconsistency in exhorting them to be good, and at the same time vitiating them with our opium. ‘Well,’ said the catechist in reply, taking our funny friend by the hand in quite a familiar way, ‘just let me tell you a little history about myself and family. I will commence with my grandfather. My grandfather was a man of very independent fortune, with every kind of comfort and luxury about him he could possibly desire. One day he happened to be walking in the streets of Ningpo, when he met a foreigner selling a new kind of merchandize he had never seen or

* Mr. M. Martin. Min. of Evidence.

heard of before. Observing a number of persons about this foreigner purchasing his merchandize with great eagerness, and thinking it must be something very good, he inquired of the foreigner what merchandize he had got, and what were its uses. "Oh!" he replied, "the merchandize I have got is called 'a-pein (opium). It has come from the far west. It is an opiate of wonderful efficacy: it possesses the power of soothing and quieting the feelings, however ruffled by the vicissitudes and trials of life: it is capable of renovating and invigorating the springs of animal life, however weakened by sickness and disease. In fact, its properties and uses are so numerous and so excellent, that I could not at present possibly detail them all to you. Do but purchase a little, and make the experiment for yourself." "Oh," said my grandfather, "as you represent it to be of such wonderful utility, I shall be happy to purchase a small quantity, and put it to the test." And so he did, and, as you may imagine, was soon the victim of a vice from which he could never extricate himself, squandering both his life and fortune on the awful delusion. When he died, leaving but a moiety of the property to my father, yet still a sufficiency to maintain him in comparative comfort and ease, my father began to reflect on the virtues of my grandfather, which he felt, as a dutiful son, he ought closely to mark and imitate; and so, not thinking it proper to discriminate between the vices and virtues in a parent, but rather to regard all as the latter, he soon persuaded himself that even his opium-smoking must be a good and virtuous act, worthy of the imitation of a filial son; and thus he, too, betook himself to the opium-pipe, became its wretched victim, squandered away the remainder of the ancestral patrimony, and, at length, died in poverty and disgrace. Well, next I appeared on the stage, penniless and friendless. Feeling that something must be done to secure for myself a maintenance in life, I got myself apprenticed to a tailor, and, in process of time, by my exertions, scraped together a sufficiency to purchase a wife and set myself going in the world. Well, as I was thus getting on comfortably and nicely, I happened to go one day into an opium den, where I found several of my fellow-tradesmen reclining on stretchers, inhaling the fumes of this destructive narcotic. On observing my appearance amongst them, my friends immediately accosted me in a very cordial manner, inviting me to sit down and have a pipe." "No," said I, "I know already enough of the ruinous effects of opium-smoking to beware of having any thing to do with it. It proved the ruin of

both my grandfather and father, and I am not going to involve myself in the same wretchedness." "Oh!" said they, "taking it habitually is, of course, a very ruinous thing, both to life and property; but an occasional whiff now and then does not signify. As an occasional indulgence you will find it most exhilarating and strengthening. Your alarm about it is really uncalled for. Come, at all events, have a single pipe." Well, in another moment I was reclining beside one of my companions, so." Here the catechist put up both his hands to his mouth in imitation of an opium-smoker. When our funny friend observed this, though very quiet and attentive during the preceding part of the story, he could contain himself no longer, so called out to the catechist to get down; that he would not listen to him any longer. 'No,' said the catechist, 'I must finish.' 'Now,' said he, 'we will admit, if you choose, that my grandfather, in his ignorance of the ruinous effects of this abominable drug, might have been reasonably deceived by the plausible recommendations of an unprincipled foreigner to try it as an experiment; but surely for me, with the warnings of two generations before me, there can be no excuse.' Here the catechist concluded, whereupon I commenced to tell them, that though I entirely accorded with the conclusion to which the catechist came, and at the same time admitted the unprincipled character of any foreigner who, either openly or covertly, attempted to seduce the people into the vile habit of opium-smoking; yet that I could not allow any impression to remain on their minds that either I myself, or any of my Missionary brethren who go about preaching the religion of Jesus, have any connexion with this abominable opium business in any shape or form: after which we all separated on the most friendly terms.

"On another occasion, when the same subject was brought up at the close of our addresses, apparently with the view of weakening the effect of what had been said by exhibiting our supposed connexion with this horrible traffic, the catechist made use of the following illustration. He represented himself as a pedlar, with a bag slung across his shoulder, containing two kinds of merchandize, one freely distributed to all applicants, without money and without price, beneficial to both body and soul; the other ruinous alike to both, for which a very heavy price must be paid. For the latter, thousands and millions were willing to sacrifice both their fortunes and their lives; while for the former few were ready so much as to stretch forth their hands and receive it as a gift; de-

ducing therefrom, that, even on their own ungrounded supposition of the connexion of opium with Christianity—one, the dearest and most ruinous of all stimulants, the other, the most free and precious of all blessings—still they, in preferring the former above the latter, had principally to blame themselves.

“Here I would repeat a remark I made in a former letter, to the effect that, notwithstanding the facility with which the objections made by the Chinese against Christianity, from our supposed connexion with the opium-trade, may be replied to, and the weight of the objection principally turned upon themselves, yet that I cannot help regarding this trade, and the connexion many of our countrymen have with it, as the most formidable external obstacle with which we have to contend in our efforts to propagate the Gospel of our blessed Lord amongst this people. We cannot take a single step, or make a single move, that it does not seem to be continually staring us in the face. When lately going to the house I have rented in the country, my black trunk was laid in the front part of the boat, which, to my astonishment, elicited the remark from many a passer-by that it was a box containing opium, which we were coming to dispose of in that part of the country; and when I reached my house I was still more astonished to find several opium-smokers constantly coming to inquire whether we really were not going to open an opium hong in their neighbourhood. As such developments of the sentiments of the people with reference to our object in coming amongst them were continually transpiring, how did my inmost soul burn with holy jealousy for the honour of my Master and His blessed truth. But though I felt keenly on the subject, yet did the Lord permit me in one or two instances to see it apparently overruled for good. Of the number of opium-smokers who visited us on these occasions, one was induced, by our exhortations, to accompany us to Ningpo, and put himself under the care of Dr. Parker, to see if he could enable him to break off the vile habit. In this, I am happy to say, Dr. Parker thoroughly succeeded, enabling him to return, after a residence of about twenty days amongst us, quite free from the cravings of his opium-pipe. During his stay, part of the time in Dr. Parker’s hospital, and the remainder in my house, he received a good deal of instruction on the subject of Christianity, in which he seemed much interested. On his return to his native place he was instrumental in inducing two more of his opium companions to come to Ningpo to get cured of the habit, and has also come a second time

himself, to make an application for baptism, for which I trust he may soon be fitted, if he is not already, by Him who alone can change the heart.

“Here I would take the liberty of paying a well-merited tribute of praise to Dr. Parker, of the Chinese Evangelization Society, referred to above, for the very generous and unsectarian spirit with which, during his residence at Ningpo, now about a year, he has been devoting his able services to the alleviation of the physical sufferings of this people; thus preparing a way for the introduction of the balm of Gilead to many a diseased and perishing soul, with whom, otherwise, we should never have been brought into contact. About three months ago Dr. Parker commenced a dispensary at one of our chapels, attending gratuitously all who came there three times in the week. At first, the number of patients did not amount to more than twenty or thirty each day: now, however, it has increased to near a hundred; and probably in a little time will be considerably more, from the reputation for skill which the good doctor has already acquired amongst all who have consulted him. Previous to his prescribing for his patients, all assemble in the chapel to listen to one or more addresses on each occasion, either from a native catechist or one of ourselves, on the subject of Christianity. In addition to the many indirect advantages of allaying the prejudices of the people towards foreigners, and awakening within them more confidence in us as their real friends, which will naturally attend such a course, there has already been developed from amongst his patients one case of apparently real conversion, in which the Lord, by the instrumentality of His servant, has not only been pleased to restore physical sight to eyes almost perfectly blind, but also spiritual light to a still more dark and benighted soul. From the apparently large field of usefulness which would seem to be opened up to him in this place, Dr. Parker is exceedingly anxious to carry out his operations on a far more extensive scale than has yet been practicable for him, from the want of adequate funds. In order to do so he must necessarily be provided with a large, well-built hospital. The whole sum required for the erection of such an hospital would not be more than 2500 dollars or so (about 500*l.*). Some benevolent friends might feel disposed to assist in so humane and Christian an undertaking. All subsequent expenses in the conducting of it, &c., will be borne by Dr. Parker himself.

“We have had some difficulties with reference to our house in the ‘Eo-san-poh district; but the result, on the whole, appears to be

that the people seem to look upon us now more favourably than ever, which is manifested in a variety of ways, and which leads us to admire the wonder-working hand of Him who turneth the hearts of the children of men as seemeth good in His sight. To Him alone must we ascribe all the glory for any thing which we or others may be enabled to effect in advancing His cause and kingdom. Since the above, several respectable Chinese, from this district, have come to Ningpo to visit me, and some eight or ten have spent some days in my house; so that I cannot help regarding all that has occurred as a marked indication from above that the Saviour has many wandering sheep in this place, which He will have us guide into His own fold. May we be endowed with grace and strength for our work, whatever it may be! As it is now the 14th of July, about

the hottest time of the hot season, we cannot hope to do much itinerating work until it is over. When, however, the weather allows, I trust we may be permitted to gird up our loins, and go forth with renewed energy and strength to our glorious work.

"The indications of God's blessing and Spirit accompanying our labours are not confined to the district principally referred to above, but seem also to extend to the people of this city. During the last month I have had more sincere inquirers after truth, and more applications for baptism, from the people of Ningpo, than I have experienced in the same amount of time in any previous year; and all this, while it calls for thankfulness and praise on our part for what has been already done, yet demands increasing watchfulness and prayer, that the good work may be carried on to perfection."

MISSIONARY WORK IN CHINA.

Narrative of a Tour in the interior of Chekeang Province, by the Rev. R. H. Colbold, M.A.
(Concluded from p. 240.)

Hospitality at the house of a Chinese official. The city of Yu-nyi, and distribution of books. Course down the river. The city of Kinghwa. Pagoda of the myriad Buddhas. Orange gardens and the Tallow-tree. Interference of the authorities, and interview with the Che-keen, who receives books. An opium-smoking room. Police escort so far as the city of Lan-ke. Its importance of position. The harmlessness of a Chinese mob. Proceed down the river, and visit a large town on its banks. Boatman's idolatrous offering. The city of Neen-chau. An idol festival. Grandeur of the river. Fu-yeang and Nyi-gyiao. Difficulty of procuring a boat from fear of the authorities. Shaou-hing, a city ten miles in circuit, with half a million of population. Book distribution through its crowded thoroughfares. Return to Ningpo.

"OUR assistant having an acquaintance about four miles in the country, with a government officer who was in place in the province of Sze-chuen, expressed a desire to go and call there, for the brother of this officer was a scholar, and on terms of friendship with Mr. Lu. So we set out just at sunset, leaving Mr. Rankin to take care of the boat. The conversation of our chair-bearers, as they jogged along, was quite unintelligible: if I had only just arrived in the country it could not be more so, and Mr. Lu was equally at fault: he could only compare it to the twittering of swallows, the usual Ningpo comparison of the language of the Fokien men. The officer having taken a very high degree, that of tsing-sze, his house was well known through all that region, and we were obliged to make our call with some degree of formality. The only member of the family at home was an elder brother, who acted the part of house-steward. He was quite a homely sort of person, and, if we had not known his character, he would have seemed barely civil. A frugal supper of vermicelli with slices of pork went part of the way towards satisfying our craving appetite, and the evening was one of no particular interest.

We were shown early to our bedroom, a large square room with cement floor, without a strip of carpet, bare brick walls, not even plastered, one chair, a small table, and one bed, and that not of very large dimensions. This was my first attempt at sleeping under the same coverlid with a Chinese, for no bedclothes even were provided for us: those I had brought with me did duty for us both. We were very sorry not to find the younger brother at home, for he is said to be very intelligent, and would have much enlivened our evening. He was away in the country, engaged in some idolatrous service for the purpose of benefiting his health. On the following morning Lu announced his intention of staying here the day, and joining us, if possible, at Kinghwa. It appears that a debt was due to him from a family residing a few miles off, and, though there did not seem much prospect of recovering it, he did not like to pass so close by the place without the effort. I therefore took my leave after an early breakfast, and found the boatmen all ready to start. My indefatigable companion had been already all through the place with his bundles of books, so that we had nothing to wait for, but started about nine o'clock.

"On our way down, the only particular object of interest was a pagoda by the side of the stream, which we visited. It had a staircase to the summit, built in the outer wall, as is frequently the case, the only difference being, that at each story the staircase led round to the opposite side and then ascended again. There were 147 steps, which gave about 120 feet as the height of the building. A Buddhist monastery was built in the vicinity of the tower, and a village stood at some distance off, which did not seem of sufficient importance to justify a visit. On our way down the stream we occasionally landed, where the presence of a village led us to hope that the distribution of books would be of service.

"The waters of the stream were very shallow, and in full daylight the navigation of our boat was no easy matter: shallows were continually occurring; and large blocks of stone, lying just underneath the surface of the water, frequently threatened the destruction of our boat, so that at night we were obliged to lie by the bank. As we were anxious to visit the walled city of Vu-nyi, which lay about a mile from the main branch of the river, we made our boatmen land us at daylight on the bank. While we walked, a pagoda, similar in appearance and structure to that of yesterday, looked very imposing as it loomed through the thick morning fog. We took with us a servant, and one of our boatmen. As we walked down the chief street, and handed in our books to the shops, we saw with what diffidence they were received, fear being felt lest we should come and demand payment for our gift. We had made up some larger parcels for the che-been and the public tutor, an important functionary at all these cities, whose acquaintance is well worth making: he has under his nominal superintendence all the graduates of the city, and is supposed to take some pains in carrying them forward in their studies, though here, as at home, the system of private has taken the place of public tutorship. On our return through the city more confidence was shown; and when it was known that the books were really gifts, we were followed by a great crowd, clamorous for them. The officer at the ya-mun sent to inquire our business, our country, our names, &c., and also said that he would like to see us at his office. In all the former requests we gratified him, but not in the latter, fearing that the ceremonial of Chinese etiquette might delay us longer on our journey than was agreeable to us. We waited outside the city gates for our servant, and, as several minutes elapsed before he appeared, we felt sure that he had been

taken up by the authorities. After an anxious retracing of our steps, we found him taking his breakfast in an eating-shop. He had, however, been before the authorities, and answered their questions as to our position in the country, and the reason of our visit to their city. We learned afterwards that he had exceeded his authority, representing us as on terms of intimacy with the taou-tai of Ningpo; and when he was asked if more books could be had, he said that by sending a card to the boat they would be given.

"Our course down the river was very tedious: the boat was continually touching the bottom, and we were stopped by rafts of goods coming up from Lan-ke, and some from the district of Che-chau, which were conveying green dye down the stream to Hang-chau and its neighbourhood. We had hoped to arrive by nightfall within a few miles of Kinghwa, but the delays we met with, and also a strong head-wind, which made our light boat almost unmanageable, caused us to stop short of it by nearly twenty miles. We had the opportunity of visiting some stone-quarries on the bank, but there was nothing worthy of note in them: much more extensive quarries of the same character are found about fifteen miles from Ningpo.

"*Nov. 1*.—We had a cold gusty morning to usher in the month of November, and were glad of a run on shore to warm ourselves. By nine o'clock we sighted the lofty tower of Kinghwa, which stands about the centre of the city. It was, however, still five miles off, and we were an hour and a half before we brought our boat to the bank under the walls of the city. Having already made up our bundles of books, we went out at once, and lost no time in scattering them along the principal thoroughfare. We could but notice the great cleanliness of this, as compared with other Chinese cities; and the shop fronts were quite equal to those in the best parts of Ningpo. What surprised us still more was the similarity of the dialect. From the language of the shopmen I should not have known that I was not walking through the streets of Ningpo.

"We made our way directly to the pagoda, both from a desire to see this very fine structure, and also thinking that it would be a convenient place for the people to gratify their curiosity. Plenty of guides accompanied us, and we led through the street with a noisy rabble at our heels. The tower is ornamented outside by thousands of Buddhas carved in relief on the stone, and from this circumstance the building is called the 'Pagoda of the myriad Buddhas.' It was in a very high

state of repair in all but the staircase, which did not ascend higher than the fifth story. Even this elevation was considerable, and afforded us a good view of the city, its suburbs, and the surrounding country. One feature of the city, differing from that of others we had visited, was the presence of orange-gardens. A large quantity of this fruit comes from this region and the not very distant city of Gyü-tsui. The whole of the plain for miles round had a red tint from the presence of large quantities of the tallow-tree. The candles of this district are noted for their cheapness and goodness. There are eight gates in the city walls, which are now, apparently, in good repair, though we heard that more than a century back part had been destroyed by the Manchows, on account of the insubordination of the Kinghwa people. When we had feasted our eyes sufficiently with the view, we descended, and found, as we had expected, a crowd waiting our arrival. To these I spoke for some time, and, having concluded, an elderly man, fearing that my foreign accent might not be understood by others so well as by himself, took upon him to recapitulate the subjects of my address. He did not, however, proceed further than the statement of the great moral principles of truth, leaving the work of Jesus untouched upon. I therefore asked him to tell the people what they must do if they felt that they had come short of fulfilling the excellent precepts they had just heard. Here he was at a loss. As is generally the case, he had apprehended the morality of our teaching, but had failed to see its distinctive feature. At this point I was rejoiced to hear another person, a young man apparently in business, take up the matter, and say, 'Yes, this is the point you have missed: it is because we have all come short of fulfilling the dictates of conscience, and are sinners, that this stranger comes to us telling of Jesus, who can release from sin.' Here, then, I felt sure that the crowd around had opportunity of hearing an accurate though brief statement of gospel truth. My chief regret was that the very intelligent shopkeeper had to be left so soon to grope his way to the light of day, as we may trust he will by the books we left with him. Returning to our boat to dinner, we went out in the afternoon in the same way, and were meditating whether our friend Mr. Lu would join us, when a note came from him to say he could not get away, and he would follow us to Ningpo.

"We felt we had now done all we could well do on a first visit, and were proposing to start, when we heard that our boatman had been taken before the authorities and beaten. The

former was true, the latter false. He had to appear before the cheheen to give an account of us, and this frightened him and his men, and they refused to go any further with us. There was, therefore, no help for it but to go boldly into the cheheen's office, and pay our respects, and ask permission to proceed. After a kind of rebuke from his chief officer for coming so far from our residences, we were admitted into the cheheen's room. We found a pleasant man, mild in manner, and probably under the influence of the rough-tongued officer mentioned above. He said that we should proceed on our journey in the morning; that he must send two policemen to accompany us as far as the next city; that he was afraid the people might be rude at our strange appearance—pointing to our clothes—which was so different from their own. We replied, that he need be under no concern; that we came purposely to mix with the people, and desired that they should come together to hear us preach; that in every city through which we had passed we had met with nothing but civility; but if he were pleased to trouble himself to send attendants with us, we could say nothing, save to express our hope that we might not be hindered on our journey, as we were now anxious to reach Ningpo as soon as possible. He said we could start as soon as we pleased in the morning: the policemen should sleep in a boat alongside of us. He received with pleasure some of our books. A geography, with some engravings representing national costumes, foreign vessels, buildings, carriages, &c., is generally considered a great prize: it contains, in an easy, though unidiomatic style, much information on the points it professes to treat of.

"In the evening we went out to distribute books in the shops that lay outside the city walls, and, in our way, went by mistake into an opium smoking-room, where our presence caused quite a sensation. One young man declared he was not a smoker; another, with the pipe ready charged, said also something to the same effect. I said, sternly, they ought all to be taken to the authorities, which frightened them still more, and glad were they to be let off with only a lecture on their malpractice.

"The only rudeness we met from the people, which indeed is hardly to be reckoned a rudeness at all, is in their calling us 'Kwei-tze,' or, 'Devil's children:' it is a term often employed in a contemptuous way, sometimes because they have no other term by which to designate us. The Portuguese are said to have done what they could to perpetuate it, when they, hearing the people call them by this name, and not waiting to inquire into its

meaning, or not caring to alter the term, styled themselves Kwei-tsze. The same may be said of the term 'hung maon,' or, 'red-haired men': it is rather a term used because they have no other by which we are familiarly distinguished, than with any intention of insulting us. Some Missionaries are in the habit of using this term of themselves, saying, 'We 'hung mao' men do so and so; thus, so far as they can, tending to perpetuate it. Once, in travelling with a fellow Missionary who wore a black neckerchief, while I had a white one, I was asked whether, in our country, the black and the white ties formed the distinction between the black Kwei-tsze, and the white Kwei-tsze. If called by this name, I have often simply replied by quoting a Chinese sentence, which runs, 'Within the boundaries of the four seas all are brethren,' which generally has the desired effect. Night soon turned the fatigues and anxieties of the day into veriest shadows; and I do not know that the vision of the cheheen's office came across my mind at all till the following morning. The only anxiety we had was whether the policemen would interfere with our boatmen, and hinder their proceeding; but our fears on this score were put to rest when we arrived at Lan-ke, after which we were permitted to go on our way without further interference. Our arrival was probably reported to the cheheen, and he very wisely thought it was not worth while interfering with us.

"The city of Lan-ke is of as much note as any inland city in the province, not from its size, but from its commerce, which, of course, depends upon its position. It occupies a very central point. The navigation of the Tsientang river is quite easy all the way from Hangchau, and Nyin-tsui, Gyü-tsui, and Kinghwa, are all within easy distance. These three are cities of the second class; and there are many others of the third class which are equally accessible. The bustle and business of Lan-ke had not been overstated: though with narrow streets, and, of course, very filthy, yet there were grander-looking shops and larger warehouses than at most of the other places we had been through. As we made our appearance in the streets we gathered an enormous tail, which made any other movement than that in a straight line almost impossible. Some of the hucksters by the road-side must have rued our visit: it was hardly to be expected that some stalls and baskets would not be upset in such a tumult. The people led the way, i.e. directed us to the che-heen's office, where we had no desire to enter: so, on our arrival there, we turned off to find the ching wang meau. Here was gathered in a few moments one of

the largest crowds, and the noisiest, that we had seen in our journey: it was impossible to gain a hearing for more than two or three sentences. All were anxious to see us, and each had his own remarks to make concerning us. Generally speaking, what a harmless crowd a Chinese mob is! How easy a thing it would have been to have insulted us, pelted us, torn our clothes, blackened our faces, or done us a hundred other indignities, for invading the privileged quiet of their internal cities! But no thought of this seems to have crossed any mind: the usual good nature, and, where there was room for its exercise, politeness, shone in every one's face and in every one's behaviour; and, fearing lest we should be alarmed at so immense a concourse, some bade us not fear, for the people were very quiet. I have no doubt the officer in his ya-mun was much more afraid than we were, and not without reason, for any disturbance among the people, on our account, would lose him his office, if not his head. Our voice, which could only be heard at its pitch, was soon exhausted. How much our message was understood we could not venture to say: it was at least made known that we were not merchants, but scholars, and that we came to speak to them of Jesus and a future state.

"Leaving the temple we went to find our boat, which we had left before arriving at the place, and had ordered to wait for us at one of the wharfs, or rather boat-stations. We might have looked a long time among the throng of boats for that we had come in, but the boatmen had not long to look for us: persons who travelled with the retinue we had were easily recognised, and it was not long before our old boatman came to call us. His features had much relaxed of the anxious expression they had worn since leaving Kinghwa, and by his great willingness to take us on, even to Hangchau if we liked, we knew that he must have heard something favourable from the policemen's boat. The water being very fleet, it was impossible to stay opposite Lan-ke; for, besides those who hired boats to throng round ours, there were hundreds up to their middle in the water, so great was the desire both to see us, and procure a book. Not having very many New Testaments or tracts left, we did not care to stay longer in this most noisy place, but moved off, standing at the head of our boat to give all a good view of us, hoping that, on the occasion of our next visit, the curiosity might be somewhat reduced.

"There is a branch of the main river here, which runs off to the extreme western boundaries of the province: the addition of its waters much deepened and enlarged the river we

were on, so that there would be no more difficulty now of travelling by night as well as by day if we desired it. As we descended the stream we saw a large town on its banks, which we were glad to stop at for a short time. It did not seem to boast of many scholars: we only heard of one with a literary degree, whom we found out, and gave him some of the more valuable of our books: for the rest we only distributed small tracts in shops. On returning to the wharf where we had landed, our boat was nowhere to be seen; and on my inquiring for it, a man pointed to a boat with a tall white sail very much like ours, which was proceeding rapidly up the stream, back to Lan-ke. As I had just given the boatman two dollars, I thought that he had certainly played us a trick, especially as our servant was also away, in the town, making purchases. I had just quieted my anxiety under the circumstances, when I saw Mr. Rankin, and communicated to him my fears. While we were standing together a person beckoned us, and said our boat was lower down the stream. This I thought was only a ruse to take us off from immediate pursuit: still, we followed the direction indicated, and found, to our joy, that the boat was still there, and only waiting the arrival of our servant to start. Towards evening, our boatman, who was now quite happy, having made a good bargain with us, and having been freed from all dread of interference on the part of the authorities, made his simple offering to some unknown spirit, in whom he trusted for success in his little trading concerns. While I was accusing him in thought of running away from us with all our baggage, he was making the purchases requisite for this offering; first, a string of tinsel paper, which he lit, and, as the paper burnt close up to his hand, let fall into the stream; two or three bows followed this; then he poured out a cup of wine and offered it, bowed in the same way, and all was over. He sat down to smoke his pipe, complacent, no doubt, in the thought that now his conscience would have nothing to accuse him of on the score of neglect to the unknown being he had been sacrificing to. Though his dialect was rather strange to us, yet we managed, by words and gestures, to tell him that he might save his money, and worship One who could really protect him in this life, and give him a portion in everlasting blessedness. Probably he thought, though he said nothing, that the way of his fathers and his way was best for him, and ours was best for us.

"Nov. 3.—Having yielded to the wishes of the boatman, and anchored by the bank all night, we started this morning an hour before daylight, and about seven o'clock went on

shore to see what opportunities there were of meeting with people. We passed a large village, but the inhabitants were only just awake; and as the place did not boast of a school, or a scholar with a literary degree, we did not delay. Our walk was along the bank of the river for about two miles, when we were glad to hail our boat again and get breakfast. We had not long finished this meal when we saw the pagoda, which stands over against Neen-chau, which is a fuh, or second class city. The main branch of the river does not run immediately under the walls of the place, but leaves it about half a mile off: a small branch stream, at this season very shallow and very rapid, runs close under the walls by the south gate, passes on to the heen city of Jing-en, and thence there is carriage, partly by water partly by land, to Nankin. This is the route taken now frequently by goods which have to reach the head-quarters and capital of the insurgents, and we saw a large gang of men at the junction of the two streams engaged in towing heavily-laden boats to a point where the stream is less rapid.

"That this position is one now of some importance was evidenced by the existence of a mud battery and encampment of soldiers ten miles below Neenchau, on the high banks of the river. The battery mounted eighteen large guns, and had a thorough sweep of the river: tents were pitched both inside and outside of the defences. Not thinking it worth while to have our boat pushed up against the rapids, we left it at the point nearest to the city, and entered by the east gate about half-past nine o'clock. All the eastern quarter of Neenchau is very sparsely inhabited, and it was not until we touched the street running north and south that we found much signs of business, and even here trade did not appear in a very thriving condition, though it is noted in Du Halde for its varnish and its paper manufacture. The whole place was given up to idolatry: it was a great fast, and no fish, flesh, or fowl, could our servant purchase. Across the streets were hung gay strings of coloured paper, inscribed with Chinese sentences and mottoes. The festival was in honour of no particular divinity, but was a time of general fasting and praying for continuance of prosperity. Possibly on this account the people were more willing to listen to the exhortation to seek after one God, who had the absolute power of bestowing good, and of averting evil, in His own hands.

"After visiting one of the pagodas which crowned the hill on the river's bank, we started again on our homeward course. The river was here quite a noble stream, running

between lofty hills—sometimes bold and precipitous, and craggy, with high peaks lying back, some three thousand feet high; sometimes soft and lovely, clothed to their summits with varieties of the pine, and with the bambú in their deep recesses.

“Large boats laden with firewood and charcoal, the produce of the hill country, were on their way down to Hangchau, and other boats, with salt and other necessary inland commodities, were on their way up the stream from the sea.

“The next day was Sunday, which was very quiet. We landed at one city, called D'ong-lu, but the rain prevented many people from being without doors, and even the arrival of the two foreigners had no power to move them out from their shops into the rain and the muddy streets. We stayed but an hour here, and were not sorry to have a little time for quiet reading, the excuse for which the rain readily afforded us.

“Nov. 5—By day light we had reached Fu-yeang, a place in the jurisdiction of Hangchau: it is noted for the quantity of lime manufactured there. It seemed a thriving place of trade; but the same cause which operated yesterday was in force also to-day, viz. the rain, and people did not care to come and see us: we therefore moved on for Nyi gyiao, which we hoped to reach before dark. Nyi gyiao is about twenty miles from Hangchau, and is a great terminus for boats from various directions: there is quite a network of streams all meeting here, consequently the place is one of considerable notoriety, though in itself it has nothing remarkable. We sent our servant to hire us a canal boat, for we had at this point to leave the Tsin-tang river. He did not appear again for more than an hour, and we began to fear that some difficulty had arisen, which was indeed the case. Afraid of the authorities, the boatmen positively refused to take foreigners, and we heard that, some time ago, some boat-offices were severely fined for allowing foreigners to have a boat in the neighbourhood of Shaou-hing, which important city we had to pass. Any line leading, as that from Shaou-hing does, direct to Hangchau, is very jealously guarded. Hearing that the place was in the jurisdiction of the heen of Seaou san, we told the boat-office that we should be obliged to proceed by chair there, and see the che-been, and ask to be sent on to Ningpo. This rather alarmed them, and it was suggested that we should see a small mandarin, who had some authority in the place. We met with great civility in calling at his office, and the fears of the boatmen were somewhat quieted.

We procured a large boat, very comfortable

after our rather confined quarters of the last week. On leaving Nyi gyiao we had to pass a bridge on which was built a small station-house, which every thing entering or leaving Nyi gyiao, in this direction, must pass close by. We were of course challenged, and the officer of customs there expressed his alarm at our proposal of going to Seaou-san. We said, therefore, that we would not go if he did not wish it, but proceed direct to Shaou-hing. This much pleased him, and I further won his favour by presenting him with a cut-glass dish, the only present of any value I had left. Here in the East small presents are very valuable, often in the place of money, both as return for a night's lodging or some civility. Pictures from the 'Illustrated News' are much prized, and any thing in cut or coloured glass is much valued and admired.

“We had an enormous boat, ornamented with a head and eyes like some great river-monster, and we moved with slow and solemn pace all through the night, and learnt at day-break that we had yet twenty miles to go to reach Shaou-hing. About breakfast time we landed at an important place on the bank of the canal, named Ko gyiao. As our books were nearly out, we could only leave one here and one there as memorials of our visit. All along the canal, fenced off from the boat-track, was a large breadth of water sown with the species of nut called 'ling,' the *trapa bicornis* of botanists: it was just the season for gathering it, which is done by men, women, and boys, who use a light boat, or often simply a large water-tub, and paddle in among the matted surface of the water.

“By about noon we reached Shaou-hing, and went along the northern face of the walls to that gate of the city from which the canal branches off to Pakwun.

“As we had written a letter to Ningpo about a fortnight ago, ordering some packages of books to be sent to this place, we were anxious, if possible, to find them out; but how was this to be done? Here was a city of about ten miles in circuit round its walls, containing a population of about half a million of inhabitants; and how could a few bundles of books, sent without any direction—for we did not know where to tell our friends to direct—find us. I thought, however, that, if we could not find the books, perhaps the books could find us; so I took steps accordingly. Mr. Rankin was not feeling at all well, so I took half a dozen tracts in my pocket, and my umbrella in my hand, and went, without any one accompanying me, straight into the city, where no foreigner, at least openly, had been before. I never felt more perfectly self-possessed and at my ease. When the language is acquired well, and the

character of the people is well known, the two most formidable obstacles are removed. The city contains, as some others of the province do, two 'heens': consequently there were two ching wang meaus; and, when I asked my way, the people asked me which I meant of the two. It was perfectly indifferent to me, so I let them escort me to the one they thought best. On my way I saw the temple of the spirit of fire, so I entered it, and the court was filled in a moment. 'Who is this spirit of fire?' I asked. No one knew: they very seldom do know much about their gods. 'And the spirit of wealth,' I asked, 'and other deities, who are they? You know not. Well, I will tell you. There is but one Spirit who can protect and bless you,' &c. It was soon a confusion of tongues, and my single voice could not maintain its superiority long against the thousand clamorous tongues of the people. I soon passed on, finding out the chief temples and monasteries, and saying a few striking words at each, and proceeding through all the principal parts of the city, a great crowd of course following. As I was nearing the south gate, and had just entered into a temple to speak again, I was addressed by my name, and saw a person familiar to me, who had been entrusted with the books we were looking for. 'Oh, you are here,' I said: 'are the books come?' 'Yes, I arrived yesterday.' 'How many have you brought?' 'Two burdens and a half. They are in the city.' 'Well, come to our boat, and we will settle about getting them.' The books having thus found me, as I had anticipated, I found my way back to our boat, and reported my success. As the evening fell, we moved into the heart of the city, canals traversing it in all directions; and for two hours in the evening we bound all the books, about three thousand, in parcels of from thirty to fifty each, and engaged a man with two boxes to accompany us on the morrow, on our work of distribution. If the people who were passing and repassing our boat on the bank had guessed who we were, and what we had, they would not have left us so quiet.

"Nov. 7—After a quiet sleep in the great city, we rose early, and set out as soon as the shops were open. After an hour's real hard physical labour in distribution, we returned to our boat for breakfast, and made ready to go out again about nine o'clock. The people were waiting for us in crowds, and the great difficulty was to effect a start. We put our books, save the bundles we each had in our hands, into two tea-boxes, and the man was ordered to follow us down the street—a useless order, for it was utterly impossible. The crowd, on his first exit from the boat, made a rush, and, if I had not come to the rescue, our

fifty tract bundles would all have been distributed in five minutes. I rebuked the people for their rudeness, put the lid on the box, and told the man to go off to a part of the city which we had before appointed, walking a few steps of the way with him to ensure a safe passage through the crowd. After this, we had no more trouble, save what arose from the great physical labour of working our way through such dense masses of people for about two miles of narrow street. The shops on either side were supplied: any distribution among the crowd was out of the question. The moment we stopped, it was with the utmost difficulty that we prevented all the books from being torn out of our hands. Our struggle through this crowd of human beings lasted just two hours, and it was not till the next day, when every bone in my body ached, that I knew how severe the labour was that I had been through. The books were supplied us from the boxes from time to time: a person we had hired managed this very cleverly, coming into the main street every now and then, as he thought our supply must be finished.*

"The road hence to Ningpo has been so frequently travelled, that is not worth while detailing the places through which we passed. A favourable wind brought us to Ningpo by two o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of November. This is perhaps the most extensive journey that has been taken into the interior of China in foreign costume. Of the thirteen walled cities visited, only three or four had ever been entered before, and the country through which we passed was equally ignorant of the foreigner's appearance. Home was very refreshing to us after our fatiguing journey; but so great were the encouragements we met with, and so many mercies by the way—so much opportunity for usefulness among tens of thousands who had never before so much as heard whether there were any Saviour of sinners—that we were meditating and planning another break away from home before the year should close. This was afterwards accomplished, in company with another brother of the same Mission, as my journal for the month of December will show. The word has gone forth, and we know who said, 'it shall not return void, but shall accomplish that which God pleases, and prosper in the thing whereunto He has appointed it.' The seed has been sown, and shall not the Great Husbandman cause some of it to fall on good ground, where it may bring forth thirty, sixty, or an hundred fold.

* We omit a description of the tomb of Yu, by some called the Chinese Noah, which was published as an extract in the "Church Missionary Record" of August last.

CUBA AND ITS SLAVE TRAFFIC.

WE must now return to Dasalu, whom we left on board the slave-ship, bound for Cuba, with its suffering freight of men, women, and children, and a crew of nine in number, of whom the carpenter was an Englishman. All the slaves had been fettered in order to be shipped: but so soon as they had been placed on board the vessel their bonds were loosed, and they were stowed away, the men below, the women above in the poop, and the boys and girls, to the number of eighty, consigned to the boats on the sides of the vessel, and covered over with canvass. Many a load of human sorrow has thus made its transit over the Atlantic; and in the depths of its waters lie buried horrible secrets, which shall come forth to light "in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ." With reason may all who have a heart to feel for human sorrow unite with the Psalmist in his prayer—"Give the king Thy judgments, O God, and Thy righteousness unto the king's son," and long for the manifestation of His promised reign over our world, of whom it is said, "He shall judge the poor of the people, He shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor." Among the slaves were two Sierra-Leone men: it is not said whether they were colony born, or whether they had passed through the horrors of a first captivity, and now again found themselves involved in the meshes of the net. Slaves constitute the principal export of his Dahomian majesty; and he cares not whence or how he procures them, provided they are available in sufficient number for the purposes of revenue, and the annual atrocity of the Ek-que-noo-ah-toh-meh at Abomey. The one article of the slave-trade treaty which he has signed, the suppression of the export slave-trade in his dominions, has had no force with him whatever. Woe to the unhappy Africans, who, from the casualties of war or other causes, come within his grasp, more especially if they happen to be Egbas. Let our readers duly reflect upon the following precious *morceau*—"The Portuguese vessel 'General Rego,' commanded by Domingo José da Costa Lage, with Angelo Custodio Ribiero Debarco as supercargo, brought from Bahia some forty self-emancipated Africans as passengers, whom they had contracted to land, with their property, at this place (Lagos). Instead of so doing, these unfortunate people were forced on shore at Whydah, where they were first plundered of their property, and, on account of their being Egbas, were subsequently sent up to the king of Dahomey, who put to death all the adults, retaining the children as

slaves."* In leaving, for a season, the African coast, we would consign the king of Dahomey and his humane proceedings to the consideration of H. M. Government, more especially, as, by the last accounts received from the coast of Africa, he was actively engaged in concerting measures with Kosoko, the ex-chief of Lagos, for a simultaneous attack on Abeokuta and Lagos. His country possesses productive capabilities: palm-oil is said to be procurable in large quantities; but fair traders entertain a great reluctance to have any transactions with the Whydah people, on account of the slave-trade, and also because of their general reputation for dishonesty.

There is some confusion as to the precise number of slaves shipped with Dasalu. One account gives the figures already mentioned by us, namely 360; another the higher number of 624 or 626. The latter appears to be the correct one, inasmuch as Dasalu gave it to Mr. Townsend in two modes, as 600 and odd; and again as so many less than 630, which is the usual way of putting it. They had nothing to eat until the third day after leaving Whydah, when they had served to them three biscuits each, and a little water, daily, and sometimes farina, rice, or beans. There was not much sickness, and only one death, while they were at sea, that of an Ijesha woman, who was sick, and thrown overboard alive: but after landing the deaths were many.

During the voyage to Cuba some of the slaves conspired to kill the captain and crew, and take possession of the vessel. Dasalu, being a strong man, was invited to join them, but he refused, and sought diligently to turn them from their purpose. Death, he said, had no terrors for him; he was not afraid of it; but he wished to die in peace, and if they deemed that desirable they must refrain from their purpose. It would be well if men in happier circumstances than this poor slave would keep in view their latter end, and control present impulses by the wholesome remembrance that "it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment." He asked them, moreover, what they proposed to do if they were successful. They might indeed kill the captain and crew, but what did they know about the ship? He entreated them to remember that there were others on board besides themselves, not only men, but helpless women and children, whose lives would be fearfully jeopardized. "Re-

* Mr. Consul Campbell to the Earl of Clarendon, January 21st, 1856.

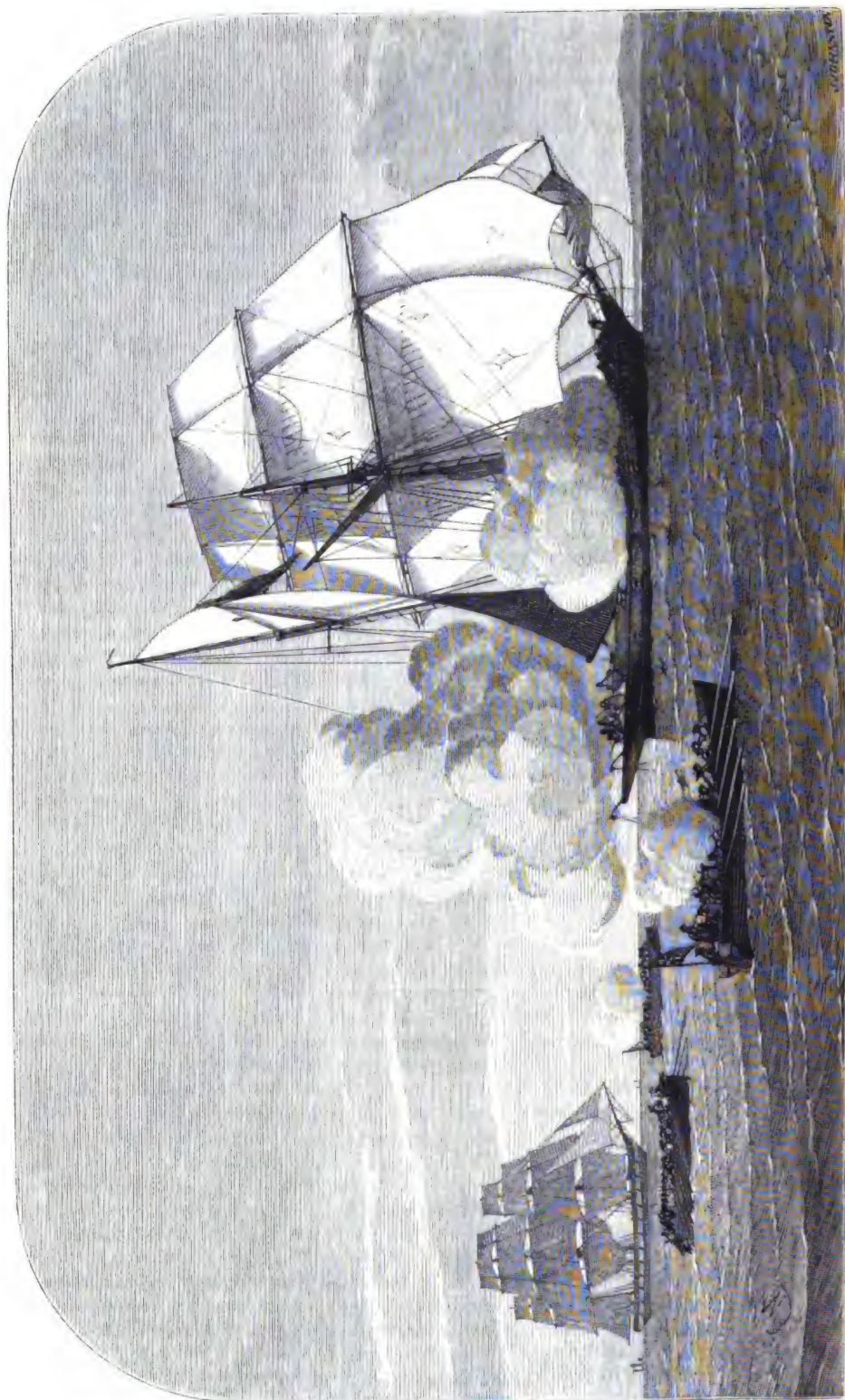
member," he said, "these women that are here with us, and especially these children: for them I plead." He was not unsuccessful: they forbore.

Blessed element of gospel truth, which even now, in this the morning of its influence, so often interposes to restrain the violent outbursts of human passion, and, with words of gentleness and peace, soothes the heart in its disturbance! How often the rising storm has been thus restrained, until the vexed soul has submitted itself to the mild yoke of Him who says, "Peace, be still." How intolerably discordant the world would have remained, if this principle, "avenge not yourselves," more potent than the golden chains wherewith the Persian king sought to bind the rebellious ocean, had not been cast into the angry sea of human passion. Christianity is the great sedative, the great promoment of peace throughout the world: why, then, should men fear it as revolutionary? True, it pities the oppressed, and reproves the wrong-doer; but while it forewarns the one of certain retribution, to the other it says, Be patient: and ministers to the exercise of that patience by its own consoling influences. Evils there are abounding in the world: they shall be corrected. But how shall this be done? Not by vindictive outbreaks of human passion, which, like an earthquake, upheave the very foundations of society, and involve the innocent with the guilty in promiscuous ruin, but by a beneficent action, such as that which raised the earth from its chaos to beauty and arrangement. The Spirit of God moved over the face of the waters, and vitality was infused: the word was spoken, and light shed forth its cheering influences. The confused elements were resolved into order: light and darkness became adjusted for reciprocal action: the waters retired within their appointed boundaries; and the dry land appearing soon put on the rich and beautiful vesture of vegetable life. Nations are disquieted: there are social questions of great difficulty which the ablest of statesmen know not how to meet. Whence have they arisen? Would they have advanced to their present exasperation had the gospel been duly honoured? In America, would the great slave question have darkened the heavens, like the storm-cloud which breaks in ruin on the land, had the golden rule, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them," been remembered and observed? and now, amidst the ominous signs and influences that, working up from beneath, appear on the surface of human society, and the disquietude that prevails, what hope is there, save in the application of God's truth to men's hearts and consciences? There

the master and the servant have alike their duties placed before them, not as mere maxims, but under powerfully-constraining motives. Let them hearken and obey. Let the one be patient, the other be pitiful; and under the gradually corrective power of divine truth, the master will rejoice, freely, and without compulsion, to concede the liberty which the slave, by like influences, has been prepared to receive; until, with the Jew and Gentile of ancient times, the master and slave of these our later days shall be able to testify, "He is our peace, who hath made both one." We repeat, the danger lies not in the presence, but in the absence, of the gospel. Where this corrective influence is wanting, evils must increase until there ensue national anarchy and ruin.

As the shores of Cuba were neared, the slave-ship was met by a steamer, and instructed to avoid Havana. Communication was also held with another vessel, and thus doubly instructed the slave crew steered for a place called Aliheni, where a neighbouring sugar-plantation offered a ready market for their living cargo. Here they found themselves at the mercy of a Spanish ship of war. But her guns were muzzled when a slave-ship from the coast of Africa was in question. Ostensibly cruising, according to the engagements of solemn treaties with England, for the suppression of the slave-trade, this vessel permitted the slave dealers, unmolested, to occupy twenty days in the disembarkation of the slaves. The Spanish officials were not, however, to remain without their perquisite. The guilty connivance was to be paid for in due form; and accordingly, when the poor victims had all been mustered on shore, 180 of them were selected, and put again on board the slave-ship, and carried by the cruiser into Havana, as an incontrovertible evidence of the fidelity with which Spain fulfils all that she has stipulated for the suppression of the slave traffic. Thus these 180 individuals became emancipados, and, placed out as apprentices, yielded to the Government the usual fee of 153 dollars for each assignment. Amongst the number was Dasalu.

But here let us again interrupt the thread of his history, that we may introduce some notices of the Cuban slave-trade. Brazil has ceased to import slaves. Can the same be said of Cuba? Nay, the Spanish island retains all its infamous notoriety; and if, in our last Number, we ventured to assert that the slave-trade is active on the coast of Africa, the conclusive evidence that such is the fact will be found in what is going forward on the shores of Cuba. We have before us, in the Blue Books, long correspondences under the head of Cuba; complaints and remonstrances from



CRUISER'S BOATS ABOUT TO BOARD A SLAVER.

the British Consulate; indignant denials on the part of the Cuban authorities; replications, and new evidences of ships seen and slaves landed; reluctant admissions of their truth; a show of effort, and some petty seizure magnified into such an indubitable evidence of the loyalty and energy of the Captain-General and his officials, as, in their opinion, to render unnecessary all further interference on the part of Her Majesty's agents; then fresh acts of still more flagrant delinquency; despatches home; remonstrances from the Foreign Office to the Court of Madrid; and unsatisfactory replies from the Spanish Ministers.

In March 1855 we find the attention of the Captain-General directed to the fact, that the number of slaves imported during the year 1854, at the lowest computation, had amounted to 10,230; a number not so large, indeed, as that of 1853, but exceeding the importations of any one of the eleven years immediately preceding, and exceeding the average of the previous fifteen years by 4034: a statement indicating the necessity of increased vigilance on the part of the authorities of Cuba. In April 1855 several slavers were reported to be in various directions off the coast, followed by a landing to the westward of Havana. The attention of the Captain-General being awakened by a communication from the British Consulate, immediate steps were taken; commissioners sent; and every thing that was possible done to seize the negroes, and arrest all concerned in the transaction, but without effect; the subaltern officers committing themselves to a complicity therein, and covering their criminality by the invention of a large body of negroes having been transferred from one spot to another in the district. About this time a slaver was fitting out in the harbour of Havana, two vessels having already sailed from that port, as if engaged in the coasting trade, but, in reality, to take in their slave equipment at a certain point, and thence proceed to the coast of Africa. In reporting this fact the British Consul observes—"General Concha must see, in such extensive preparations, that his endeavours have not been productive of any change of opinion among the slave-traders; and it is to be hoped will satisfy him that the very strongest measures are indispen- sably necessary to put an end to the traffic."* In May, our Consul having been made aware of 600 negroes having been landed at Cabanas, a place to the west of Havana, placed this information before the Captain-General, when the Alcalde (mayor),

being sent to investigate the truth of the statement, reported that it had no other foundation than the moving of a considerable body of slaves from one estate to another. Mr. Crawford, however, persevering as to the truth of his statement, further inquiries were instituted, which resulted in the discovery that 350 negroes had been landed, of which sixty-one were seized by the Commissioner, or one-tenth of that which we believe to have been the correct number. These negroes were landed on the account of a certain Don Juan Aguirre, who owns a sugar-estate near Cabanas, and who, being rich, not only has a great number of slaves, but continues to engage in the importation of negroes for sale, obtaining so much as 500 dollars for a slave. Mr. Consul-General Crawford, in a despatch to Lord Clarendon, remarks—"Your Lordship will not fail to observe how insufficient the authority of the Captain-General is to put an end to the slave-trade, as shown by the circumstances of this recent case. First of all, His Excellency had not received any intimation of the landing until it was denounced by me. Secondly, His Excellency's Commissioner, expressly despatched to investigate the affair, reported, in the first instance, that there had been no landing of slaves whatever; and it was not until after some days afterwards, and my insisting upon the correctness of my information, that General Gurrea was sent in pursuit. Does not this prove that the combinations of the slave-traders are superior to the Captain-General's means of enforcing his honestly-intended dispositions, and that thereby the authority of the Government is set at naught. And then, what has been the result? The capture of sixty-one out of 600 slaves who were landed. But General Concha says there were not 600 Bozals, but 360 only. And is not this to confess that his authority is insufficient to capture five-sixths of the number, which, it will not be disputed, were landed in this instance? and so it has been in every instance until now. It is true that Colonel Gurrea fell in with a dray loaded with clothing for the landed negroes; that he detained those that were with it; and that he has arrested several subaltern officers of the coast, who were stationed at or near where the landing took place. But can proofs be obtained to punish those persons if they connived at the landing of slaves? Until now we have had no experience of such a result, and so some hundreds more have been added to the number of those unhappy beings who are toiling in slavery."†

In the same month (May) two other landings took place at Bahia Honda, while a deserted

* Blue Book, Class B. No. 340.

† Ibid. No. 344.

slave-ship, found by the wreckers at West Key, afforded further confirmation of the continued importation of slaves. She was recognised as a well-known American vessel, having the name "Horatio, New York," painted on her stern: the name had been painted over, but had become legible by portions of the last coat of paint having blistered and come off.

We desire to pass on as rapidly as possible in our references to slave-landings at Cuba. Still, with whatever brevity, we are constrained to particularize, in order to bring conviction home to the minds of many who are incredulous as to the continued vitality of the slave-trade. If the despatches received from the coast of Africa are to be considered as in all respects borne out by facts, we should feel ourselves constrained to the conclusion, that the slave-trade was nearly extinct, and so, dismissing the subject from our minds, permit the slave-traders to prosecute their new arrangements without a warning voice being raised upon the subject. But even on the coast of Africa enough has transpired to make us doubt the accuracy of statements conveying such impressions; and an examination into what has been going forward in Cuba matures those doubts into positive certainty. If it be, indeed, a matter of no consequence to Englishmen whether negroes in thousands, more or less, are being sold and bought as slaves, transhipped to Cuba, and worked out there with such rapidity as to necessitate a never-ceasing supply, then is it unnecessary to pursue the subject further; but in abandoning it we do so with the sad conviction, that it is not with us as with the fathers of this generation, the men of noble stamp, of Christian energy and intellectual vigour, who wrestled for the deliverance of poor, enslaved, and suffering humanity; and we recognise, in the growing indifference on this subject, the injurious reaction of the unworthy measure of 1846, which threw open the markets of this country to slave-grown sugar. We see how impossible it is that, as a nation, we should persevere with energy in the repression of the slave-trade, while we are sharing in the sugar harvests which the slave has raised, and feeding with one hand the evil which with the other we are endeavouring to put out. Either England must cease to interfere on behalf of the African, and abandon him to the tender mercies of the Spaniard and American, or else experience will prove that the admission of slave-grown sugar is not so economical a proceeding as has been concluded by some persons.

In June rumours were afloat that several slavers, in connexion with the Portuguese-Brazilian Company, might be ex-

pected on the coast, and a sharp look-out was enjoined upon naval officers, both British and Spanish. On June 15th the Captain-General informs Mr. Crawford that a vessel of Her Spanish Majesty had been ordered to proceed in search of slaves in all directions, and that the authorities on that part of the coast where the landing was apprehended had received the most positive orders to be diligent in endeavouring to seize any disembarkation which might be attempted. Yet, before the month expired, a cargo of 480 negroes of the Congo nation, of whom nineteen or twenty were females—the general proportion of the sexes throughout the slave population of the island—was disembarked at Cabanas, the slaves being partitioned among slave-owners in the vicinity, and the whole transaction taking place with "the knowledge and connivance of the Lieutenant-Governor, the First Alcalde, the Capitan de Partido, Commandante de Civiles, Alcalde de Mar, &c. One of these authorities received 300 ounces for his share, and upwards of 15,000 dollars were paid for the whole expedition.* It may be mentioned that of the 480 Congos 33 were permitted to be captured: they were the "infermises" of the expedition, given up "to cover the *expediente*." The slave-ships now began to come thickly: one with 450 Bozals to the eastward of Trinidad, reported July 2d; another, about the same time, near Cabanas, the landing being completed through the Alcalde of the district, at the rate of three ounces and a half per head. In the port of Havana there was the note of active preparation, various schooners clearing out for Africa, and others being sent for from the United States. In the beginning of August 510 Bozal negroes were landed at San Cayetano, fifty miles to the westward of Ortigosa, without any sort of hindrance or interruption, and at once conducted to and hidden in the caves and fastnesses of the mountains, in the district of Consolacion del Norte. The vessel which disembarked them, under Spanish colours and brig-rigged, made the voyage from Cuba to the coast of Africa and back again in four months and eleven days. The Captain-General put into requisition all the array of subordinates and officials for the discovery and apprehension of these slaves, but with the usual ill success; and the authorities came to the conclusion, which satisfies them on all such occasions, that no such disembarkation had been effected; the Consul-General, however, affirming the correctness of his information.† Of another cargo, near Car-

* Blue Book, Class B. No. 355.

† Ibid. No. 371.

denas, of 350 slaves, all traces mysteriously disappeared, although a steamer was sent along shore to intercept the slaver, and a body of cavalry patrolled the coast. Meanwhile, remonstrances had been addressed to the Court of Madrid: the answers to those remonstrances, and the felicitous manner in which the Spanish minister discredits the possibility of delinquencies so unceasing in their occurrence on the coast of Cuba, are worthy of notice. General Zavala expatiates on the strict vigilance exercised over the coasts, a vigilance becoming every day more and more severe; the energetic means of repression put into action so soon as there occurred the slightest suspicion that a slave-trading expedition was contemplated; these severe penalties inflicted on any public officer who was found to be in the least negligent; the persecution of the slave-trade by the authorities, even into the interior of the island; and concludes with the expression of his conviction, in which he invites us to participate, that "the repression of the traffic has never been so severe or efficient as it is at present" (Sept. 25th, 1855), and that the "Queen's (Spanish) Government is fully determined to fulfil, with religious scrupulousness, its international engagements with the Government of Great Britain."* The facts we are dealing with are the true index to the value of such assurances.

Towards the end of September, Mr. Crawford informed the Captain-General of several slavers expected on the coast. These soon appeared, and threw in their cargoes at different points. "It is a repetition," writes Mr. Crawford, "of the old story: all the slaves that are brought to the coast of Cuba continue to be landed: in some way or other the vigilance of the authorities is neutralized; for I am sure it would be as impossible to land 500 filibusters, as it is easy to disembark that number of slaves."† Remonstrances, occasioned by such constant breaches of the law and of the treaties, continued to be urged from the Consulate, until the Spanish officials began to show impatience, and the Captain-General objected to the facility with which accusations were admitted by the Consul against the authorities established in different parts of the island. Mr. Crawford thus vindicates himself to Lord Clarendon—

"When I can most safely assure your Lordship that such is the vigilance of the Lieutenant-Governors and their subordinates, every where in the island, that it is, I may say, impossible for a white man to introduce

himself into the island without being detected, it is but fair they should answer, and be made answerable, as to how hundreds and hundreds of negroes are introduced into the island, contrary to the laws and treaties, with the greatest facility, and are seldom, if ever, of late, either detected or captured."* There are very palpable reasons why the Spanish officials are unwilling to exercise the same vigilance towards the slave-dealers which they do towards the filibusters: from the one they have nothing to expect save blows, but from the others gifts are not wanting. "I am enabled," writes Mr. Crawford, in his Report for the year ending December 31, 1855, to "furnish details of what was effected at Santa Cruz, on the south side of the island, when 500 Bozals were landed near that place in August last, viz.—

Gold ounces.

"To the Commanding Officer	468
To the Captain of the Port	234
To the Collector of the Port	200
To the Tide Surveyor	200
Total	1102

This arrangement was made upon 468 slaves, the rest being weak and sickly (rather over forty dollars a head), which must be considered a remarkably cheap bargain of its kind.†

In the beginning of November a brigantine of 186 tons, formerly under American colours, landed 516 Bozals in the district of Villa Clara, on the south side of the island. The *ctdulas*,‡ which cost the parties interested 5000 dollars, or about ten dollars a head, paid to the officer who has the issue of those documents, were waiting their arrival. Many of the slaves were sold on the spot: 100 of them were brought to the city of Havana, and there offered for sale. As soon as divested of her miserable cargo the vessel was set fire to or sunk; the captain and mate crossed the island to Havana, which they could not have done had they not been provided with passes for that purpose, and sailed from thence for the United States. Of the entire number, the customary fragment, thirty-one slaves, was captured by the Government. All the principal authorities of the place (Granadillo) were, indeed, placed under suspension; but it was apprehended that the evidence would not be such as to ensure their conviction. The year concludes with a remonstrance from Lord Clarendon to the Spanish ministers at Madrid, in which he refers to the impossibility of a white man entering Cuba without the knowledge of the authorities, and the facility

* Blue Book, Class B. No. 295.

† Ibid. No. 380.

* Blue Book, Class B. No. 388.

† Blue Book, Class A. No. 45.

‡ For explanation of this word *vide* p. 275.

with which so many hundreds of negroes were introduced. The reply of the Spanish minister is characteristic—that if the whites should take the same precautions which are adopted respecting the negroes, they also would escape detection. His Excellency then continues to say—"Bozal negroes cannot be compared with free persons who arrive at the island; they can only be assimilated to illegal merchandise, or any other unlawful articles which are imported by contraband trade; and your Excellency is well aware of the large quantities of contraband goods which are imported into Spain and her colonies, in spite of the zeal with which the contraband trade is persecuted," &c.* Yes, such is the degraded position to which, in Spanish phraseology, man is reduced. To use the words of a book in the hands of the Syndics—"Exposicion sobre el origen, utilidad, prerogativas, derecho, y deberes de los Sindicos procuradores generales de los pueblos, par D. Jose Serapio Majorrietta abogado de la real audiencia"—"Slaves have no proper person" (los esclavos no tienen persona)—"they have no representative in society; they are considered as things subject to the dominion of man."†

We have no official documents to throw light upon the slave importation into Cuba during the present year. The following extract will, however, prepare us for the announcement, forthcoming, we fear, in due time, that Cuban planters have found American vessels a safe and swift mode of conveying slave labourers to their sugar estates. It is from the "New York Journal of Commerce" of June 30.

"Few of our readers are aware of the extent to which this infamous traffic is carried on, even by vessels clearing from New York, and in close alliance with our legitimate trade, and that down-town merchants of wealth and respectability are extensively engaged in buying and selling African negroes, and have been so, with comparatively little interruption, for an indefinite number of years. The fact that such a traffic exists in connexion with this port is well established; and yet, with but few exceptions, all the means that can be employed to secure the conviction of the guilty parties fail of their object, either through the cunning of well-feed lawyers, or, far worse, of proper evidence, and often the vessel slips off at dead of night. More frequently the slaver eludes the vigilance of

the United-States' officers, by engaging in an ordinary trading voyage, and changing her destination, cargo, &c., to suit her convenience. The public officers may be well aware of her true character, and yet possess no power to detain her. So varied are the devices employed by this class of lawbreakers to escape detection, so slyly are their movements executed, and so incessant are their endeavours, under the powerful stimulus of inordinate gain, that the services of the Government officers are in constant requisition. We are informed by the deputy United-States' marshals, that they are well satisfied that at least fifteen slave-vessels have sailed from this port within the last twelve months, and three within the last three weeks. With such audacity is the villany prosecuted, that while Marshal de Angelis was occupied about the seizure of the 'Bramin,' (whose officers were on trial for engaging in the slave-trade), advantage was taken by another vessel of the same character to glide down the river and escape. It is well known that within sixty days an old vessel was bought for 1600 dollars, refitted and altered to a topsail schooner, loaded with logwood and whalebone, and cleared for an European port, in command of a captain who was convicted at Philadelphia a short time since of being engaged in slave-trading; yet there were no circumstances which would justify the issue of a warrant for her detention, though the officers entertained no doubt as to her real character and objects. It is satisfactory to know that few, if any, American merchants are directly engaged in these transactions, the principal parties being foreigners, and most of them Portuguese. There is, however, reason to believe, that not unfrequently Americans share in the risks and profits of the business. The impunity with which these transactions are carried on may be inferred from the fact, that during the last year there have been but five prosecutions for any breach of the laws relating to this matter, and of this number the Government succeeded in procuring but one conviction, namely, the captain of the 'Julia Morgan.' Startling as some of these facts may appear, it does not prove that this description of traffic is on the increase, but only shows that greater vigilance has been exercised for its suppression. Not long ago, Mr. Crawford, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Cuba, called the attention of Mr. Crampton, at Washington, to the fact that slavers were fitted out in this city, and asking his interference to prevent the sailing of a vessel that was then nearly in readiness. In the instance referred to, Don Jose Egea left Havana for New York (as Mr. Crawford asserts) in

* Blue Book, Class B. No 315.

† "Island of Cuba, by R. R. Madden, M.R.I.A., (late) Acting Commissioner of Arbitration in the Mixed Court of Justice at the Havana."

order to purchase, through a certain house, a pilot-boat or fore-and-aft schooner, capable of bringing over 500 slaves from Africa to Cuba; the vessel to be provided with water, &c., and, thus prepared, to sail from New York for her destination, where the slaves were in waiting. Mr. Crawford remarked, in connexion with his despatch—'Almost all the slave-expeditions for some time past have been fitted out in the United States, chiefly at New York, where there must be some establishment, ship or out-fitting carpenter or builders' yard, specially undertaking such business for the slavers.' Most of the vessels fitted out in the United States for the slave-trade sail from New York, but a considerable proportion of them go from New Orleans, and occasionally from other ports. Here they possess every facility that can be had in other places for furthering their purpose, and the laws do not frown with such threatening severity and such certainty of execution as to effectually forbid their infraction. For while the profits of a successful venture are so enormous, men will be found sufficiently bold and avaricious to engage in the hazardous enterprise, trusting to their wits to avoid the cruisers, or wriggle through the meshes of the law. The vessels ordinarily selected are of medium size, costing not more than 5000 or 7000 dollars, bought with the expectation that they will be destroyed when their cargo is secured and finally discharged. Traders calculate that if but one vessel out of four proves successful they can well afford to incur all the losses involved, and assume all the risks. Negroes are obtained on the African coast at from 10 to 40 dollars per head, and from 300 to 800 dollars is readily obtained for them when landed; so that a cargo of 500 slaves, costing 15,000 dollars, or 30 dollars per head, realizes the venturesome trader, if sold at an average of 400 dollars per head, at least 170,000 or 180,000 dollars, expenses deducted. It is alleged that the destruction of vessels in the manner suggested has a sensible effect in reducing the number of vessels adapted to the slave-business to be found in market. They are sunk, burnt, or run ashore. It is but a few days since an account was published of a slaver, fully fitted up for her business, which had been forced ashore on the coast of Maryland, with her bottom perforated with augur holes, and completely abandoned. In most cases, however, the vessel lands her cargo, and is not afterwards heard from. Only to the deep bosom of the ocean is the secret entrusted. The manner of fitting out slavers in New York may be briefly narrated. In most cases a suitable vessel is first selected—a fore-and-aft schooner or large sloop being

generally preferred—and furnished with spars, sails, &c. She is then towed up the river or down the bay, and sometimes to the east end of Long Island, to avoid observation, and there supplied with whatever is needful to perfect her outfit. For instance, the 'Falmouth,' recently condemned for being engaged in this business, was taken from Astoria to Hurl-Gate, and, late at night, provisions, casks, boilers, and other articles, were put aboard from a vessel which came alongside. Immediately after, the 'Falmouth' was towed to Hurl-Gate ferry, and the sixty-seven casks with which she was supplied were stealthily filled from a hydrant. Had a permit been obtained, as legally required, suspicion would have been excited by the large quantity of water furnished to so small a vessel. This important part of the preparation accomplished, the 'Falmouth' was taken in tow by a steamer about two o'clock in the morning, so as to get off Sandy Hook by break of day. Seen there at another hour, the vessel would be liable to be boarded by the revenue officers and asked to show her manifest: having none, she would be seized. This is the predicament in which the 'Bramin' was found, whose case has just been before our Courts. On her second voyage, the 'Falmouth' regularly cleared from the Custom House, with just a sufficient supply of provisions for an honest voyage; but after proceeding down Long Island to Gardner's Bay, she was supplied by another vessel with provisions, large boilers, timber for a 'slave-deck,' and bricks and lime to set the furnaces. She then sailed for Africa. A revenue cutter followed in pursuit, but without success. To still further diminish the chances of detection, slave-vessels no longer carry irons or shackles, as formerly, which, if found, constituted strong evidence of guilt, but employ as a substitute a kind of small nail, so made that the points stand upright when thrown down; so that in case of revolt among the negroes aboard ship, they are strewn thickly over the deck. On the 'Falmouth' about 600 rings and ropes were found. These are some of the devices employed to profit by the breach of laws without incurring the penalties annexed. It is not at all unusual for foreigners to come to this port from Havana or Brazil, buy a vessel, fit her out, and sail in her themselves, employing a shrewd American captain to act either in his professional capacity or simply as a passenger, surrendering or assuming authority as previously agreed upon. In other cases, vessels engaged in a legitimate African trade, in palm-oil, gums, ivory, peanuts, &c., are converted into slavers when opportunity offers.

The preparation of these vessels, in the city, is necessarily conducted with the profoundest secrecy, and with, to all appearance, the most scrupulous regard for all legal requirements. The United-States' officers may visit the suspected vessel without the interposition of an obstacle; but no one on board can give the slightest information. Even if arrested, the men literally know nothing. In the case of the 'Falmouth,' all found on board were passengers, but were so strangely ignorant that they did not know where they were going, and the vessel had no owner or captain. The result was, all hands were discharged, though the vessel was condemned. Cargoes of slaves are obtained and discharged so as to evade capture, by the exchange of preconcerted signals between the ship and shore. The presence or removal of danger is thus readily indicated by 'bunting reading.' "

We need no further testimony. The disclosures of the American journal tell us all we need. But what shall we say of a country so ill organized as to be unable to restrain ill doers? "The ruler," if indeed he be one, "beareth not the sword in vain." Governors are appointed "for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." The public officers at New York are well aware of the true character of these vessels, and yet have no power to detain them; and while they are occupied in the seizure of one craft, another avails herself of the opportunity, slips down the river, and escapes. The American officials are unable, the Cuban officials are unwilling, and between both the interests of humanity are sacrificed. If the people of the free north are unable to prevent the fitting-out and sailing of slave expeditions from their ports, how can they prevent the extension of pro-slavery principles and practices throughout the States? That such proceedings should take place at New Orleans is not surprising. The Southerner is brought up in the atmosphere of slavery: from earliest infancy he has inhaled it: it has become a portion of his being, and has intermingled itself with his very life-blood. His feelings, habits, are all tinctured with it. He is a coloured man in one sense. Slavery has coloured his moral constitution. In that sense he is no longer a white man: the hue of the negro, whom he despises, has transferred itself to his moral aspect. In his eyes slavery is an institution from God: it is as beneficent to the African as it is advantageous to himself. It is his right and the slave's destiny; and the Bible itself is wrested from its true meaning to give support to his social fabric. But the free North—has the infection spread thither likewise? If the laws be not

equal to the emergency, cannot they be made so? or is the individual State so tied up by the federal government as to be incapacitated on vital questions from independent legislation? America claims to be exempted from the right of search; but the exemption imposes on her the solemn responsibility of exercising such a wholesome *surveillance* over her own shipping as shall effectually prevent this privilege being abused. Shall the stripes and stars cover and protect slave craft? Shall the pirate thus secure himself from interference, and use the flag of the land of freedom to prevent the liberation of the slave? Alas! then liberty may droop her standard, and victorious slavery run up the signal of the triumph she has achieved high to the mast head. Then Africa must continue for a time to suffer; but those sufferings must eventually re-act—sooner, perhaps, than can be imagined—with tremendous power on the heads of those who, either as principals or as aiders and abettors, have inflicted them. Let this identification with the slave-trade, which has sprung up at New York, be permitted to go on, then do we read therein the future—the slavery of the south has so infected the north, as that the southerner must triumph, not because the free states are not intelligent, wealthy, powerful, but because they are not true to themselves: they are not true to their principles. Who can regard America at the present crisis without deep solicitude? Who can hide from themselves how vastly the interests of humanity are involved in the future of the United States? Their progress has been astonishing. Since first, with a resolute determination to be free, they broke loose from the restraints of a mismanaged paternity, their growth has been unprecedentedly rapid, until, among the first nations of the earth, they take their place in a position of equality with the mother country. But they are young—young in history and experience. They have known little of the discipline which yields wisdom, and teaches self-restraint. In character they are young. They have reached that season of life when, after the fervency of youth, character is about to assume its staid and settled aspect; and with what anxious suspense do we not watch for its development? We anticipate what is excellent, what is noble, what will be useful to mankind; but we fear there must be trial first, amidst the tossings and heavings of which the Christianity of America will, we trust, prove to be the element of deliverance.

We have wandered from the shores of Cuba, but these are all kindred subjects, and must be noticed, although in subordination to the prominent features of our picture.

Year after year Cuba has been receiving slaves from the coast of Africa, yet the demand ceases not. How is this to be accounted for? In the United States the negro has become a fixed and permanized element in the population, and the rapid increase of the race precludes the necessity for fresh importations. But in Cuba it would seem as though the owners of estates could never have enough. Whence the necessity for this sustained supply? Does it arise from the large amount of new land brought under cultivation, the sugar plantations, in their rapid extension over the interior, requiring a proportionable increase of labourers? Undoubtedly the area of cultivation in Cuba might be indefinitely extended. "Less than one-third of the land being under cultivation, large regions are as little known as the interior of Asia. From every height which the traveller attains he may descry an horizon teeming with wonder and with fancy, out of the ignorance and silence of whose purple mystery no voice has come these hundred years. There are forests, the refuge of the wild dog, and wilder man, the fierce Maroon, the black pioneer of doom, haunting the outskirts of a tyrannous civilization. There are mountains unmeasured and unguaged, couching, it may be, above treasures which the vengeful Cemís hid from the greedy murderers of his mild worshippers.* So feeble has been the progress of agriculture under the slave system, and so imperfectly have the industrial resources of this rich island been developed. At present, the high price of sugar constitutes a strong inducement to extending the culture of the cane, and this, in some measure, accounts for the solicitude to obtain additional labourers; but the chief reason is not so much the increase of labour requirement, as the rapid waste of the labour material. The Spanish laws on the subject of slavery are characterized by mildness, and, if honestly carried out, would place the slave in a superiority of position to that which he holds in other slave-holding countries. But except in the towns where a British Consul is resident, and a show of justice and humane dealing becomes necessary, these laws are a dead letter. The prædial slave derives no advantage from them. They are transgressed by his owners at pleasure and with impunity: so that, while a reference to the statute book would lead us to conclude favourably of the Spanish system, an examination into the details of practice would convince us that "slavery in Cuba is more destructive to human life, more pernicious to society, degrading to the slave, and debasing

to the master, more fatal to health and happiness, than in any other slave-holding country on the face of the habitable globe."† To specify one instance, in which the law is completely set aside as obsolete and of no consequence: the regulation respecting the daily labour of slaves ordains "that it should begin and conclude from sunset to sunrise, with two hours of the intermediate time for their own use and benefit." In despite of these express terms the negroes are worked for twenty hours out of the twenty-four, twelve in the field, and eight in the boiling-house, or at the mill. "Even on the best of the great estates, from November to May the negroes are required to work sixteen, and sometimes nineteen, hours a day. They work, like sailors, by watches, making the 'night joint labour with the day;' and startling the stranger from his midnight sleep with the prolonged wailing cadences of their barbaric chaunts."‡ The owner can afford to work out the old hands, because he has ensured a fresh supply. The additional labour done more than repays the expense of renewing the living mechanism. It is with him and his overseers a mere matter of pecuniary calculation. Considerations of humanity do not affect negroes. Fresh and strong hands are better than old and decayed ones; and so goes on the ceaseless waste, and the craving for more slaves, which is like the two daughters of the horse-leech, Give, give; or as the three things that are never satisfied, the grave, the barren womb, and the earth that is not filled with water; or like the fire that saith not, It is enough.

A Report concerning the condition of Cuba and its requirements was presented to Her Spanish Majesty by her Council of Ministers in March 1854. There are admissions in that document of which we shall briefly avail ourselves. The grand subject-matter of it is the scarcity of labourers in Cuba—"agriculture is already affected by it: its effects begin to be noticed in commercial transactions: and, if not opportunely remedied, the rich treasures which that fertile island contains will soon be diminished, if not exhausted." The origin of this scarcity is then investigated, and it is attributed partly to the existence and necessity of slavery, and partly to the treaties in force for the suppression of the slave-trade. "The Antilles seem condemned by Providence not to give proofs of their fertility, unless with the aid of that institution, and at the cost of the race on whom it weighs." The document then asserts the impossibility of Cuba being assimilated in its social and economical situation to the type of European

* Madden's "Isle of Cuba," p. 126.

† Hurlbut, p. 104.

nations, and the necessity that slavery should be maintained therein. It thence infers the desirableness of introducing fresh slaves, and regrets those international treaties and Spanish laws which preclude this efficient means of preservation—treaties, however, which must be fulfilled, although they be, in part, the cause of the injury which is lamented. Concluding, therefore, the impossibility either of abolishing slavery or getting rid of existing treaties, the Report proceeds to consider the best mode of remedying the deficiency of labour. It objects to the employment of slaves in domestic service and other occupations, and suggests the desirableness of their being transferred to agriculture. Now the domestic slaves are the only portion of that suffering population who have conceded to them any thing like fair and equitable treatment. "They have the power, in the large towns and cities, of availing themselves of the privileges the law accords them. If they have a harsh owner they may demand permission to seek another master; and it is compulsory on that master to sell them, either for the sum he paid for them, or at such a rate as the *sindico*, or the special protector of the slaves, and the judges, may determine,"* &c. But how shall the *prædial* slave obtain justice, for all officials, *sindicos*, *alcaldes*, *capitanes de partidos*, &c., all are planters, and identified with slave-holding? To expel these poor creatures from domestic occupations in the town, to the 'sugar estates in the interior, would be to place them beyond the reach of all mitigating and ameliorating influences.

The next clause in the "*Exposicion a Su Magestad*," throws light on some of the dark mysteries of the slave-trade in Cuba. It assigns the following reason for the scarcity of labourers—"In the proprietors not having taken care, so much as they ought to have done, of the reproduction of the slave race, with the hope that the clandestine introduction of *Bozal* negroes would supply their neglect." The object of the Cuban planter has been to obtain from his slaves the greatest amount of labour in the shortest period of time. The rapid waste of the industrial material has been to him a matter of comparative unimportance, from the facilities available to him of obtaining new supplies. His mode of proceeding is like the exhaustive tillage of a savage tribe. They are at no pains to prevent the ground under cultivation from wearing out, because they have unlimited supplies of virgin soil, to which they may transfer themselves. Hence to the negro no opportunity is afforded of family organization, or the formation of social ties. Females do not

form a third part of the slave population; nay, there are estates where there is not a single female. The negro lives, in the estimation of his owner, only to work, and when he can no longer work it is time that he should die. Thus, unless the slave gangs be replenished by new importations, they rapidly diminish, and eventually the estate must be thrown out of cultivation from the want of hands to till it. The Report then recommends the importation of free labourers or colonists from Spain, China, or Yucatan. In the case of the Chinese this has been done to a considerable extent, 3000 and upwards of Chinese having been introduced during the year 1855, and arrangements having been made, by four of the most powerful houses of the Havana, to insure the arrival of 10,000 additional Chinese during the present year. Yucatan Indians taken prisoners in war, kidnapped, or intimidated by the Mexicans, have also been introduced as they could be obtained. Brought under military escort from the interior to the port from whence they were to be transhipped for Cuba, and tied together as prisoners, they have been forced to embark under the alternative of going forward or being shot; and on their arrival in Cuba have been classified as colonists and free labourers. Energetic remonstrances have been addressed to the Spanish authorities against this newly-invented trade in human flesh, which threatened to devastate Yucatan and all the northern provinces of Mexico, but without effect; her Spanish Majesty's ministers persisting in regarding it as a free-will stipulation between contracting parties, with which they could not interfere. The condition of these poor Indians in Cuba has been truly pitiable. Such is their innate love of their native haunts, that not even the offer of what they would consider a large sum of money would induce them voluntarily to emigrate; and when thus forcibly removed from their home they sink into despondency. In the hands of unfeeling masters the pretended contract is soon set aside: they are hard worked, ill clothed and fed, as well as cheated of their stipulated wages. Providentially the evil is remedying itself: it is found that they do not possess the robustness requisite for field labour, and are not inquired for by the planters: thus the speculation has not yielded the profit that was expected. Even had it been otherwise, the Indians hitherto have not been obtainable in such numbers as to make the trade worth following; and in a letter dated Jan. 20, 1856, Mr. Consul-General Crawford states that latterly none could be procured from Yucatan. Under these circumstances, the parties interested in the maintenance of the traffic had employed the services of a new

* Madden, p. 122.

agent, whom they hoped might prove more successful, a Spanish priest, formerly belonging to the Cathedral at Santiago de Cuba, &c.; and this person was at the above date occupied on the northern frontier of Mexico in endeavouring to engage or obtain Indians by any means. This is a branch of a new and important subject, which requires to be thoroughly investigated—the shipment of various races of men, Coolies, Chinese, &c., to various points, Demerara, the West Indies, &c., under pretence of free-labour contracts. We fear that in many instances it is only the slave-trade again under a new and specious name; that the poor natives are entrapped under false pretences, and in utter ignorance of the lot to which they are about to be consigned; and that there ensues, as a necessary consequence, a vast amount of suffering and mortality. We are anxious to obtain materials for such an investigation, but the subject is a large one, and requires much pre-consideration. Another measure suggested in the Report is one which will surprise our readers—“to put an end by efficacious measures to the eternal question of the slave-trade,” thus ensuring “all the rights acquired by the owners of slaves,” and terminating “the illegitimate hopes which have so much contributed to the diminution of the slave races.” In other words, legalizing the contraband goods already imported, and, by cutting off all hopes of a fresh supply, compelling the owner to be more careful of the stock in hand, and more painstaking in rendering it of a healthy and reproducing character. It proposed, therefore, that a registration should be opened, where all slaves in the island should be inscribed and filiated, the closing of the register, at the expiration of a specific period, to be followed by the manumission of all men of colour whose owners had neglected to inscribe their names.

Such was this famous *Exposición*, the basis of corresponding regulations which the Captain-General of Cuba was authorised to bring into immediate execution. They have been dealt with pretty much as the royal *cédula* which in 1817 decreed the abolition of the slave-trade throughout the Spanish dominions, and the freedom, from henceforward, of all negroes so introduced into the Spanish colonies. That *cédula* was never promulgated in Havana; and in the same manner the regulations of 1854 have been so modified as to lose their value, and, like all other Spanish enactments on the subject, have proved to be impotent to effect improvement.

In June 1855 regulations were published by the Captain-General, professedly for the purpose of carrying out the royal decree of March 1854. They enjoined the registration

of slaves, but omitted all mention of one most important point—the manumission of all slaves neglected to be registered. Full particulars were to be afforded—the sex, age, nation, condition of each slave, the work in which employed, master's name, &c. Each registered slave was to be furnished with *cédulas*, or certificate tickets, to serve as certifying documents and transit licences from one part of the island to another. This ordinance would doubtlessly have operated as a hindrance to further introductions of Bozals, had it been rigorously enforced, and had all surplus slaves been seized. Hitherto, however, through the vacillation of the Government, and the dishonest ingenuity of parties interested in evading its provisions, it has rather helped than hindered their objects. Owners did not register within the prescribed period; delays were granted; fines were inflicted, and then condoned. When owners appeared disposed to comply with the requisitions of the law, it was not unfrequently with a fraudulent intention; for they registered a greater number of slaves than they really possessed, and thus furnished themselves with surplus *cédulas* wherewith to certificate fresh importations. A new proviso was appended in the December of last year, which threatened still further to nullify these regulations, the “*Capitanes de Partido*,” the “*Comisarios*,” &c., being authorised to obtain from the Governors of the districts books of one hundred tickets, or *cédulas*, for the purpose of replacing those which had been lost. “This,” remarks Mr. Crawford, “opens a door for fraud, and for furnishing of tickets to newly-introduced slaves; since it is notorious that the Bozals who have been imported since the adoption of those tickets have had them ready waiting their arrival: so that those newly-introduced Africans were at once provided with surreptitiously-obtained protections, thus converting the registration of slaves into a means of covering the most scandalous contraband.”*

Such is Spanish legislation, denouncing the slave-trade, yet never failing to afford it, in some way or other, free scope for action; in the matter of international treaties promising much, and yet effecting nothing: so that at this moment, after forty years of engagements entered into and promises made only to be violated, Spain and her colonies are as resolutely and iniquitously bent on the continued importations of slaves, not from Africa only, but from whatever quarter, or under whatever name and pretext they can be obtained, as at any previous period.

* Blue Book, Class A., No. 42. (1855-56.)

INDIA : ITS VAST IMPORTANCE AND REQUIREMENTS.

WE solicit from the readers of our periodical their earnest attention to the following able exposition of India in its present condition of commercial development, and yet of urgent, pressing need, from the pen of our valued friend and correspondent, Macleod Wylie, Esq., of Calcutta. It is a well-timed and earnest appeal to the intelligent Christianity of this country, which we trust, by the blessing of God, may come home to many a heart, and stir up faithful men in this land to efforts for the advancement of the gospel, as well in India as elsewhere, of a more comprehensive and self-denying character than those which hitherto have been deemed sufficient. The consolidation of our Indian empire intimates that the time has come when the development of the internal resources and social happiness of that great country, in all its numerous subdivisions, should become the chief object of those who are charged with the high responsibility of its administration. The time has arrived, also, when the consolidation of our older Missions amongst the Tamil people, and elsewhere, indicates the arrival of a new period, when, with a largeness of heart comprehensive of the vastness of India's destitution, and a largeness of effort proportionate to the vast means of usefulness committed to our stewardship, the Christians of Great Britain should break forth from the narrow limits of the selected spots on which their attention has been hitherto expended, and enter, with earnest prayer and holy resolution, on their true mission of preaching the gospel to every creature.

Both departments of India's need will be found largely dealt with in Mr. Wylie's communication. In the former we have an indirect interest, and with thankfulness are made acquainted with the ameliorative character of legislation on behalf of India. The latter is our direct and proper vocation. It is that to which, as Christian men, we have expressly dedicated ourselves; and on this, and the due fulfilment of the responsibilities connected with it, we are bound to expend ourselves. It is the higher department of the two: for while legislative alterations are only available to mitigate the evils which abound in an unhealthy condition of human society, the gospel in its action is radically curative, by the renewing influence it exercises on the hearts and principles of men. It was once said, "The people had a mind to work." May the Spirit of God move the church now to similar devotedness!

"Calcutta, August 1856.

"When I wrote to you for the 'Church Missionary Intelligencer' last March, I mentioned some of the circumstances which have recently been attracting increased attention to India. Some of them were not connected directly with Missionary work, and some might be thought unworthy of a place in your 'Intelligencer,' as being merely political or commercial. But 'whoso is wise and will observe' the providence of God, and will notice how various are the means which He employs to attract the thoughts and prayers of His people to new spheres of action, will intelligently regard all those new events which tend to produce extensive social changes. In one place, mineral riches may be discovered just at the time when the exigencies of commerce and of war are about to require an increased supply of the precious metals; and then the tide of population, following on this discovery, may flow into lands which are destined at once to become important markets for our trade, and outlets for enterprise and adventure. A famine in Ireland may become the means of a social revolution there, of increased spiritual activity, and of important consequences to the United States of America. An able and vigorous statesman may be sent to India to give an impulse to its Government, and to lay the foundation of incalculable improvements. A spirit of inquiry may be awakened in China, in Italy, or in Turkey; the influence of a Mission, of an ambassador, or of the private circulation of the Scriptures, may be used to animate the dormant energies of millions of people, or to establish in the seats of darkness and oppression the blessings of peace and freedom. Some new necessity of commerce for some new product, or for some new mode of communication; some philosophical speculation in science or in jurisprudence; or some unexpected mechanical invention, may suddenly alter the whole aspect of affairs, give a new value to regions previously neglected or unknown, develop national characteristics always unsuspected before, gradually develop moral or physical resources of infinite importance, and bring forward into action new nations on the theatre of the world. If we 'observe these things,' and watch the unfoldings of the Divine purposes, and trace the close connexion between social or national changes, and the vast spiritual designs of Him who has the government upon His shoulder, we shall discover the depth of the riches both of His

wisdom and knowledge, and discern the faithfulness and power of the Redeemer of the world. For if it be true in private life, that 'he who observes providences will never want a providence to observe,' much more is it true in national history and the great affairs of the world.

"In this spirit you sit at home, beholding the openings in Europe, and the growth of your own national prosperity and influence, while here, we, it may be on a larger scale, behold the Lord's dealings with greater and more populous nations. In the last twelve years we have seen the whole aspect of the East altered—China opened, Borneo opened, immense territories added to British India, steam connecting adjacent countries which were lately severed almost as effectually as if they were in different quarters of the globe, and such a revolution in the habits and sentiments of some of the Asiatic populations, as must forebode a total revolution among them all. If, as yet, spiritual truth have not been received with as much avidity as Western knowledge; if, as yet, our Missions have followed slowly in the tracks of our commerce; if political changes have been far more observable than the advance of Christianity; still, let us not be indifferent to that which has really been accomplished. It is unspeakably important and significant, though it may not be all that we desire.

"Confining myself to India, let me recur to some of the topics on which I have touched before, enlarge on them, and pass on to some others. Would that, in doing this, I could speak with adequate sensibility of the condition, the prospects, and the claims of India, and could arouse others to consider well the bearing of all these matters on the duty of the churches of Christ, and on themselves individually! For is it not painfully and manifestly true, that, for the most part, there is an utterly inadequate sense of corporate as well as individual duty; a cold and unintelligent apprehension of the most solemn and weighty truths; and a selfish and contracted measure of sympathy, evidenced in every thing—in effort, in gifts, and in prayers? It may well be doubted if many of us are more than half awake—if now, were the Lord to come, He would find faith, real faith, on the earth.

"Let me begin with some details which are not uninteresting in themselves, and which are very important in their relation to other subjects. Let me, for instance, begin with some particular districts of this country. Thirty years ago, after the first Burmese war, we annexed Arracan and the Tenasserim

provinces, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Arracan was then little better than a swamp, and its chief port, Akyab, probably did not export altogether 10,000*l.* worth of produce. But mark the progress since then. When Mr. J. R. Colvin (now the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces) was sent down, in 1852, to report on those Burmese provinces, he stated that such was then the trade of Akyab, that no less than 600,000*l.* in silver had been imported in the previous six years to pay for its exports of rice. That appeared a remarkable statement. The money was absorbed there. It was certain that the people purchased very little of our goods: they were producing rice in immense quantities, and accumulating a large amount of treasure. But this story was very soon to be exceeded. Akyab, soon after the time of Mr. Colvin's visit, received a new impulse, and the result has been extraordinary. In the commercial year 1854-55 (ending the 30th April 1855) the quantity of rice exported from Akyab was about 166,000 tons, and its value was no less than 561,000*l.*, nearly the whole of which was paid in silver imported from Europe for the purpose. At the beginning of the commercial year 1855-56 (which terminated on the 30th of April last), the demand for rice was still increasing, and the price of it, in consequence of the war and other causes, had greatly risen. The total export for the year is now found to have been 186,000 tons, and the amount of silver actually imported for its payment *rather more than one million sterling in the twelvemonth.* And in this present current year, commencing on the 1st May, it is probable that the quantity will be still greater: the price, however, cannot yet be known till the season for shipping recommences, next November, when the state of the European, and especially the French harvest, is ascertained.

"But this is not all. Not only is treasure being imported into Arracan by this remarkable increase of its rice trade, but population is tempted and attracted there too. People emigrate thither from Eastern Bengal, like people from England to the gold diggings. And then the Government is contemporaneously engaged in making a road from Chittagong to Akyab, and from Akyab through a mountain pass to Prome, in Pegu, and is sending down labourers for the purpose, and is expending large sums on this important work. And in Pegu itself the prospects of trade, through the ports of Bassein and Rangún, and the attractions and the temptations to the Burmese population to come into our territory, are increasing every day.

"Turn then to the North-west, and not only will you find the Ganges canal completed, and another canal, in the Punjab, nearly equal to it, in progress, and other canals of great importance in the Múltan districts, but also the introduction of a staple which promises to be of immense value to the Upper Provinces. In his farewell Minute, reviewing his administration, Lord Dalhousie, after saying that 'the cultivation of tea in Assam has prospered in a remarkable degree,' thus proceeds—

" 'The plant has also been largely introduced into the upper districts of the North-west Provinces. Some years ago, plantations were established in the Deyrah Dhún, and in Kumaon and Gurhwal.

" 'More recently, Mr. Fortune has been employed to bring plants and seeds in large quantities from China, and to engage Chinese workmen for the manufacture of the tea.

" 'The cultivation has extended along the Himalayas. Extensive plantations are now growing up on the heights towards Kangra; and an experimental plantation has been formed on the Murri hills, above Rawul Pindí. Further to the eastward, in Kumaon and Gurhwal, the zemindars have adopted the cultivation of the plant themselves.

" 'Very large quantities of tea are now manufactured every year. It sells readily, at a high price. There is every reason to believe that the cultivation of the tea plant will be very widely spread in future years, and that the trade in tea produced in India will become considerable in extent.'

"He then goes on to advert to the agricultural improvements, especially the growth of flax in the Punjab, the introduction of sheep into Pegu, the preservation and renewal of our invaluable forests, especially of teak, in Pegu, Tenasserim, and Martaban, the prospects of mining operations for coal and iron, the work of irrigation, the steam flotilla on the Ganges, the Indus, the Brahmaputra, and the Irrawaddy; the navigation of the Godavery—connecting our cotton districts with the sea—new roads, and the largely increased expenditure on public works.

"I will not enter into all these subjects; but, taking them generally, is it not obvious, that whether it be in Arracan, with rice, or in Assam, Kumaon, or Kangra, with tea, there is the prospect of a complete social change in the neighbourhood, and a large immigration from other districts? It was only lately that I was reading a Missionary journal in which mention was made of the number of Cacharis (the people from Cachar) who now annually go to labour in Assam, in the tea

plantations; and in our railway works in Bengal, and in the clearing works in the Sunderbund grants, we find that the labourers are from the south-western districts—Dangas and Coles; and, in our coal mines, Santals, mingled with others. The change forced upon these poor aborigines by the temptation of wages is probably greater than our imagination can conceive.

"But, if you will not object to statistics, let me quote some details from the Annual Report of the external commerce of Calcutta, which has just been issued, carrying the returns up to the 30th April. The general result may be given as follows, for the port of Calcutta, in sterling money instead of rupees.

Imports—1851-52.

Merchandise	£6,751,475
Treasure	2,496,318
Total	9,247,793

Exports—1851-52.

Merchandise	10,846,389
Treasure	194,580
Total	11,040,969

Imports—1852-53.

Merchandise	4,869,045
Treasure	3,496,625
Total	8,365,670

Exports—1852-53.

Merchandise	11,183,689
Treasure	507,997
Total	11,691,686

Imports—1853-54.

Merchandise	5,589,825
Treasure	2,129,078
Total	7,718,903

Exports—1853-54.

Merchandise	10,677,090
Treasure	743,375
Total	11,420,465

Imports—1854-55.

Merchandise	6,632,229
Treasure	640,860
Total	7,273,089

Exports—1854-55.

Merchandise	10,721,059
Treasure	1,205,411
Total	11,926,470

Imports—1855-56.

Merchandise	8,060,818
Treasure	5,810,044
Total	13,870,862

Exports—1855-56.

Merchandise	12,609,263
Treasure	1,142,831
Total	13,752,094

"Here, then, was an importation of upwards of *five millions sterling* in treasure to Calcutta (independently of all that went to Madras and Bombay) in the last official year, besides an import of merchandize to the value of eight millions, and an export of produce officially valued at *upwards of twelve millions and a half*, but really, I apprehend, worth seventeen millions. Of the treasure exported, nearly the whole was a mere transhipment to Akyab for rice.

"But this is not all. Lord Dalhousie, in his Minute, says—

"In 1847-48 there arrived in the river Húghly 626 vessels (exclusive of native craft), amounting to 274,000 tons. In 1854-55 the number of vessels had increased to 866, and the tonnage to 481,000 tons; while in the first ten months of the present year there have already arrived 1010 vessels, of 556,000 tons. Thus in these eight years the tonnage which sought the port of Calcutta has more than doubled in amount."

"But an examination of particular items presents results still more extraordinary. I believe that it was in 1836, just twenty years ago, that the first shipment of linseed was made from Calcutta. The export in 1854-55 and 1855-56 was 80,000 tons, of which the official value was 487,267*l.*; and in 1855-56 it was about 81,000 tons, of the official value of 500,824*l.* But, from the rise in prices during the war, the aggregate value of this export in these two years was probably fully two millions sterling.

"And so as to jute. The export was as follows—

	Quantity.	Official value.
1854-55 . . Maunds,	904,002 *	£227,721
1855-56 . . Maunds,	1,194,470	327,476

"The gross real value of this export in these two years probably was about 800,000*l.* And yet twenty years ago no jute at all was exported from Bengal. Now, it is not only used in those fabrics which are avowedly made of it, but also in the manufacture of many of those cloths which pass under the name of alpaca, and in a variety of fine products.

"These are illustrations of the progress we have made in trade; but when, lately, I visited the rooms of the Agricultural Society here, and saw the thread made from the muddar and from the rhoea, the flax grown in the Punjab, and the hemp from Jubbulpúr, by the side of tea from Assam, Kumaon, and Kangra, I could not but think how vast our progress might soon be in these fibres, as well as in supplies of food. And then, turning to

the Commercial Almanac, and seeing an export of rice from Calcutta alone, last year, of the value of more than a million; and of wheat to the value of a hundred thousand pounds; and of sugar to the value of more than eleven hundred thousand pounds; and then reflecting on the rapidly-growing trade of the Burmese provinces, the extraordinary progress of Bombay, the opening of the Indus, and the development of the cotton districts; I am persuaded that the ensuing ten years will witness a progress vastly beyond any thing we have yet experienced. And then when I hear from one friend of his marching through Oude, and being amazed and delighted with its beauty and fertility; and from another, who has travelled much in India, that he has seen nothing equal to the natural riches of Behar; and when, again, I consider that the days approach for the railways to connect the large towns, to carry the country's produce, to open central India, and to penetrate Berar; and when Native States, long neglected, open to the view as the abodes of peace and the spheres of enterprise; I feel that it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of our prospects. For it is not an exhausted country of which I speak, but one in which much of the soil has lain fallow for centuries, in which there are crops inviting the reaper, and the richest land inviting the sower; and vast quantities of produce are wasted every year from the simple want of access to markets. And then, further, let it be considered how we stand related in this country to other regions. Take a map of Bengal, and observe how easy is the access, through Cachar and Munípur, to Bamú, in northern Burmah, the great mart of Burmese and Chinese traffic. Look at the Irrawaddy, and observe the long course of free inland navigation for 1500 miles, communicating with western China; look northwards into Thibet, and the road now in progress thither through the salubrious vale of Chini; see the lovely valley of Kashmir bordering on the Punjab; and then look down on all the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, to the vast and magnificent Borneo, teeming apparently with vegetable and mineral wealth, and destined to be the queen of that rich and luxuriant region.

"But far be it from me to dwell exclusively on these things. I believe them to be important. I am sure, for instance, that Hinduism must fall beneath the influence of trade, even if it be unassisted by other causes. But it is not to the progress of this country in material wealth only that I would look. It is not on that, or on any thing of that kind, I would rely for its regeneration. I speak of

* About 30,000 tons.

the great progress we are making, because it is necessarily connected with a new social system; because it must inevitably disturb all former habits, sentiments, and systems; because it must bind India closer with other lands, and especially with Europe, and must mingle together various castes and classes among the people, in a way hitherto entirely unknown.

"And I believe that it is not a little important, especially in these days, that Christians in this country should not be indifferent to these things. It was by Dr. Carey that the Agricultural Society here was established; and the benefits it has conferred on the people are already incalculable. And now, as to the social condition of the peasantry, and as to all those things which affect their means of subsistence, are we to be more careless than we are as to their education? Are we to be content to know that they live in degradation and poverty, while the wealth of the country is increasing? Are we doing to them as we would be done unto, if we are careless spectators of their poverty, or of their sufferings from oppression? Perhaps you are aware that these questions are suggested by circumstances which have lately been forced on our attention. It is now publicly acknowledged (I wonder that it ever was denied) that torture is used by the native officials in collecting the revenue of Madras; but it is at least as notorious in Bengal that torture is the common weapon of the police and zemindars, and that it is no new evil in the land. Are we to sit silently by and say nothing? In the North-western Provinces the revenue settlement is based upon the native village system; but, partly from its excessive pressure, partly from the arts and subtlety and growing wealth of the native officials and shopkeepers, and from other causes, the land is gradually, and even rapidly, changing hands; the village communities are being broken up; and capitalists are beginning to hold land in far larger quantities than heretofore. Is not this the prelude to greater changes? In Bengal it is complained that the people are not only victimized by the police and zemindars, but that they are yearly becoming poorer and more discontented, while their produce is producing higher prices. The Missionaries affirm that indigo is almost entirely a forced cultivation, and that the people suffer severely from it. It is notorious that affrays and disturbances are common, because the boundaries of estates are unsettled. The law affords no speedy or certain redress, and the contending parties keep bodies of clubmen to decide their quarrels. It cannot be

denied that whole villages are sometimes plundered; that, from the frequent change of the European officials, the unmanageable size of the judicial districts, and the expense, delay, and the countless other evils connected with the judicial system, there is no easy remedy for private wrongs; and that there is a fearful amount of unpunished crime, of unmitigated oppression, and of social disorganization, throughout extensive districts of this vast Presidency. If these things be true, or only partially true, (and not a few are admitted in Mr. Halliday's recent Minute on the police and criminal justice in Bengal,) what is our position, and what our responsibility? And then, if our revenue system compels us to permit summary sales for arrears of land-tax; and by these sales all under-tenures are unprotected, and the severity of the law leads on to countless frauds; and if the whole subject of government sales and under-tenures is associated with difficulty, and, practically, with acknowledged evils; or if the practice of pilgrimages leads on to the neglect of the pursuits of industry, and to the waste of life and wealth, and the violent disruption of the closest family ties; or if the practices of some of the festivals, as the Churruck, with its public exhibition of barbarous tortures, or the Hooly, with its licensed licentiousness, tend to degrade and corrupt the people; or if the government excise system is extending the use of spirituous liquors extensively among a people who, formerly, had the one virtue of temperance as their peculiar characteristic; shall we be indifferent? Are we to behold these things, and then pass by on the other side? or will the plea, 'Behold, I knew it not,' avail us? Certainly, we must recognise the fact, that there are serious and lamentable impediments to the reception of the truth in the existing circumstances of the people, and that many things indicate a transition state, in which the obstacles, if no precautions are taken, may be multiplied and strengthened.

"It follows, then, that we should be intelligent observers, not only of these things, but of all the efforts that are made to elevate the people; and it is a matter of great thankfulness that not a few such efforts are now being made. I will not touch on those proposed great changes which appear to be contemplated, but are still matters of controversy, or those prospects of still greater changes which are becoming more and more manifest every day; but, taking others, we shall find enough to demand serious and grateful consideration. You are well aware of the miserable condition of Hindú widows, many of

them betrothed and nominally married in childhood, and then, while still children, left in a widowhood which subjects them to all the penalties and degradation of an outcast condition for life. This state of things has happily been met by the Act for legalizing the Marriage of Hindú Widows, which lately passed the Legislative Council; and of which, in moving its third reading, its able author, Mr. J. P. Grant, nobly said, that if it saved but one poor child from the miseries of the Hindú widow-system, he would pass it for the sake of that child; and that if no one ever took advantage of its provisions, he would still pass it for the honour of the British name. Then, again, there is the final settlement of the claims of the temple of Juggurnath, at Púrf, and the total severance of the connexion of Government with that shrine of Moloch, whereat, for ages upon ages, thousands upon thousands have been debased and degraded, in subjection to an impure priesthood and a filthy idol. Then, further, we have the Council now endeavouring to meet the innumerable and widely-ramifying evils and guilt of Hindú polygamy; and, so far as Kulin polygamy is concerned, their path seems to be clear and open. That system, at any rate, it is felt, must be destroyed. Imagine the deep-seated abominations of Hindúism, which permits to the highest grades of its Brahmins the liberty of unlimited polygamy; then restricts them to polygamy with their own caste; and then entails such expense on each marriage as imposes an immense burden on the parents, and renders the birth of a daughter a calamity! If, in the practical operation of this system, we find a poor Kulin Brahmin, with several daughters, unable to pay for the marriage of each to a separate Kulin Brahmin, at length selling them, as it were, all at once to one, and marrying them altogether to that one, who already has several wives, here and there, with each of whom he has received a dowry, and with none of whom he lives—can we conceive a Christian legislature letting this kind of thing continue? And when once the subject is opened, and it is found that others of the higher castes will, by heavy payments, tempt Kulins to marry their daughters, although those Kulins, by doing so, sacrifice their high-caste position, and abandon all their former wives; or if we find other castes instituting a kind of Kulinism of their own, which limits the circle within which children may be married, and leads on to nominal marriages, and to a premium being set on the few men who are entitled to be married in that circle, and so crowds upon them a number of wives, most of whom live in actual celibacy, and some of whom seldom,

or probably never, see their husbands, but reside far apart, in different towns, it may be, or different parts of the country—must not the Legislature try, as in fact it is now trying, to embrace the whole of this enormous evil in one comprehensive enactment? Must it not endeavour to liberate the people from the bondage of this system, more especially if it be proved that they themselves feel its degradation, and are longing for some superior and controlling power to deliver them? And so as to the Under-tenures and the Sale law. Mr. Grant, in the Council, has grappled with this subject by a measure of great ability, which promises to lay the foundation of an immense improvement in our landed system. And then, too, a reform of the Police is under consideration, with the design of securing at once that efficiency, and that incorruption, which now are well known to be utterly wanting. But while we are thankful that measures such as these have engaged the attention of the Government, and while we feel that there are other measures also—to which I will advert by and by—which appear to be as necessary and as practicable, let us not be led away, by such considerations, from the great rudimental evil which affects this country and this people, and from that grand and efficacious cure which alone is adapted to the case and to the occasion. It is the sad moral condition of the people which is the main cause of all their sufferings, and of all the difficulties of the Government; and we must look to the improvement of that condition as the greatest and most necessary of all the designs for the benefit of India. If landlords are oppressive and extortionate, if the police force is corrupt and cruel, what is the cause? Not so much the zemindary system, or the police system, as the corrupt, heartless character of the people. And if in our Courts of Justice it is almost impossible to obtain justice; if delay succeeds delay, and appeal follows appeal, and there is universal uncertainty and distrust; the cause is the same. It is the iniquity of the people which sanctions perjury, and which prompts them to all those arts of chicanery, forgery, fraud, and deceit, in which they excel all nations in the earth. The Bengali's weapon is litigation. He will wear out his opponent by law. He will stop at no trick, and blush at no discovery of his deception. This I well know by experience. I have seen such cases, year after year, as would be scarcely credible at home; and I have seen the perpetrators of the most flagrant and notorious frauds maintain still their position in native society. And so as to those vile social customs from which humanity recoils—the cold systematic oppression of the class of

widows, and the abominations of the Kulin system, these speak alike to the truth of the Apostle's description, 'without natural affection.' And then, look deeper into native society. See behind the screen, listen to the records of falsehood and servility, of elaborate schemes of family revenge, and of vile and debasing habits; and then turn to those who are supposed to have learned something better, and inquire for the fruits of the education which, for forty years, has been largely bestowed on the upper classes, and which has been given almost as largely by the Mission schools. You will find a few Christians, but of them scarcely one who has evinced any thing like a decided spiritual character; scarcely any who have manifested a zeal worth mentioning for the conversion of their countrymen. And, besides this small class, what have we? Much intelligence and hopefulness in youth, followed by a manhood of money-making, and ended by a carnalized and stupefied old age. Not that there is any want of smooth professions, and of courteous demeanour; but the conscience is resisted: there is no force of character to break through the slavery of ancient customs; there is no courage to lead the way in the march of improvement; and thus early good resolutions are soon blighted, and the world wins complete ascendancy. In vain do the heads of the Government test the vaunted enlightenment of this class, by proposing the education of their females, offering every facility and temptation, and even descending to flattery, to induce them to consent. It is all in vain. A dozen or two at the most can be persuaded to allow one or more of their children, for a time, to be slightly taught; and even this is regarded as a favour to the authorities, and as a high proof of moral courage.

"It may seem strange if this experience of the effects of education is regarded as an *encouragement* to our Missions; but I certainly do regard it so. Admit, nay, more than admit, be prepared to prove, that as yet, out of our vast Bengali population, though incited to exertion by the prospect of lucrative and honourable employment, equipped by education, and prospered by success in trade, there has not been raised up one single man of mark, except Rammohun Roy; not one single man, I mean, who has seemed to be elevated above the sordid sentiments, and low moral tone, and who has won the respect, of his countrymen; not one who has deserved implicit confidence as a man of undoubted integrity and veracity, and whose influence has been wholly on the side of good. Admit, further, the melancholy fact, that nearly every man you meet, who is educated at

all, has been released from the bondage of Hindûism, and is a despiser of the superstitions of the people, and yet bows down still to their false gods, joins still in their worst festivals, and, if he has been enlightened as to religion, holds the truth in unrighteousness. Consider well the fearful wickedness and the fearful responsibility of this large class: see how selfish they are, how wedded still to grovelling habits, and to a mode of life utterly inconsistent with their convictions, and how universally they are understood by their countrymen to be men still like themselves, in all important moral features: and then you may wonder at *encouragement* being in any way drawn from such a picture. Yet encouragement, undoubtedly, it does afford. For if education, combined with the motives and temptations of ambition, and the growth of wealth and civilization, have thus signally failed to elevate these people, *must we not feel that our Missions have here a work of peculiar difficulty and trial?* And have we not thus an explanation of much which would otherwise sorely discourage us? Carry the gospel to the poor liberated negro, who looks on you as his deliverer, and whose mind is pre-occupied by no antecedent belief of any power or influence; go to the South Seas, and speak to a people who witness the superiority of your civilization; and you enter at once on a career of almost certain success, if not of the very highest and purest kind, in the saving conversion of many, at least in their nominal and thankful adoption of Christianity. But here all things are against us. We have a people whose religion presses on them—as Robert Hall said—like the atmosphere; whose history of suffering and oppression for century after century has crushed within them the elements of courage, independence, and sincerity; and whose daily life reminds them, from moment to moment, of their identification with a system, and their subjection to a priesthood, both of which have been almost omnipotent for ages. You preach, but it is to deadened hearts; you excite emotions, but they are quenched again by instant familiar intercourse with objects of impurity, and with popular practices and habits wonderfully adapted by the god of this world to the vain and feeble mind of a degraded people; you impart knowledge, but you cannot impart the energy to give effect to convictions, nor the fortitude to withstand opposition, nor the self-denial to submit to suffering. You have against you, from day to day, the influence of caste, which alone is an enemy stronger than all the other obstacles of any other heathen land; and, besides, you have the almost insuperable difficulty of dealing

with the male population alone, the females being secluded from view, and brought up in slavery to superstitions, of which, as they advance in life, they become the powerful agents, with all their domestic influence as wives and mothers. With these obstacles, education—even Christian education—fails in some of its higher objects; and it is no marvel, then, if, in all the work of Missions, our faith is tried here more than anywhere. But thus we learn how peculiar our difficulties are: we see their force exemplified in other things, and thus are prepared for slow results, and are nerved and encouraged to persevere. In fact, experience teaches us that we must be prepared for a state of things here altogether different from that which we have ever known elsewhere. Church history, in its records of the overthrow of paganism in barbarous lands, affords us no analogy; and our knowledge of the progress of the gospel in the Roman empire, in the first three centuries, is too limited to help us very much. The New-Testament history, when intelligently read in the light of practical Missionary experience, exhibits, indeed, glorious and wonderful illustrations of the power of Divine grace; but it conveys the record only of comparatively small churches; how small we know not, even in the greatest heathen cities, such as Rome itself. The transition period that followed, when the old idolatries still preserved some of their popularity, and when the false philosophies of the learned were shaken in their influence by many important political and social events, as well as by the gradual progress of light and truth, is a period on which we have no certain historic guidance. We are compelled, then, in dealing with Christianity in India, to regard our work here as a grand experiment of the power of Christianity on an empire already largely civilized, in possession of a definite and ancient creed, and an elaborate system of worship; a work in which we have no complete precedents to help us from the records of experience, and in which there is such a combination of obstacles and difficulties as never, probably, was encountered before. And it may seem that hitherto we have made little progress. But let that not be too hastily concluded. Certainly, if we measure our progress by that which we see of direct results, we may well feel grieved and saddened. But when we consider how widely spread, in some parts, is an intellectual knowledge of the gospel, and how often the Lord prepares His work beforehand, as it were, and lays deep foundations for future moral revolutions, we may well be silenced; and rather believe that, in fact, the work of His servants will prove not to have been in vain, than hastily con-

clude that there is no more fruit than we personally are permitted to gather. And then, if we go further, and consider the indirect results which may be traced, we have abundant reason to be thankful. Such a result is the revival of the work of God at home, through the reflex influence of Missions, a subject which requires far more full development than I can give it. And so as to local effects here. It was the example of the Missionaries here which first attracted Missionaries from America. And, not to speak of American Missions in Turkey, Asia Minor, or elsewhere, the first men came here. The East-India Company expelled them from the country; and the Serampúr Missionaries directed them to Burmah. There they went, nearly fifty years ago. They laboured on with little fruit, though not without eminent influence elsewhere. But about twenty years ago they baptized a man of another tribe. He was a Karen, a man belonging to a numerous and widely-spread population, which had long been oppressed by the Burmans. They had many remarkable traditions. They expected the truth, and the true book, from the West, and from white men. They were a simple, brave, sincere people, with no settled superstitions, and few prejudices. That Karen became a preacher. And now, of all the Missions in the world, there is not one in which there is so much hope, and so much encouragement, as among the Karen tribes. Since the war in 1852, four thousand adults have been baptized; and every letter, every friend who comes from those regions, tells the same wonderful story of a people prepared of the Lord. I believe that this, too, is a subject well worthy of full development and consideration. I lately sent a letter on it to the 'News of the Churches;' but I feel that I have failed to tell one half of what should be recorded. It would be a great and important service to the cause of Missions if some competent person would compile, from the American Baptist periodicals, the Life of Boardman,* and the lives of Mrs. Sarah Judson and Mrs. Mason, and the 'Karen apostle,'* a full and authentic account of the Karen Mission. It would show the most sceptical and the most desponding how truly the gospel is still mighty through God, and how transforming are its personal effects.

"But when the indirect effects of our Indian Missions are omitted, I confess at once that no explanations, derived from the peculiar difficulties of India, can fully satisfy us, and that we are thrown back on faith in the promises of God; for it is plain that Christianity, in its

* Published by the Tract Society.

genuine, gracious, soul-subduing power, is, as yet, but very little known here. Christianity has only been carried to some parts of the country; and it is feeble in our native churches. In former days, under Swartz, there was much promise; but, when he died, the work languished, and almost died out altogether. And it is painfully evident, that, without foreign help, there would be, even now, a sad prospect, humanly speaking, for any native Mission. But, then, I must here speak of explanations again, and must recur to that of which we spoke when I saw you in England. There is a gigantic evil spread through immense multitudes of the people. What are the efforts made to confront and to overthrow it? They are undeniably and pitifully inadequate. European Missionaries come and preach the gospel. How many others come from Europe, not to preach the gospel, but to dishonour God's name among the Gentiles! And who can fully estimate the effect of this hindrance? Then, again, we have been at work about sixty years in this Presidency; and in that time, for the first thirty, we confined ourselves almost entirely to Bengal; and such was the spirit of the times, that the first man—the able Missionary, Chamberlain—who advanced into the North-west Provinces, was arrested for sedition, and sent down a prisoner to Calcutta. And for years after that time, almost till lately, the Missions in Upper India were very few, and some of them unimportant; and in that territory great regions were overlooked altogether, and are overlooked to this day. It is the same elsewhere. We have great tracts of country, each containing a population greater than the whole of the British West-India Islands, and no Missionary in them. Year follows year, and no gospel is preached there. The mass of the people are still almost as ignorant as they were a hundred years ago. We have been interested, and have been willing to be interested, with pleasing records of individual experience, and of the serene and hopeful progress of some small favoured spots, in which all the machinery of Missions has been set up, and some good men have gone on patiently labouring till their death; but the vast, dark, outlying fields of heathenism in the distance—perhaps some of them not very far from the scenes of our Missions—have been forgotten and neglected. The multitudes of wild tribes have come down, murdering and burning, it may be, like the Santals; or, like the Garrows and the wild hill-men of Chittagong, are the terror of the plains; but to them the gospel is never carried. And even in the most peaceful districts there is frequently no Mission at all, and never

has been. All this has to be considered, if we would judge of the real state of the case in India. But then, making every allowance for this, and at the same time thankfully recognising such indirect effects of Missions as we can discover, and firmly believing that the result of the labours and prayers of those who have served their Lord here will not be in vain, still it seems to be plain, that hitherto we have not reaped as much of actual fruit as we might have hoped; and that not even the awful and aggravated atrocities of Hindúism, and its powerful hold on the people, will fully explain the fact, that the gospel does certainly seem to be preached and taught in most cases in vain. The teacher labours; he goes on year after year; and often his pupils, nearly all of them, sink down into drudges in offices, without an aspiration, except for a higher salary. And the preacher, week after week, tells the story of grace, beseeches men to be reconciled, and makes full proof of his ministry; but it is a rare thing to have an inquirer after a sermon, or a baptism from those who have heard repeatedly. It is a solemn question, Why is it thus? We cannot doubt that if there were more prayer, both here and at home, it would be different. We cannot question that there is a failure in us, in all of us. The churches seem at times paralyzed. The life of faith seems almost unknown. Men dole out gifts; praise one another for that which involves but little sacrifice; view complacently trifling results; and are content with a languid, cold, and almost earthly spirit. The idea, 'Lo, we have left all and have followed Thee,' is almost unknown; and the essence is lost of that profoundly searching warning, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, but whosoever will lose his life for my sake the same shall save it.' Far deeper earnestness, greater warmth, more zeal, self-denial, faith, and prayer, would soon produce wonders—more means, more Missionaries, and vastly greater and more glorious results. Let us, not limit the Lord, or live as if we imagined He could not work here; as if these dry bones could not live; as if He would not be entreated of by us. We rest on His gracious promises. We build upon a Rock. Hitherto we may have often laboured or asked amiss; and our feebleness of faith may have been the secret cause of the withholding of His blessing. But now, were His grace to revive us, both at home and here, soon, very soon, we should see all our fears rebuked, and this great mountain would become a plain.

"I must remember, however, that there were some matters of detail to which I promised to allude, and to these let me now advert. And here I am happy to be able to

quote Lord Dalhousie's Minute, and the Bishop's admirable Thanksgiving Sermon. The late Governor-General thus adverts to this important subject—

“‘68. Until of late years the progress of education in India, under the auspices of the several local Governments, must be admitted to have been languid and inconsiderable.

“‘It received its first great impulse, as a general system, from the hand of the late Mr. Thomason; who obtained permission to establish a government school in every tahsildaree within eight districts in Hindústan. The measure was declaredly experimental; but it was attended with such signal success, that in 1853 the Government of India very earnestly recommended that the system of vernacular education, which had proved so effectual, should be extended to the whole of the North-western Provinces. Not only was this large measure recommended for immediate adoption, but similar measures were advised for the lower provinces of Bengal, and for the Punjab, with such modifications as their various circumstances might be found to require.

“‘The Supreme Government did not fail to give its attention to the subject of vernacular education in Bombay and Madras, in the former of which some progress has been made.

“‘About the same period the Hindú College and the Madrisa in Calcutta were revised and improved. In connexion with them the Honourable Court was requested to sanction the establishment of a Presidency College at Calcutta, which should be open to all classes of the community, and which should furnish a higher scale of education, especially of English education, to the youth of Bengal, than was supplied by any existing institutions.

“‘The establishment of the College has since been sanctioned.

“‘While the proposals for that institution, and for the extension of vernacular education, were still before the home authorities, the Honourable Court addressed to the Government of India their great Education despatch, dated 19th July 1854. It contained a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the local or the Supreme Governments could ever have ventured to suggest. It left nothing to be desired; if, indeed, it did not authorize and direct that more should be done than is within our present grasp.

“‘Vernacular schools throughout the districts, Government Colleges of a higher grade, and a University in each of the three Presidencies of India, were the main features of this great plan.

“‘The bestowal of grants in aid on all educational institutions was also sanctioned, subject to certain rules, and on the condition of Government inspection being at all times and fully admitted.

“‘Immediate steps were taken in India for giving effect to the orders of the Honourable Court.

“‘A distinct department for the superintendence of education was constituted. A Director General of Public Instruction has been appointed by each Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and in the Punjab; and suitable aid by inspectors and others has been allotted to each of them.

“‘Provisional rules for regulating grants in aid have been sanctioned, for the guidance of the several local Governments.

“‘Lastly, a Committee has been appointed for the purpose of framing a scheme for the establishment of Universities at the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. It is still engaged on its difficult task.’

“The Bishop, after stating that the despatch of the Court of Directors seems to give every facility for general education, but that several improvements in the regulations already made may be suggested by experience, thus proceeds—

“‘The teachers are already permitted to add the Bible and religious instruction to secular learning. Schools should, however, be wholly founded and sustained, both male and female, by the public authorities in the numerous spots where there are no resident gentry, and where the poverty of the parents will not allow of the regular payment of fees. Grants in aid are not enough. The requiring indeed, after next January, of the candidates for government employ to be able to read and write, cannot but have the best effect; but great efforts should be made to reach the mass of the people, by establishing schools, female as well as male, in every quarter. To raise, indeed, the female sex, is a work of immense difficulty, but of the most pressing importance. I rejoice to find that the excellent beginnings of the late Honourable Mr. Bethune are to be carried out. I need not add, that, with the spread of education among the masses, the provision of a sound and extensive popular vernacular literature will be indispensable.

“‘In the proposed University of Calcutta, which is perhaps thirty years in advance of the age, why should not a theological class be opened for voluntary attendance; and honorary degrees, or marks of distinction held out to those who are, of their own accord, desirous to study the evidences, doctrines, and morals of Christianity?

“ ‘It should ever be borne in mind, that secular education, important and indispensable as it is in its place, can never purify and sanctify the heart of man: the most polished ages of Greece and Rome were the most corrupt. It is only Christian principles that can regenerate the world, so that the temporal benefits of truth, fidelity, enterprise, diligence, public spirit, and all the springs of social improvement, may begin to work. Mere secular learning nourishes pride, scepticism, intense selfishness, atheism, a debasing love of money, ambition, oppression, cunning, fraud, the indulgence of the lowest and vilest appetites of our nature, and a total want of confidence between man and man.’

“You well know how important this subject is. Hitherto our education has scarcely touched the mass of the people; and, strange to say, the native village schools, while they have taught men to keep accounts, have left them commonly without the ability to read even the Scriptures, or a simple tract, intelligently. The result has been, that the people are hindrances and not helpers to every scheme of moral and social reform, and the ready victims of extortion, oppression, and superstitious delusion. It is strange to insist with such people that they shall pay a fee for education, and so manifest their desire for that, of which, in their present state of mind, they are utterly unable to conceive the benefit; when, in many parts of the country, they have barely the means of subsistence; and when you at home do not think of adopting such a rule, in places where the work of instruction is first commenced, but rejoice to get the people to permit their children to come at all as in Ireland, and in many part of London, and England generally. This surely is a rule which must give way to the execution of the design of educating the poor, if that design is to be really carried into effect; and till it does give way, we must be content to know, that, in point of fact, we are not making any material progress. We must, at any rate, give elementary instruction gratis, and so constitute and conduct the schools as to attract the children to them. Till we do this, every other evil we complain of in the land, will flourish on the debasement of the people. But there are some other special defects in the existing system which also demand notice. The Bishop most justly says—

“ ‘Again, ANY FAVOUR SHOWN TO THE ABSURD AND DEMORALIZING SYSTEM OF THE FALSE PROPHET cannot, I think, be defended for a moment at the present time. Whatever may have been said under the Marquis of Hastings, forty years ago, on the connexion

of the study of the Korán and its traditions with the administration of Mahomedan law, there can be no occasion surely to continue an Institution, the work of which has been long done, and may now be consigned to a few learned individuals. We do not teach Hindús Hindúism: why should we teach Mahomedanism to the Moslem? Liberty to profess his false religion is one thing; but to encourage Mahomedan literature, with all its absurdities and profligacies, is quite another.’

“Imagine our Government's work in the Madriassa. The Principal complains in the report of 1854-55 of the ignorance of his students of the history of ‘their prophet,’ and that not one knew the parentage of ‘his favourite wife Ayesha.’ Is this the kind of learning we are to give them? Are we to keep alive, by this Madriassa, Mahomedan pride, and exclusiveness, and the race of mullahs? Is it not high time that we should leave the Mahomedans to teach their own religion, and every part of it—its history and its law—in their own way, and leave all other persons to study it as they study any other branch of Arabic knowledge, at their own expense, and according to their own taste and fancy? I wish that this subject were considered as it deserves at home, and that it were settled, as it should be, without delay.

“With respect to the proposed Calcutta University, it is very interesting to notice that the Committee of Arts, to arrange the course of general literary study, comprised not only some of the leading members of the Government—Mr. J. P. Grant and Mr. Beadon—but also Principal Kay, of Bishop's College, Dr. Duff, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Ogilvie, and Mr. Mullens, from our Missions; and that their resolutions have passed the General Committee, and doubtless will receive the sanction of the Governor-General. They embody some important modifications in the examinations, and appear to recognise some principles of extensive application. The history of the Jews is expressly included in Ancient History, ‘Wayland's Moral Science’—one of the many admirable books for which, in late years, we have been indebted to the United States—and ‘Butler's Analogy,’ are text books. And students are to be at liberty to take up ‘Christian Evidences’ as one of the discretionary subjects: so that attainments in that branch of knowledge will give a title to a number of marks, equivalent to those allowed for certain other branches, from which the students, in addition to the compulsory subjects, are to select. Looking back but a very few years, we cannot but feel how very great a change in the sentiments of the Government these resolutions imply.

"But I must say that I have a great distrust of education of this kind. I mean, even such education as includes some Christian text books and subjects, unless it is accompanied, from within or without, by direct spiritual teaching. And, in this country, it appears to be unquestionable that that teaching, at any rate at present, will come better from without than within. Already, to a certain extent, it is given; for the students of the Government schools and colleges, if they hear nothing of the gospel within the walls, cannot altogether escape from the influence of our Missions outside; and this, properly speaking, constitutes part of their education. It necessarily has a share in moulding their habits and sentiments, and in adding to their stock of knowledge. But we require something more than this. We want a Mission that shall be specially directed to this educated class, and which shall operate upon them far more powerfully than any agency now existing. On this subject I have had opportunities of conferring with your Committee; and you may be assured that my convictions of its importance have been deepened, rather than diminished, since my return to this country. I hope that the letters from the Bishop and from your Committee, relative to the supply of the requisite funds from the Cathedral trust, and of the buildings from the Evangelical Fund, will be made instrumental in bringing the matter prominently before the Universities and the Church at large; and I must add, that I hope the main end of the design will be kept steadily in view. Some excellent persons, for whom I have a great respect, insist on stipulating that a knowledge of Bengali shall be obtained by the Missionary who is sent out, or, at the very least, that it shall be held in view as a very desirable qualification. Now I fear that this indicates an erroneous conception of the whole case. I do not deny that it would be well if the Missionary knew Bengali, because it is impossible to say what additional use an earnest and fervent man might make of it. But the primary and grand point is to obtain a Missionary of such experience, deep piety, and gifts, as will enable him to gain, and to exercise an influence over, that large and powerful class who affect to despise their own language, who pride themselves on English habits of thought, and who, in their youth and early manhood, before they fall back into the native slough again, pursue the study of English literature with all the enthusiasm of fashion. I can picture the sort of man we want to deal with such a class; and I know not why such a man should not surrender a post of influence at home, to devote himself

to this work out here: The sphere of usefulness is immense. The trial of faith and patience, of wisdom and love, will probably be greater than in any post that has to be relinquished in England. But time will bring its vast reward. 'They that shall be of him shall build up the old waste places: they shall lay the foundations of many generations.' (Isaiah lviii. 12.)

"Another topic suggested by Education is our want of a sound vernacular literature, and I was rejoiced to see your appreciation of the importance of this matter in the 'Intelligencer' for June. In dealing with the educated natives, the English literature already produced will admirably supply all, or nearly all, that is wanted from the press; but we require, in addition to this, an elementary; simple, instructive, and pure vernacular literature for the mass of the people. Many are learning to read; many thousands more, I hope, will soon be added to their number, and we must supply them with a sound literature, or allow their minds to be poisoned by the native press. Among the means now employed to meet this want, I am happy to be able to say that the Tract Society has commenced publishing a very cheap but excellent periodical, called the 'Arunudoy,' or the Dawn of Day, and that we hope to get it circulated widely. But after your lengthened notice of this subject in June I will not enlarge on it. Let me only, in passing, pay a just tribute to one out here, who has most honourably distinguished himself, and who is well known by name to you as a zealous friend of Missions, Mr. H. C. Tucker, the Commissioner of Benares. His work in creating and disseminating a vernacular literature in Urdu and Hindi has been remarkably effective and extensive.

"Some few other topics I will merely mention, ere I hasten to the close of this long letter. A measure which I believe to be urgently required is the issuing of a Commission, either by the Government of India or the Crown, to inquire into the social condition of the people of this country. It is important to remember that the Committees of Parliament, in 1852-53, closed their labours before they came to this branch of their inquiries. The Calcutta Missionary Conference is about to send a memorial to the Governor-General on the subject; and, if I am able to inclose you a copy of it, you will see at once the need of the Commission. Then, again, I believe that, with a view to elevating the moral tone of the people, there should be a law for the summary punishment of perjury; and I believe that few measures are more urgently required, or would exercise a more

important influence. So with the Churruck Púja. The authoritative prohibition of those revolting barbarities—swinging by hooks pierced through the back, and the like—is due to humanity, and is necessary to the moral education of the community. And the increase of revenue should not be sought by stimulating the consumption of ardent spirits, and drugs made from opium: indeed, I believe that the Government's permitting opium to be vended in Pegu, where its use was forbidden, and prevented by the Burman Government, and where the chief evil already is the want of population, is nothing less than infatuation.

"Were I to go on to other measures, I should enter on subjects foreign to your Missionary paper. But these things are enough to afford abundant scope for reflection; and, let me add, if we are 'grieved for the poor,' they will lead us on to personal exertion and to prayer. But, again, let me beg not to be misunderstood. It is not on any measure of political, judicial, or social reform—it is not on education, or on the increased vigour of the Government—that I rely. I believe that we ought to consider all the measures that are needful for the well-being of this country, and that, to the utmost extent of our ability and influence, we should promote them. But the great means at once of elevating the people, and so preparing them for all social improvements, and rendering them the ready and useful agents in them, must be their conversion to Christianity; and without this the most vigorous statesman will find his wisest plans constantly baffled by apathy, selfishness, and corruption.

"I will not weary you with a lengthened conclusion. I am thankful for such opportunities as the pages of the 'Intelligencer' afford for speaking of this country to the friends of Missions at home; and I am thankful, too, for the information your pages give of other lands, and of the work of God elsewhere. We shall none of us do the less for other spheres of Missions because we become deeply interested in one, provided our hearts are engaged in the work from pity to the souls of men, and we open our minds to receive full information of the relative wants of all the different nations. I have no fear of India being neglected from your hearts being affected with a deep sense of the wrongs and hopes of Africa, or from your energies being stimulated by the openings in Turkey. That which I do dread is, rather, indifference, or contentment and complacency with that which has been accomplished already. The Bishop tells of Mr. Cecil, that when a curate

wrote to ask him what work on the early heresies he would recommend him to read, he replied, 'That the worst heresy he knew was the dawdling heresy;' and it is this heresy we have most to fear in real Christians still. But when they seriously seek to apprehend their duty, and will study and pray over the records they receive of the condition and the wants of heathen lands; when their hearts become suitably affected with the awful spiritual condition of millions upon millions of dying men, they will not be content to expend sympathy on one place only, or any one people. Their hearts will be enlarged; they will find that they have the power and means to do more than they ever attempted before; and that every new effort only increases their experience of the growing fascination (if I may so speak) of the Lord's service, and teaches them, in truth, that it is more blessed to give than to receive. I am convinced that their hearts will thus be affected, when they break through the narrow and contracted habits of their quiet homes of ease and plenty, and seriously strive to gain information about the state of the heathen. That there is so little knowledge now is perhaps the main reason why you now receive such slight support, and why people in general regard their consciences as cleared, and their duty as discharged, when they pay the regular annual subscription of a guinea. But when such cases exist as this of India—the case of a vast empire entrusted to Great Britain, with a population numbering from one hundred and fifty to two hundred millions, all under the woe of heathenism or the false prophet, all ready to hear the gospel, but nearly all left, to this day, in ignorance and darkness—surely we may well expect men to lay this matter to heart, and to shake off all sloth and indifference. That the day is coming when a very different degree of fervour will animate the church of Christ, when a very different response will be given by believers to Him who loved them, and gave Himself for them, I have no doubt. We shall then, perhaps, read such passages as the prophecies of Haggai with another mind, and wonder if we have not withheld from ourselves a blessing, by living on in our ceiled houses, while the temple of the Lord has lain waste; and then it will not be in stinted measure that offerings will be poured into His treasury; and it will not be in ones or twos that men will devote themselves to His service; but the full breadth of the Saviour's last command will at length be understood, and His people will go forth into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."